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VOL. 163—FOR 1921

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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER

A  
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME  
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1921

EDITED BY  
M. EPSTEIN, M.A., PH.D.

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1922



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THE Editor of the ANNUAL REGISTER desires once more to acknowledge his great indebtedness to *The Times* for permission to make use of matter published in its columns, and also to *Ross's Parliamentary Record* for its parliamentary reports.



# THE MINISTRY, 1921.

## CABINET MINISTERS.

<i>Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury</i> . . . . .	Mr. Lloyd George.
<i>Lord Chancellor</i> . . . . .	Lord Birkenhead.
<i>Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons</i> . . . . .	{ Mr. A. Bonar Law (to March 17). Mr. Austen Chamberlain (from March 17).
<i>Lord President of the Council</i> . . . . .	Mr. A. J. Balfour.
<i>Chancellor of the Exchequer</i> . . . . .	{ Mr. Austen Chamberlain (to March 17). Sir Robert S. Horne (from April 2).
<i>Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Home</i> . . . . .	Mr. Edward Shortt.
<i>Foreign</i> . . . . .	Marquess Curzon.
<i>Colonies</i> . . . . .	{ Viscount Milner (to Feb. 12). Mr. Winston S. Churchill (from Feb. 12).
<i>War</i> . . . . .	{ Mr. Winston S. Churchill (to Feb. 12). Sir L. Worthington-Evans (from Feb. 12).
<i>India</i> . . . . .	Mr. Edwin Montagu.
<i>Scotland</i> . . . . .	Mr. Robert Munro.
<i>Presidents :—</i>	
<i>Board of Trade</i> . . . . .	{ Sir R. S. Horne (to April 2). Mr. Stanley Baldwin (from April 2).
<i>Board of Education</i> . . . . .	Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.
<i>First Lord of the Admiralty</i> . . . . .	{ Mr. Walter Long (to Feb. 12). Lord Lee of Fareham (from Feb. 12).
<i>Minister of Health</i> . . . . .	{ Dr. C. Addison (to April 2). Sir Alfred Mond (from April 2).
<i>Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries</i> . . . . .	{ Lord Lee of Fareham (to Feb. 12). Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen (from Feb. 12).
<i>Minister of Labour</i> . . . . .	Dr. T. J. Macnamara.
<i>Secretary for Ireland</i> . . . . .	Sir Hamar Greenwood.
<i>Attorney-General</i> . . . . .	Sir Gordon Hewart.

## MINISTERS NOT IN THE CABINET.

<i>Secretary for Air</i> . . . . .	Captain F. E. Guest (from April 2).
<i>Minister of Pensions</i> . . . . .	Mr. Ian Macpherson.
<i>Postmaster-General</i> . . . . .	{ Mr. A. Illingworth (to April 2). Mr. F. G. Kellaway (from April 2).
<i>Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster</i> . . . . .	{ The Earl of Crawford (to April 2). Viscount Peel (from April 2).
<i>Minister of Transport</i> . . . . .	{ Sir Eric Geddes (to Oct. 15). Viscount Peel (from Nov. 7).
<i>First Commissioner of Works</i> . . . . .	{ Sir Alfred Mond (to April 2). The Earl of Crawford (from April 2).
<i>Solicitor-General</i> . . . . .	Sir E. M. Pollock.
<i>Paymaster-General</i> . . . . .	Sir J. Tudor-Walters.
<i>Civil Lord of the Admiralty</i> . . . . .	Commander B. M. Eyres-Monsell (from April 2).
<i>Junior Lords of the Treasury</i> . . . . .	{ Lt.-Col. Sir John Gilmour (from April 2). Mr. James Parker. Mr. J. T. Jones. Sir W. Sutherland.

<i>Financial Secretary of the Treasury</i>	{ Mr. Stanley Baldwin (to April 2). Lt.-Commander E. Hilton Young (from April 2).
<i>Joint Parliamentary (Patronage) Secretaries</i>	{ Lord Edmund Talbot (Viscount Fitzalan) (to April 2). Captain F. E. Guest (to April 2). Mr. Charles A. McCurdy (from April 2). Lt.-Col. Leslie Wilson (from April 2.)
<i>Director of Overseas Trade Department</i>	Sir P. Lloyd-Greame (from April 2).
<i>Under-Secretaries of State :—</i>	
<i>Air</i>	{ Lord Londonderry (to July 18). Lord Gorell (from July 18).
<i>Colonies</i>	{ Lt.-Col. L. C. M. S. Amery (to April 2). Hon. E. F. L. Wood (from April 2).
<i>Foreign</i>	Mr. Cecil Harmsworth.
<i>Home</i>	Sir J. L. Baird.
<i>India</i>	The Earl of Lytton.
<i>War</i>	{ Viscount Peel (to April 2). Sir R. Sanders (from April 2).
<i>Parliamentary Secretaries :—</i>	
<i>Admiralty</i>	Lt.-Col. L. C. M. S. Amery (from April 2).
<i>Agriculture and Fisheries</i>	{ Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen (to Feb. 12). Earl of Ancaster (from April 8).
<i>Education</i>	Mr. J. H. Lewis.
<i>Health</i>	{ Viscount Astor (to April 8). Earl of Onslow (from April 8).
<i>Labour</i>	Sir M. Barlow.
<i>Transport</i>	Mr. A. Neal.
<i>Pensions</i>	Major G. C. Tyron.
<i>Board of Trade</i>	{ Sir P. Lloyd-Greame (to April 2). Sir W. Mitchell-Thomson (from April 2).
<i>War</i>	Hon. G. F. Stanley (from April 2).

## SCOTLAND.

<i>Secretary</i>	Mr. Robert Munro ( <i>in the Cabinet</i> ).
<i>Lord-Advocate</i>	Mr. T. B. Morison.
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. C. D. Murray.

## IRELAND.

<i>Lord-Lieutenant</i>	{ Viscount French (to April 2). Viscount Fitzalan (from April 2).
<i>Lord Chancellor</i>	{ Sir J. H. Campbell (to June 27). Sir John Ross (from June 27).
<i>Chief Secretary to Lord-Lieutenant</i>	Sir H. Greenwood ( <i>in the Cabinet</i> ).
<i>Attorney-General</i>	{ Mr. D. Henry (to June 10). Mr. T. W. Brown (from June 10).
<i>Solicitor-General</i>	Mr. D. M. Wilson.

# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1921.

PART I.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

A PERIOD OF DEPRESSION.

THE year 1921 presented features which were in striking contrast to the few years which had preceded it. Prices, which had risen continuously during and after the war, reached their highest point in November, 1920. At the end of that year they began to fall, and the fall was maintained throughout 1921. The fall of prices was concomitant with a depression of trade and increased unemployment. As soon as prices fell wages also began to fall, but strikes were not nearly so numerous as they had been in the two previous years. True, one great strike occurred which was perhaps the most formidable of any that had happened, but on the whole working men were not so satisfactorily situated for enforcing their demands on employers, and the reductions of wages necessitated by the fall in prices were received much more calmly than had been anticipated. Unemployment had already become a serious problem at the end of 1920; during 1921 it continued to be a source of constant anxiety to the Government.

They attempted to deal with the problem in two ways. The first was directed towards the revival of overseas trade and the stimulation of the industries which supplied the home market. The second was more definitely concerned with measures for mitigating and relieving distress. Early in the year the Cabinet determined to appoint an Advisory Committee to review the situation and to propose remedies. The Committee was to be under the chairmanship of Dr. Macnamara

and to consist of ten other members, five representing the employers and five representing the workmen. In the meantime the Government issued a request to employers of labour to resort to part-time employment rather than dismissals when there was insufficient full-time work for the whole staff. The Government itself was acting on this principle in the dockyards, arsenals, and other establishments under its control. This measure did not, of course, profess to increase employment but only to spread such employment as there was over the whole of the normal staff.

These "short-time" proposals of the Government were received without enthusiasm. For the manufacturers it was urged that the scheme was impracticable, and that the Government should go to the root of the matter by removing the Excess Profits Duty or by a system of protection from competition of countries where the exchanges had collapsed. Labour leaders did not at first oppose the scheme, but insisted that a living wage must be guaranteed.

A proposal which attracted considerable attention was one for granting credits to European countries for the purpose of facilitating a revival of British trade and thereby alleviating unemployment. On January 6 a meeting was held at the Board of Trade between Sir Robert Horne, the President, and his advisors, and the General Managers of a number of leading Insurance Companies to consider the inauguration of an export credit insurance scheme which it was understood the Government would be prepared to support.

The formation of Dr. Macnamara's Committee to inquire into unemployment was attended by unexpected difficulties. The Labour Party, represented by a joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the National Executive of the Labour Party, refused to take any part in the inquiry on the ground that the terms of reference were not sufficiently wide. This at least was the reason formally given for refusing to nominate members to the Government Committee. The Labour Party preferred to formulate its own programme independently and then to urge the acceptance of it on the Government and on Parliament. Twice Sir Robert Horne offered to broaden the terms of reference, but the joint Labour Conference still persisted in its refusal to co-operate. They did not delay, however, in setting about to formulate their own proposals. They called a Conference for January 27 and issued a notice to the effect that, since the present crisis threatened to overwhelm the Government, the policy of labour must again be declared in the most emphatic and convincing manner. At the same time the Scottish Trade Union Congress at Glasgow passed a resolution condemning the proposal of the Government to put the workers on short time as useless and of no avail to meet the present alarming crisis, and demanding the opening up of trade with Central Europe and Russia.



Meanwhile the figures of unemployment continued to increase. On January 14 the number of workpeople on the registers of the Employment Exchanges was 925,000, an increase of 72,000 over the previous week. The number of unemployed men was 601,000, women 236,000, boys 41,000, and girls 47,000. The increase of unemployment had come about gradually since November 26 when the numbers were 520,000. Large as these figures appeared they did not represent the total amount of unemployment and of course supplied no measure of the amount of short time employment. The January issue of the *Labour Gazette* showed that at the end of December the proportion of unemployed among the workpeople covered by the National Insurance Act was 5·8 per cent. The Trade Union figures relating mainly to skilled men showed a percentage at the same date of 6·1 per cent.

The Labour policy was soon drawn up and was published on January 24. It demanded the immediate re-opening of trade with Russia and concerted international arrangements for the stabilisation of the exchanges and the extension of credits. It called for the termination of "military adventures" in the East and oppression in Ireland. It demanded unemployment benefit at the rate of 40s. per week for each householder, 25s. for each single man or woman, and allowance for dependents. Where short time was adopted unemployment allowance on the foregoing scale was advocated. The programme insisted further upon the legal establishment of an eight-hour working day and the prohibition of overtime. Necessary public works were to be undertaken including restoration and development of roads, railways, and waterways, electric power in bulk, school buildings, afforestation, agriculture, harbours, and land reclamation. Relief works were declared to be wasteful, and protests were made against wage reductions and the policy of arresting the growth of education and local improvements and the slowing down of housing. The manifesto further declared that the problem of unemployment arose from the very nature of the capitalist system. This programme was unanimously endorsed by the special Conference of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party which had been called for January 27. This was the position which the discussion had reached at the end of January, and little more was done on either side before the meeting of Parliament.

Unemployment, however, was far from being the only subject which gave the Government anxiety at the beginning of the year. The state of Ireland showed no signs whatever of improvement, and Irish politics occupied as large a share of public attention during 1921 as they had during the previous two years. The beginning of January witnessed the commencement of a new Government policy under which reprisals were officially authorised. On January 1 a number of houses were destroyed by the Military Authorities in retaliation for outrages

which had occurred in their vicinity. Each resident was given one hour to remove his valuables but not his furniture, and the houses were then burnt. The first of these reprisals took place at Midleton, County Cork, and were strongly denounced in the Nationalist Press. On January 5 four more houses were destroyed near Newmarket by order of the military governor, in consequence of an ambush of Crown Forces in that locality the previous day. In this ambush two military lorries, each containing five soldiers and one policeman, had been attacked with machine-gun and rifle fire by a large party of civilians. Shortly afterwards it was officially announced that although it had not been possible to identify any of the persons engaged in these attacks, yet the military governor considered that the preparations could not have been carried out without the knowledge of many of the local residents, who were therefore held to be guilty at least to the extent of having failed to give information to the military or police authorities. It had accordingly been decided as a punitive measure and a deterrent example to other districts to destroy certain houses in the vicinity of the outrage, which were definitely known to be occupied by members of the militant section of the Sinn Fein movement.

On January 5 Sinn Fein carried out another *coup* by which it enriched its coffers to the extent of over 10,000*l.* Ten rate collectors of the Dublin County Council were visited one morning by parties of armed Sinn Feiners and compelled to sign cheques for the amount of the balances standing in their names. The cheques in each case represented the exact amount collected, this being ascertained first by careful examination of the accounts. At the end of the first week in January other attacks on police were reported, the principal one being at Tramore, County Waterford, one of the areas most recently placed under Martial Law. According to the official military account the police barracks there were attacked and a military relief party was ambushed about two miles from Tramore. On January 12 bombs were flung in Dublin at a lorry filled with auxiliary policemen and revolver shots were fired. On the same day the police made a find of hidden arms.

The political situation at this time was that North-East Ulster had her Parliament and intended to make it a success. Many of the moderates and Southern Unionists were willing to give a trial to the Home Rule Act, although they were concerned about the working of its financial clauses. The Sinn Feiners who had returned 70 per cent. of the Irish members at the last General Election were divided into a small minority of extremists, and a large majority who were willing to come to reasonable terms with the British Government. The extremists, however, wielded an influence in the country out of proportion to their numerical strength, this influence being based on the agreement of the moderates that the Act as it stood did not furnish a settlement.

On January 14 a crime, for which no explanation could be found, was committed in Dublin when Mr. William McGrath, K.C., was fatally shot by unknown men at his home. Mr. McGrath was a Constitutional Nationalist who took no prominent part in politics.

• On January 15 there was further rioting in Cork, during which one person was killed, two police officers were seriously wounded, and about twelve civilians suffered gunshot injuries. On that evening troops took possession of an area around the Four Courts, Dublin, and isolated it by means of barbed wire barricades. The Cork rioting led to reprisals on the part of the military authorities. Two houses were blown up in Washington Street, Cork, under official orders on January 20. In consequence of the repeated attempts on the lives of members of the Forces of the Crown in the City of Dublin, the military authorities further gave notice that in future hostages would be carried in all motor vehicles belonging to the armed forces in the City and County of Dublin and in the County of Meath.

On January 20 a police patrol was ambushed at Glenwood, County Clare. A district inspector, a sergeant, and four constables were killed and one sergeant and one constable were wounded; their car was burned and their arms were taken. On the same day another district inspector, T. O'Sullivan, of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was found shot dead within about twenty yards of his barrack in the town of Listowel, County Kerry.

An elaborate ambush was attempted in Dublin on January 21, but was frustrated by the auxiliary police; one civilian was severely wounded and five others were arrested, bombs and revolvers being found on them. During the night of January 20-21 seven police barracks in County Tipperary were attacked by large forces of armed civilians, but in each case the attacks were repulsed without casualties to the police. During the next few days deeds of violence continued to be reported from all parts of Ireland. On January 22, two policemen were found shot in County Monaghan and another constable was found wounded at the same place. An ex-soldier was found in County Cork with two bullet wounds in his head and a label pinned to his clothes bearing the words "convicted spy." On the other hand, three Sinn Feiners were shot dead while attempting to evade arrest. On January 23, 100 armed men attacked a police barrack in County Tipperary. The attack lasted for an hour and a quarter, and bombs and rifles were used, but there were no police casualties and the attack was beaten off. A similar attack was made on another police barrack in County Donegal with the same result. On January 24 a mixed party of military and police was ambushed in County Tipperary; one military sergeant was killed and one private died of wounds, and one officer and two privates and one police officer and two constables were wounded. A further ambush was reported on

January 25, when a motor lorry was attacked near Dublin with bombs and revolvers; no police casualties occurred, but there were several casualties among the attacking party.

Several crimes were committed in Belfast on January 26. Two constables were shot dead in their beds at a hotel, and another constable who was with them was dangerously wounded. A few hours later another man, described as a chemist's assistant, was shot in his bed by two masked men who forced their way during the night into the house where he lodged. At the end of January there were no signs of any decrease of outrage throughout Ireland, and life was scarcely more secure in Dublin than it was in Cork or Kerry. Two murders were committed in Dublin on January 28 and 29, and a party of soldiers was ambushed near the outskirts of the city. No motive was known for the murders of the two civilians, and in each case the murderers escaped.

The elaborate arrangements of the Sinn Feiners were illustrated when the Crown Forces partly destroyed a large house near Dublin. A search of this house revealed the fact that it was provided with a number of false walls and false doors, and that it contained a false wardrobe with a secret spring which opened a chamber that appeared to be used as an office. In one of the rooms secret doors and secret cupboards were found. There were nine exits from the house giving access to adjacent fields. The dummy walls were thin plaster partitions concealing passages between them and the real walls, along which men could pass unseen. During the investigation a revolver and some ammunition were found in one of the dummy walls, and it was known that the premises had been used to carry out the objects of an illegal association.

On the last day of January an officer's wife was fatally wounded during an attempt to murder her husband at Mallow, County Cork, and two railwaymen lost their lives as the result of firing by uniformed men which followed the attack. The officer, Captain King, a County Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, was returning with his wife from a hotel at Mallow when he was fired at from behind a hedge near the railway station. One of the shots slightly wounded Captain King in the foot while others struck his wife, wounding her so badly that she died a few hours later.

Further outrages marked the beginning of February. On the 2nd two tenders containing auxiliary police were ambushed in County Longford. The first car struck a road mine and was blown up, two of the auxiliary policemen being killed and nine wounded, of whom two died later. On the same day a policeman in plain clothes was shot dead while cycling in Dublin. In County Cork four policemen were attacked and one killed, while in County Wicklow Mr. Robert Dixon, J.P., was shot dead, and his son seriously wounded. On February 3 two cars carrying policemen were ambushed within 10 miles of Limerick,

nine of the police being killed and two seriously wounded. A similar attack in County Cork was successfully repulsed, a number of civilians being killed. Every day further outrages of this kind continued to be reported.

On February 4 the Ulster Unionist Council at its annual meeting unanimously selected Sir James Craig as leader of the party in the new Ulster Parliament. Sir Edward Carson delivered a speech in which he reviewed the new position in Ulster, particularly deprecating any sort of religious intolerance. On February 6 Sir Edward Carson made another speech in Belfast in which he referred to the financial provisions of the new Home Rule Act. He said that there was no part of the Act which had given him more misgiving than the economic provisions, but those provisions were open to review, and he believed that if flaws were found in them the British Government would be ready to go half-way in trying to get over the financial difficulties involved. He held, therefore, that it was an elementary duty to see that everything possible was done to make the Act work smoothly.

The fatal shooting at Mallow, already recorded, led to unexpected action by the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. During the shooting, members of that Union had been killed and wounded, and the Society forthwith threatened to call a strike unless an inquiry was ordered into the circumstances of their death. The threat was not taken very seriously. Mr. Lloyd George stated, in reply to a communication from the Society, that no threat of a national strike could be permitted to influence the action of the Government on a matter of the administration of the law. The subject came on February 11 before the Executive Committee of the National Union of Railwaymen, who instructed Mr. J. H. Thomas to raise the issue in Parliament which was due to open the following week. This arrangement sufficed to meet the views of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers, and the threatened strike was abandoned.

On February 11 a daring attack was made on a party of soldiers in County Cork, resulting in the death of one of them and the wounding of several others. Fourteen men of the Royal Fusiliers were travelling to Killarney when the train was stopped and a heavy fire was opened on the carriage containing the troops from each side of the line. The soldiers replied to the fire, but a sergeant was killed and an officer and five other ranks were wounded, four of them seriously. The rebels carried off all rifles and equipment before ordering the engine-driver to continue his journey.

One of the most successful of the *coups* achieved by Sinn Féin was carried out on February 14, when a prisoner who had been recently tried for murder succeeded in escaping from Kilmainham Gaol without the firing of a shot. According to the story told at the time, though afterwards, con-

tradicted, a body of armed men wearing full military equipment arrived at the principal entrance to the gaol and presented an order for the removal of the prisoner. The order appeared to be in correct form, and after a brief delay the prisoner was handed over to the supposed troops who surrounded him and marched off. It was not till later that the authenticity of the document ordering the prisoner's removal was questioned, and it was then found to be a forgery. Troops and auxiliary police searched the district, but neither the prisoner nor his guard could be found.

On the same day one of the worst ambushes yet recorded took place a short distance out of Cork. A train carrying forty soldiers with boxes of bombs and other ammunition was attacked, but the military casualties were comparatively light, three soldiers being seriously wounded and three others slightly wounded. The civilians in the train suffered more severely in the course of the indiscriminate shooting; seven men and a woman were killed and about fourteen persons were wounded.

Early in the morning of the 17th the military surrounded a large area on the north side of Dublin, completely isolated it, and then began a house-to-house search. Shortly afterwards another large area of the city was invested; as a result of these operations a number of important documents were seized.

There was no diminution of crime as the month of February wore on. Within ten days five citizens of Cork were shot dead in terrible circumstances; two of the victims were commercial men, and three ex-soldiers; it appeared that the reason for their murders was that they were believed to be spies. On February 20 a fight took place between civilians and a party of the Hampshire Regiment in County Cork, as a result of which the military captured three wounded and two unwounded men, and picked up thirteen dead. On February 23, two members of the Royal Irish Constabulary were shot dead and another severely wounded in one of the principal streets of Dublin within two hundred yards of Dublin Castle and the City Hall where troops were stationed. On February 22 three unarmed soldiers of the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry were captured and shot in cold blood at Woodford, County Galway, while on February 23 two unarmed soldiers of the Essex Regiment were kidnapped at Bandon, County Cork, and murdered.

Outrages were not confined to Ireland, and during February there were several outbreaks of incendiarism in Manchester and the district. On the 13th the number of outbreaks was no fewer than seven. They were deliberately planned and carried out by small bodies of men armed with revolvers. These men held up the watchmen while setting fire to the premises, over which they kept guard. Fortunately the outbreaks were discovered in good time and extinguished before

they had obtained a strong hold, but at Royton, near Manchester, a considerable amount of damage was done. On the night of February 19 fire gangs were again at work in Lancashire and Cheshire. The attacks in this case were not aimed at industrial works, as they had been at Manchester, but at farms, and a large quantity of produce was destroyed. In all there were ten outbreaks, and the total damage was estimated at between 15,000*l.* and 20,000*l.* In one case a farmer disturbed two men who were about to set fire to his barn, and they fired six shots at him without effect.

In view of the trade depression it was natural that questions of finance and taxation should occupy much public attention, and universal satisfaction was expressed when Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at Birmingham on February 3, stated that he saw his way not only to abolish the Excess Profits Duty but also to dispense with any new taxes for the coming financial year. He said that the Government had no intention of promoting a "rush election," for they had no reason to suppose that they had forfeited the confidence of their countrymen. The Excess Profits Duty was a war tax, but he admitted that conditions had changed and that it was hitting new businesses struggling to pay their way. He said that it had a tendency to encourage extravagance and restrict enterprise. Nothing could justify a renewal of the tax unless it were an absolute financial necessity, and the Government had come to the conclusion that they could afford not to renew the tax, and they did not intend to exact it after it had run its normal course. All businesses except those begun since the war would pay the tax for a period of seven years dating from their first accountancy period: for all new businesses the tax would cease as from December 31, 1920. The leaders of industry would thus know how they stood, and would be able to make their plans accordingly. Mr. Chamberlain said that he did not think that a Budget of 950,000,000*l.* was extravagant. To carry out pre-war services on a pre-war scale would require 500,000,000*l.* Allowing for interest on debt and payment of pensions a Budget was reached of nearly 950,000,000*l.* without allowing for redemption of debt.

The decision of the Government to abolish Excess Profits Duty was welcomed by the whole business world. A deputation consisting of the President of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce and other business men congratulated Mr. Chamberlain on his announcement, and were informed by him that the Government had decided to remove all the controls on trade at the earliest practicable moment. Mr. Chamberlain spoke again at Birmingham on February 4 referring to the Paris Conference. He stated that at the close of the war the British Government had been ready to consider any proposal for total or partial remission of debt between the Allied Governments and Associated Powers. Such a proposal had in fact

been actually made, but it had not been accepted by the United States. This announcement caused a considerable sensation in New York, since the American public had never heard of the proposal referred to by Mr. Chamberlain. In point of fact the debt to the United States Government due within five years as at January 1, 1920, was 867,000,000*l.* Outstanding loans to Allies including Russia, France, Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Portugal, Rumania, Greece, and others amounted to 1,731,000,000*l.* Of this total Russia was responsible for 568,000,000*l.*

On February 5 the Prime Minister delivered three important speeches at Birmingham, the first in the Town Hall after receiving the Freedom of the City, the second at the University where the Honorary Degree of LL.D. was conferred on him, and the third at a dinner in the evening. At the Town Hall meeting Mr. Lloyd George dealt chiefly with the Paris Conference and the question of reparation from Germany. He said that the first condition of real peace, of real neighbourliness among nations, was that peace treaties should be respected. A challenged treaty was war in suspense; there could be no real peace without disarmament. The German military machine must be broken up beyond repair. The fairest provinces in France had been invaded and ravished and she could not take any further risk of that happening again. Germany must not be allowed to pay the indemnity in a way that would inflict greater damage upon the country which received it than if it were paid nothing at all. If Germany were allowed to pay in cheap goods hundreds of thousands of workmen would be thrown out of employment in every country which received the indemnity. Mr. Lloyd George said that Germany could pay the bill presented to her if she had a mind to, but she had not yet taxed herself to the level of Great Britain and France. It was intolerable that she should escape with a lighter burden of taxation than the two countries which were the victims of her wanton attack. The whole German people were behind the war, and had they won they would have gladly shared the booty. The Allies were never more united than they were at present; their claim was a righteous one and must be enforced.

Later in the day the Prime Minister spoke more particularly of trade depression. He said that the country was going through the inevitable difficulties that follow a great war. What was the good of blaming the Government? Facts would not change by changing the Government. In Russia there was no Government at all; it was not Governments but facts which had to be dealt with. He admitted that the heavy burdens of the war were depressing industry, but he emphasised the fact that this was the only country absolutely paying its way at the present time. He called on the people to stand together. It was unity that brought about victory, and if capital and labour stood



together and men of all parties worked together the country would win through.

Sir Robert Horne at Sheffield on February 7 further emphasised the statements of the Prime Minister as regards German reparations. He said that these reparations must not be in finished goods, but could take the form of raw materials. He believed that there were signs that trade would revive, but it was necessary first to liquidate the stocks which were held.

Mr. Lloyd George made another important speech on February 8 addressed to a meeting of the Executive Council of the Welsh National Liberal Association at Westminster. He took the opportunity to make a general reply to criticisms of the Government in the Press and on the platform. Under normal political conditions, he said, he would have been addressing meetings in the country stating his own case and answering his critics, but things were not normal and he was obliged to let criticism go on. All he could do was to trust to the loyalty, good faith, and good sense of his fellow-countrymen. For Welsh Liberalism there were two courses open: it could stand by national unity or it could revive old party factions. The world, he said, was reeling under the most terrible blow that it had ever been dealt; how could it recover in two years? Could anyone say that the danger was past? He wished to God some one could say so because it worried him and sometimes filled him with dread. If some one in authority could tell him the danger was over he would resign forthwith, but the danger was not over. He was told in the Press that there was going to be a General Election; the Press told him not merely what he had done, but what he was going to do for the next six months. If there were a General Election would any Independent Liberal dare to predict that Mr. Asquith would have a hundred followers? If the Government were turned out by a combination of the friends of Mr. Asquith, Lord Northcliffe, Colonel Page Croft, and Lord Robert Cecil, what issue was there where Liberalism and he were at variance? The denunciation of the Government by the Independent Liberals meant that while the nation was in great difficulties they would not help but would only criticise. It was the surest way to annihilate Liberalism, to damn Liberalism for ever. Forty millions of people in Britain would see that any party which did not do its best to help when the old country was in trouble had no future.

The problem of economy was dealt with by Mr. Winston Churchill in the Army Council Chamber on February 14, when he met the principal officers of the War Office and bade them a formal farewell on his appointment as Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Churchill took the opportunity to review the work of the War Office during the preceding two years, and pointed out that the main cause of the extra expense to the British Army was the extra commitments which had been placed on this country by the Supreme Council of the Allies.

He said that he had been entrusted with the formation of the new Middle Eastern department, and that he proposed in a few months to come to the House of Commons and by a vote, for which he would take responsibility, to relieve the Army Votes of the vague and formidable charges with which they were now burdened in consequence of these commitments. He hoped also to reduce the burdens of the taxpayer by bringing these regions into a less extravagant condition. He congratulated his audience on the successful demobilisation of the old Army and the recreation by voluntary enlistment in the nick of time of a force which, though still inferior in physique, in training, and in interior economy to the pre-war Army, had filled the gap.

Mr. Churchill went on to observe that if they had stopped to make new model armies, they could not have had the troops on the spot when and where they were needed. They had carried through the greatest accretion of pay that the British Army had ever received. Owing largely to the work of General Harington the Army education scheme had been established, and sport in the Army stood very high at the present time. The Territorial Army would probably number very nearly 100,000 men by the end of the financial year, and the corner was turned. He had hoped during the coming year to have every establishment reviewed and to make strong efforts to get back to the high standard of economy of the old Army. They had not yet been able to form any of the reserves which were vital to the mobilisation of the Army. Economies and reductions in the number of men serving with the Colours, which were to be hoped for in the future, could not be carried out fully until the reserve system had been more thoroughly advanced.

The new session of Parliament was opened on February 15 by the King who was accompanied by the Queen. The King's speech referred to the Conferences which were to be held in London attended by our Allies in the late war, and also by representatives of Germany and Turkey, and expressed the hope that by this means further progress would be made in giving effect to the treaties of peace and re-establishing concord in Europe. Referring to Ireland the speech condemned that misguided section of the Irish people which persisted in resorting to methods of criminal violence with the object of establishing an independent republic. Neither Irish unity nor Irish self-government could be attained by this means. In view of the onerous programme of legislation entered upon the previous year it was the intention of Ministers to lighten as far as possible the business of the coming session. The most pressing problem before the country was that of unemployment, consequent upon a world-wide restriction of trade, and this might be alleviated—though it could not be cured—by legislative means. A Bill was to be introduced extending the provision made for the unemployed under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

Another measure would deal with the safeguarding of essential key industries of the country, and with certain aspects of unfair and abnormal industrial competition.

Reference was made in the King's speech to the forthcoming removal of control over the home price and export quantities of coal, which was to be followed at the earliest possible moment by the complete restoration of the industry to its normal condition of freedom. A Bill was to be introduced for the re-organisation of the railways of Great Britain, and another for completion of land purchase in Ireland and also for facilitating Church Union in Scotland. The sale of alcoholic liquor was to be dealt with in the light of the experience gained during the war. Finally, the King's speech expressed the hope that the work of the Committee then examining the question of the reform of the Second Chamber would be finished in time to permit of proposals being submitted to Parliament during the course of the session.

In the debate on the address in the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George spoke of the recent Allied Conference held in Paris, and of the coming revision of the Sèvres Treaty, and described the very satisfactory progress made in Ireland towards the restoration of law and order. An amendment moved by Major-General Sir J. H. Davidson expressed regret that the King's speech contained no reference to the very urgent need for co-ordinating the problems and tasks of the Navy, Army, and Air Force for purposes of defence of the Empire as a whole and for the establishment of machinery to give effect to it. This amendment, however, was withdrawn, and on the following day Mr. Clynes moved an amendment regretting that, in view of the serious distress consequent on unemployment, and the lack of preparedness on the part of the Government to deal with the situation, there was no mention of legislation recognising the right of the genuine unemployed to work for adequate maintenance. Dr. Macnamara in reply pointed out that the Ministry of Transport had already found road-making work for 35,000 additional men, and the Ministry of Health had expedited sewerage schemes involving 5,000,000*l.* Moreover, where possible alternative work had been provided in Government factories. Mr. Barnes also spoke on the causes of unemployment.

The debate was carried forward to February 17 when Sir Donald Maclean declared that a maintenance grant of 18*s.* a week was not enough to keep the unemployed as assets of the State which would at the earliest opportunity become once again productive assets. Sir M. Barlow considered that the Unemployment Insurance Act which the Government had introduced in the spring of 1920 had proved a sheet anchor in these troubles. Later on, Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that thirteen years before, when the last great wave of unemployment came over the country, there had been no provision for the unemployed. To-day 12,000,000 people would be insured for 18*s.* a

week. 40,000,000*l.* had been spent in providing unemployment pay for ex-service men. 23,000,000*l.* had been allocated for the purpose of settling men upon the land; 10,500,000*l.* had been provided for new arterial roads to give employment, and 3,000,000*l.* had been allocated to local authorities for the same purpose. The amendment was then negatived by a majority of 178.

On February 18 an amendment was moved by Mr. Bottomley regretting that, as a long period had elapsed since the Armistice, during which the country had not had an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the provisions of the various peace treaties, no mention had been made of dissolving the present Parliament at an early date. Mr. Lloyd George then replied that the Allies had taken expert advice before fixing the amount of the indemnity, a part of which had already been paid in war materials, ships, property, and coal. Much had been done since the Treaty was signed. The German Fleet and the German Army had disappeared. The gigantic war material of Germany had been surrendered; the German Colonies had been given up. It would be our duty to see that the rest of the Treaty was enforced to the utmost capacity of Germany to discharge. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 141. Mr. Remer then moved an amendment regretting the absence from the speech of any announcement that the Telephone Service would be placed under private enterprise in view of the necessity for a cheaper and more efficient service. Mr. Illingworth gave figures to prove that the financial results from the Telephone Service under the Post Office management compared favourably with those of the service when under the management of the National Telephone Company. Colonel W. Guinness regretted the absence of any announcement that an inquiry would be instituted into the possibilities of effecting economies in other ways than by heavy increases in charges. The Attorney-General stated that the Government were willing to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the organisation and administration of the Telephone Service, and the amendment was then withdrawn. The Select Committee was appointed shortly afterwards, under the chairmanship of Mr. Evelyn Cecil.

The question of Ireland was raised on February 21 by Captain W. Benn, who moved to add words to the address declaring that the policy pursued by the Executive in Ireland had failed to secure the repression of organised outrage and had frustrated the prospects of an agreed settlement of the problem of Irish self-government. Sir H. Greenwood, in reply referred to the Sinn Feiners' contemplated outrages in England, and pointed out that the responsibility for all the outrages in Ireland lay on the Sinn Fein conspirators who, since the rebellion of 1916, had never ceased to murder. Speaking with regard to the administration of justice in Ireland, he stated that the ordinary Civil Courts were again functioning nearly everywhere. The police were no longer prisoners in their own

barracks, and the railway boycott and the reign of terror had been broken in nearly two-thirds of the country. Lord Robert Cecil urged the appointment of an independent committee of inquiry. Mr. Devlin and Mr. Barnes were of opinion that anarchy should be ended by negotiation instead of reprisals. Mr. Asquith supported the suggestion of an independent inquiry. Mr. Bonar Law thought that the Irish question should be considered not from the point of view of what the extremists wanted but of what was best for the whole of the kingdom. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 169 and the address was then agreed to.

An Irish debate also took place in the House of Lords on February 22 when the Archbishop of Canterbury called attention to the absence of detailed official information about important incidents in Ireland, and moved for papers. Lord Denbigh declared that the methods of the auxiliaries were manufacturing more rebels. The Lord Chancellor stated that the mischief existing in Ireland could only be cured by the assertion of force in its most vigorous form. Ultimately the motion was withdrawn.

After the House of Commons had concluded its debate on the address, Mr. Bonar Law moved that until the end of the financial year Government business should have precedence at every sitting. After a short discussion the closure was carried, and the motion agreed to by a majority of 165.

During the first half of February a number of minor industrial disputes occurred in Scotland owing to the efforts of employers to lower wages. Unemployment was also much in evidence. Early in the month a ballot was taken of the Unions comprised in the Federation of Building Trade operatives on a scheme proposed by the Government to dilute the industry with 50,000 ex-service men. The scheme was emphatically rejected, the vote being 310,000 against dilution and only 2,500 in favour of it. By taking this line the Unions virtually refused a gift of 250,000*l.*, for a grant of 5*l.* had been offered in respect of each man accepted for training.

Unemployment continued to increase as the winter went on, though the rate of increase became less at the beginning of February. On that date the total number of unemployed was 1,108,000. In view of the figures the Government refused to regard as final the decision of the men in the building trade to resist dilution. They took the employers into conference, and although the latter were unwilling to provoke a conflict with the operatives, their Executive Council unanimously decided, on February 22, to accede to the request of the Government that employers should take into the industry 50,000 ex-service men. They agreed to issue forthwith a manifesto to the members upon which a vote would be taken to confer authority upon the Executive to carry out the request.

On February 21 the Government introduced in the House

of Commons an Unemployment Insurance Act Amendment Bill providing for an increase of the rates payable under the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920. Dr. Macnamara moved the second reading on February 22, and explained that the object of the Bill was to continue the donation of 20s. a week to ex-service men and to bring them under the Insurance Act; and to amend the old Bill with regard to general unemployment insurance by providing that men and women who had been employed twenty weeks since December 31, 1919, should be eligible for sixteen weeks' benefit between the passing of this Bill and the end of next October, and another sixteen weeks' benefit from October to the beginning of July, 1922. Thereafter insured persons would be entitled to draw in each year up to twenty-six weeks' benefit. Ex-service men would have to show only ten weeks of employment. Increased contributions were proposed in the Bill. It was also proposed to make the benefit 18s. for men, 15s. for women, and half of those amounts for boys and girls. The addition of 5s. for men and 4s. for women from Trade Unions and Friendly Societies stood as under the existing Act.

In the course of the debate Mr. Hogge and Sir Edward Carson expressed a desire for a more complete and permanent solution of the unemployment problem. Sir M. Barlow pointed out that the net amount to be borne by the State under this Bill was 780,000*l.*; there was also 4,000,000*l.* payable under the Act of the previous year. Mr. Clynes declared that the measure contained no remedy for unemployment, and was only an extension of a process of almsgiving. Mr. Marriott supported the Bill as an emergency measure, and Mr. T. Shaw looked upon it as a makeshift. Ultimately the closure was carried by a majority of 98, and the second reading was agreed to.

On the same day Mr. Clynes had introduced into the House another Bill for the prevention of unemployment. It provided that all the powers for dealing with the problem of unemployment should be given to the Ministry of Labour, and that permanent Committees should be appointed to report on the subject of unemployment and the local causes for it. These permanent Committees were to be established under the Local Authorities, who would be empowered to start relief works and to withdraw unemployment benefit from those refusing to take employment found for them. This Bill got no farther than the first reading.

The Government Bill, on the other hand, made rapid progress. In Committee Mr. Clynes moved that the benefit for the head of a family should be 40s. per week; for others 25s., and for each person wholly dependent upon a person entitled to benefit under the principal Act or the present Act, 5s. The amendment was opposed by Dr. Macnamara, and Mr. T. Thomson suggested the substitution of 20s. for the 18s. in the Bill, a suggestion which was supported by a

number of members, and was finally agreed to. An amendment moved by Lieut.-Commander Kenworthy, and modified by Dr. Macnamara was also agreed to, raising a woman's benefit from 15s. to 16s. An amendment that 2s. 6d. should be given to each child under the age of sixteen was, however, rejected by a majority of forty-five. A further amendment was then carried, on the motion of Mr. Thomas, exempting railwaymen from the provisions of the original Act requiring insurance against unemployment. After some further discussion the Bill was read a third time and passed on February 24.

Several amendments were added in the House of Lords on March 2. Lord Midleton moved one which provided that the provision of the principal Act should cease to have effect under which it was possible for a man to take unemployment benefit rather than accept employment at a lower rate of wages than he had previously earned in his usual employment in the district. This was carried by a majority of twenty-four. He also moved to insert words excluding from the unemployment benefit an unemployed person whose wife or husband living in the same house was in receipt of wages, annuity, or other income amounting to more than double the unemployment benefit at the full rate of 40s. a week. This amendment was also agreed to by a majority of six. Both amendments, however, were rejected when they came to the House of Commons, and ultimately the royal assent was given to the Bill very much in the form in which the third reading had been passed by the House of Commons.

For a long time past the coal industry had been in a very unsettled condition, and towards the end of February events gradually began to move towards a crisis. The immediate occasion of trouble was the decision of the Cabinet to decontrol the industry at the earliest possible moment. Embargo on exports had already disappeared and the control of inland distribution and pit-head prices was due to be discontinued on March 1. The last step was to be the removal of financial control. On February 23 Conferences were held between Sir Robert Horne and the Mining Association of Great Britain, and also between Sir Robert Horne and the Miners' Federation, for the purpose of considering the effects of early financial decontrol on the industry. Both the employers and the men expressed objections to this proposal, which the Government desired to bring into operation at the end of March. From the very beginning of the negotiations the leaders on both sides took a pessimistic view of their probable outcome; and their pessimism was unfortunately only too well justified.

The Government policy of decontrol affected many other industries besides that of coal. Wheat prices, for instance, were the cause of considerable agitation, and on February 17 a Conference was held at the Ministry of Agriculture

over which Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen presided. The Conference included representatives of the National Farmers' Union, the Treasury, the Ministries of Agriculture and Food, and of the Wheat Commission. Finally it was decided that the pledge was still in existence for a maximum price of 95s. per quarter of 504 lb. In the opinion of the Government Departments, technical decontrol took place on January 25, but inasmuch as the control of flour mills was still in force, real decontrol had not taken place, and the farmer was entitled to secure in its absence the average cost of wheat imported during the previous two months.

The effect of this decision was that as regards sales the price fixed was based on the two previous months' cost, and millers were instructed to pay that figure for wheat of sound milling quality. As regards sales which had taken place since November 6, where a lower price than 95s. had been paid, the millers were instructed to recoup the difference between the figure paid and 95s. for sound milling wheat. The Prime Minister undertook that this pledge should remain in force for the whole of the cereal year, that is to say until about the middle of August.

This decision of the Government was discussed in the House of Lords on February 17, when Lord Crawford explained what had been done. He said that it was necessary to make concessions to help the British farmer to market his wheat and to induce the British miller to buy it.

The increase of the rates of Local Authorities throughout the country was the cause of much complaint, which found expression in a motion made by Lord Parmoor in the House of Lords on February 23. He moved that in the interests of administration it was essential to discriminate between expenditure which was national in its character, and expenditure which was local in its character. Lord Peel pointed out that the increase in local services was the main cause of the increase in the rates, and unless there were a considerable fall in those costs no considerable diminution in the rates could be anticipated. He drew attention to the fact that the subvention of the Government had increased in a much higher ratio than the rates had done.

Protests at public meetings continued to take place, for the rates as yet showed no signs of falling, and their increase had been almost universal throughout England and Wales. A White Paper, issued by the Ministry of Health at the end of February, showed that whereas in 1919 the percentage increase of local rates was only 15 since 1914, in 1920 it was 40 and in 1921 it was 98, or very nearly double the pre-war figure.

We may here allude to the Local Elections (Proportional Representation) Bill, the object of which was to introduce proportional representation in local elections. The second reading was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Parmoor on



February 24. It empowered Local Authorities to adopt, by a resolution of a three-fifths majority, the system of proportional representation by a single transferable vote, so as to enable any considerable section of the electorate to return one member. Authorities who had adopted the scheme might revert to the present system if after six years' experience they were not satisfied with the change. The Bill passed the House of Lords but was dropped in the House of Commons.

The state of Ireland appeared at the end of February to be worse than it had ever been before. On the 25th one of the biggest fights hitherto recorded took place near Macroom between a party of seventy auxiliary cadets and a battalion of the Irish Republican Army 500 strong. The commander of the cadets and several of his men were killed and many others wounded. A Sinn Fein hostage carried by the cadets in their first lorry was killed during the fight. On the last day of the month six Irish rebels condemned to death by military courts at Cork were shot at the barracks there after all efforts to secure their reprieve had failed. On the same evening a number of armed civilians attacked unarmed soldiers who were walking in the streets of Cork; six of them were killed and five wounded. Owing to this and other attacks the Curfew was extended by three hours in Cork. In Dublin also an official order was issued by which the Curfew period ran from 9 P.M. until 5 A.M. instead of, as previously, from 10 P.M. to 5 A.M.

Fresh outrages were reported on March 4. Crown Forces were bombed while driving in Dublin and returned the fire; three little girls, two women, and two men were wounded. An attack was made on a district inspector of police, seven constables, a military officer, and seven soldiers in County Leitrim, and several of them were seriously wounded. In Limerick on March 7 the Mayor and an ex-Mayor and another man were shot dead in their houses. On March 9 six armed and masked men entered a house in County Monaghan and took away with them one of the occupants. A few hours later the dead body of this man was found in a lane at some distance off. Two ex-soldiers were found shot in County Tipperary on the same day with the word "spy" pinned to the chest of one of them. On that day also a patrol of the Essex Regiment surprised an outpost party of rebels who were destroying a bridge in County Cork and captured four of the rebels, a shot gun, a revolver, and other material. On March 10 the Dublin representative of a Belfast firm of drapers was removed from his lodgings in Dublin and carried off in a motor car. Occasionally the Sinn Feiners gave warning of outrages that they intended to commit. A captain of the Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary, for instance, received an anonymous letter threatening him with a great calamity unless he resigned from the Force. Shortly afterwards he learnt that his father's farm near Liverpool had been burnt to the ground during the night. On March 11,

during an attack on a party of soldiers in County Leitrim, six civilians were killed and a seventh was wounded.

On March 14 six men were executed in Mountjoy Gaol, having been found guilty of murder and high treason, and deep feeling was raised in Dublin by the carrying out of the sentence. By order of the Irish Labour Party all work in the city was suspended until 11 o'clock, and large crowds waited kneeling in prayer in the rain outside the prison. These crowds began to gather soon after 5 o'clock in the morning when the Curfew order expired. They consisted largely of women who came with lighted candles and religious emblems. The stoppage of work was general, and no tramway cars were run until nearly midday, when work was resumed everywhere with no outward signs of excitement.

St. Patrick's Day was celebrated quietly in Dublin. The desperate state of the country weighed upon every mind, and it was a day of intercession and prayer rather than of holiday making. The churches, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, were filled, and appeals for a truce from violence and for a great effort of political settlement were made from many pulpits.

During March 18-20 twenty-two deaths by violence were recorded in Ireland, and the Curfew order in Dublin was further modified so as to come into operation at 8 P.M. instead of 9 P.M. On the 19th a party of the Essex Regiment, the Hampshire Regiment, and the Royal Irish Constabulary was attacked by a large body of rebels, and before they could be reinforced seven men were killed and the transport was burned. Two officers and several men were also wounded. When reinforcements arrived the rebels fled leaving six of their dead but carrying away their wounded with them. On the 20th a police sergeant and seven constables in County Cork were attacked by a large body of armed men, and two constables were wounded. On the same day a well-dressed man was seized and chained to a pillar in the public street in Dublin; a large number of people witnessed the outrage. The man remained chained up for an hour before being liberated by the police, who had to use files to cut the chains. It was alleged that the man, who was employed by a Railway Company, worked while the city was idle after the executions on the 14th. A successful train ambush was also carried out in County Cork at this time. The train contained an officer and twenty-nine other ranks of the 21st Royal Fusiliers as well as civilian passengers. The troops engaged the attackers sustaining heavy casualties while doing so. They held the ambushers for fifty minutes when they were reinforced by the arrival of another train which also contained a party of the Royal Fusiliers. The combined forces drove off the rebels and no arms or equipment were lost, but one officer and six men were killed, twelve men were wounded, one civilian passenger was killed, and two civilian passengers were wounded. Attacks were made on the police in various parts of the country

on the 20th. A constable was shot dead by men concealed in an empty house in County Donegal. A police patrol of eight men was ambushed in the Queenstown district, and two constables were wounded. Two policemen were ambushed at Greenore and one was seriously wounded. In County Kildare twenty rifle shots were fired at policemen travelling in a motor tender. These were only a few of the outrages that took place on that day. At the same time an unsuccessful attempt was made to rescue prisoners from Waterford Gaol. A number of armed men rushed into a house abutting on the back of the prison wall, a commotion occurred within and an attempt was made to overpower the guard. After half an hour the armed men hurriedly made off.

Further attacks on police were reported on March 22. A lorry carrying Crown Forces was attacked with bombs in a Dublin street. The soldiers fired eight or ten shots in reply and three men were wounded. In County Roscommon two constables were killed and one seriously wounded. In County Dublin bombs were thrown at a police patrol and two constables were wounded. An attempted ambush in County Roscommon failed, however, and the assailants were driven off.

Towards the end of March the number of attacks on Crown Forces in Ireland became more numerous than they had ever been before and many deaths were reported every day.

Opportunity was taken of the motion for the third reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill to call attention in the House of Commons to the subject of Ireland. After a short discussion, in which Mr. Asquith and several others joined, Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the distressing condition of things in Ireland would not be brought to an end by a surrender to crime or by consent to concede to Ireland whatever she asked irrespective of the interests of the United Kingdom as a whole, but if the leaders or elected representatives of the Irish people came forward to discuss the future government of Ireland, the Government of this country was ready to deal with them with exceptions in respect of those charged with crime.

Crown Forces were employed on the night of March 24-25 in a big raid on the north side of Dublin. During the course of this raid there were discovered in some stables fifteen revolvers, six rifles, six shot guns, 400 bombs, 1,500 rounds of small arms ammunition, twelve 18-pounder shells, a pompom shell, a quantity of detonators, field telephones, and various other articles of military and rebel equipment, a large quantity of seditious literature, and three motor cars. On the 23rd, just before Curfew hour in Cork, a desperate attempt was made to rescue from Cork Prison prisoners under sentence of death and others. Parties of the Irish Republican Army stopped all approaches to the building, dismantled the telegraph and telephone apparatus, and placed a ladder in position against the corner of the gaol wall. Republicans mounted and threw

rope ladders over the wall in connexion with arrangements with prisoners inside to make a dash for this point while they were at exercise. The warders, however, had been reinforced by a powerful military guard with machine-guns placed in position on the wall, and the plan for escape was foiled. On the 25th a number of further outrages took place. In one case a man was shot dead in his house, and an envelope was found near his body bearing the words "convicted spy." Another man was found in County Kerry under the same circumstances; before being shot he had been blindfolded with his hands tied behind his back, and a card was attached to him bearing the words "All spies beware."

The Auxiliary Police Force made important seizures in Dublin on March 26. They discovered the headquarters of the Sinn Fein propaganda department, and captured the largest quantity of seditious literature that had hitherto been seized in Ireland. Several tons of files, books, and literature were removed in covered lorries. It appeared that the office equipment was of an elaborate character, including Ronco duplicators, typewriters, and a number of desks used by clerks. There was a department dealing with propaganda in foreign countries including Italy, France, and Spain, with files of letters of Sinn Fein agents and also of priests in all those countries.

On March 27 the police from Cork found near the city two touring cars and a motor-cycle and side-car. Search in the district was continued, and on the 29th the police found in a dug-out a large quantity of military equipment. On the same day Captain Cecil Lees was shot dead in the streets of Dublin, and his murderers escaped without leaving any clue. Captain Lees was employed on clerical work in Dublin Castle. As soon as revolver shots were heard the people who were in the street, fearing an ambush, fled into the shops and houses. When they came out again Captain Lees was lying on the footpath, and there were no signs of his murderers.

Further attempts were made in March to extend the Sinn Fein methods to England. On the 6th an outrage attributed to Sinn Fein occurred at Newcastle, where an oil refinery was set on fire; the flames, however, were quickly extinguished. Sinn Feiners were also believed to have been responsible for an outbreak of fire at Tyne Dock, South Shields, on the same day; the flames were extinguished before much damage had been done. Two gallon tins which had contained paraffin, and a quantity of waste soaked with the liquid were afterwards found. Two attempts were made to set fire to a cotton spinning mill on the outskirts of Hyde, Cheshire, but very little damage was done, as the culprits were disturbed. On March 8 there was another outbreak of many farm fires covering a wide circle round Liverpool, but none of them were of any great size and the damage was limited to barns and haystacks. Many other fires burst out on the north and south

banks of the river Tyne on the evening of March 26. All these took place on farms, and there were about forty outbreaks in all. Great damage was done, hundreds of tons of corn and hay being destroyed. During March fires also occurred in the neighbourhood of London which were believed to be due to incendiarism.

At the beginning of March the position as regards the controlled railways of the United Kingdom was very unsatisfactory. An official statement showed that a net liability of 32,525,863*l.* was claimed from the Government as a result of working the railways during the nine months April to December, 1920. Up to the end of November the receipts for railway working had exceeded the expenditure by 9,302,367*l.*, but a heavy loss in December reduced the balance to 6,539,242*l.* Further losses occurred in other directions during this period of nine months, reducing the balance below 6,000,000*l.* as against the Government guarantee of 38,174,000*l.* In the course of January there was a further loss of 307,904*l.*, so that for the ten months ended January 31 the net liability claimed from the Government was 36,323,767*l.*

An important statement was made on the position of the Air Force on a motion in the House of Commons on March 1, to go into Committee on the Air Force estimates. Mr. Churchill said that 3,000 boys were being trained as skilled mechanics, recruits were being given intensive technical training, cadets were being trained as officers, men were being trained to be instructors of flying, and at six special training schools officers were being trained to become highly skilled pilots. There were also numerous other centres for different sorts of training and research work. There were twenty-eight fully formed fighting squadrons, of which six were in Egypt, five in Mesopotamia, and eight in India. In the present year 20,000*l.* was to be spent in starting on a very small scale a Territorial Air Force, and it was proposed to set aside 1,000,000*l.* for civil aviation, and 60,000*l.* for subsidies for aerial transport firms. A Committee, on which the aircraft industry and firms would be represented, was about to be set up to deal with these matters.

Civil Service and Revenue departments estimates were dealt with during the first three weeks of March. On the supplementary vote for railways Sir E. Geddes explained that the coal strike accounted for 8,000,000*l.*, the disturbances in Ireland for 2,000,000*l.*, and he added that the increase of wages recommended by the National Wages Board was also a heavy item. On the supplementary vote for the Colonies on March 1 Colonel Amery explained that 195,000*l.* more was required in connexion with the overseas settlement scheme. Of this amount 150,000*l.* was in respect of free passages to ex-service men. On the supplementary vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary on March 7, Mr. T. P. O'Connor moved a reduction of 50,000*l.* in order to call attention to the management of the police in Ireland.

After a long debate the closure was carried by a majority of 155 and the vote was agreed to. On the supplementary token vote of 10*l.* for consular services, Major C. Lowther moved a reduction of 49,000*l.* on the item of 50,000*l.* to be granted to the League of Nations for the purpose of combating typhus in Eastern Europe, but the amendment was subsequently withdrawn. On the supplementary vote for the Ministry of Shipping, Colonel L. Wilson said that the receipts for the current financial year had been under-estimated and the Ministry would be able to hand over to the Exchequer 31,745,000*l.*

A supplementary vote for the Chief Secretary's offices for Ireland was brought up on March 19, when Sir H. Greenwood explained that the necessity for it had arisen in consequence of the disturbed state of that country. 13,945*l.* were asked chiefly for salaries, wages, and allowances to an increased temporary staff, but 900*l.* was for the supply of official information to the Press. A supplementary vote for County Court officers, etc., and also one for Irish prisons were agreed to after divisions.

An Army debate took place in the House of Commons on March 15 on the motion that the House should go into Committee on the Army estimates. Sir L. Worthington-Evans said that the estimates of last year for the Army amounted to 164,075,000*l.* This year he was asking for 106,300,000*l.*, but if all the war charges which were non-recurrent expenditure were omitted from both last year's and this year's figures, a saving of 25,557,000*l.* would be shown. The estimated sum for Mesopotamia and Palestine was 28,500,000*l.*, but of this 2,000,000*l.* was non-recurrent expenditure. The ordinary Army expenditure of the year was 69,116,000*l.* The establishment asked for, for the present year, was 341,000 officers and men, and it was proposed to reduce this to 235,000 of all ranks by March 31, 1922. Four cavalry regiments would be disbanded. The ultimate aim was to recreate an expeditionary force of six divisions. The Reserve would be brought up to 140,000. The Territorial Army was being organised as our second line, and would be equipped so as to provide fourteen divisions complete with cavalry division and army and corps troops. The Yeomanry regiments would be retained, and mechanical means of fighting would be developed to their fullest extent.

The question of reducing the Army in India was raised by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords on March 2, when he moved that in view of the existing situation in that country any reduction of the military forces below pre-war strength was undesirable. Lord Lytton, in reply, said that the Government of India thought that the number of cavalry regiments should be reduced from 39 to 21, and the number of Indian infantry units in India would be the same as before the war. The motion was then withdrawn. About two months later it was announced that the Government had decided that there should

be no further reduction in the Army of India until the Committee of Imperial Defence had reported.

The House of Commons dealt with the Navy estimates on March 17, when Colonel Sir J. Craig brought forward the figures for 1921-22. He pointed out that they showed substantial reductions although our policy was always to maintain a Navy not inferior in strength to the Navies of other Powers. The number of capital ships in commission had been reduced from twenty to sixteen; the fuel allowance on all stations was to be limited; two dockyards were to be closed. The war liabilities to be cleared up before the end of the coming financial year amounted to about 5,000,000*l.* compared with about 18,000,000*l.* in the financial year just ending, and over 100,000,000*l.* in 1919-20. Careful examination of the war liability claims had resulted in deductions amounting to over 6,000,000*l.*, and the estimate for repairs for 1921-22 was only 600,000*l.* as against 17,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* in the two preceding years. It was proposed to lay down four capital ships in the autumn. Lieut.-Colonel Archer-Shee moved an amendment declaring that owing to the great increase in naval strength of other Powers it was necessary further to increase the strength of the Royal Navy in capital ships and their ancillary vessels in order that the British Navy might be at least equal to that of any other single Power. The amendment, after some discussion, was rejected.

On March 3 Lord Buckmaster pressed in the House of Lords for an immediate reduction in public expenditure. He argued that the future safety of the nation demanded prompt and drastic reduction in public and local expenditure to a definite limit, fixed according to what could be raised without serious injury to trade and industry. In reply the Lord Chancellor declared that the Government must have time before any appreciable results from their present efforts could be seen, and the motion was then carried.

The serious view taken of the industrial position was emphasised in an appeal to the Prime Minister by the Federation of British Industries in the middle of March. This appeal stated that British industry was fighting for its life and that the next twelve months might be the most critical in the economic history of the country. The Federation expressed the view that the chief obstacles to trade recovery were due to various circumstances: that coal was dearer than in any other coal-producing country, that transport charges were higher than in competing countries, that there was a widespread breakdown in the machinery of exchange, that there was dangerous competition by countries, notably Germany, where wages measured in the value of British currency were far lower than in this country; finally, that the high rate of taxation was a burden on the community which reacted most prejudicially upon industry. The Federation, therefore, urged the Government to exercise economy and to reduce the Income Tax.

Sir Robert Horne made an important statement in the House of Commons on March 9 relating to new proposals for the more effective working of the export credit system set up by the Government in 1920 to develop export trade with the countries of Central Europe. He said that the Government had given the Empire Cotton Growing Association 15,000*l.*, and had promised them a grant of 50,000*l.* for the next five years. Under the Overseas Trade Credit Scheme the Government had granted applications to the extent of about 2,000,000*l.*, and had actually advanced about 400,000*l.* The Government were now arranging that the costs of a British merchant wishing to export to Central Europe should be guaranteed up to 85 per cent. of the selling or invoice price of the goods, and the foreign importer should be asked for security up to 50 per cent., the Government undertaking to guarantee one-half of the uncovered risk to the exporter in this country.

A few days later figures were given showing the total values of the trade of the United Kingdom with Germany during the year 1920. Imports from Germany amounted to 31,073,000*l.*; exports of produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom consigned to Germany amounted to 21,535,000*l.*; exports of foreign and Colonial merchandise consigned to Germany amounted to 29,150,000*l.*

The debate on the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill was utilised by Dr. Macnamara for making a statement on unemployment. He said that 12,000,000 persons were now covered by insurance, and the State contribution to the scheme was 5,000,000*l.* a year. On March 11 the number of unemployed registered was 872,000 men, and 335,000 women. At the same date 708,000 men and women were registered as on short time. Lord St. Davids' Committee was finding work for 25,000 men. The scheme for the absorption of ex-service men into the building trades had been placed before the Federation of Building Employers, and they had accepted it as we have already recorded.

Several statements were made in the House of Commons during March on the London Allied Conference. On the 3rd Mr. Lloyd George announced, in reply to a question, that the Allied delegations had considered the proposals of the German Government made in lieu of the decisions reached by the Allies at the Paris Conference, and after taking into account the various respects in which Germany had already failed to execute the Treaty, and the inadequacy of the proposals now submitted, had intimated to the German Government that if they did not at once declare themselves either prepared to accept the Paris decisions (that they should pay to the Allies 11,300,000,000*l.* in forty-two years) or to submit proposals which were an equally satisfactory discharge of Germany's obligations under the Treaty of Versailles, the Allies would occupy the towns of Duisburg, Ruhrort, and



Düsseldorf on the Rhine. They would also take possession of the German Customs revenue on the external frontiers of the occupied territories, and after obtaining Parliamentary sanction would retain a proportion of all payments due by their own subjects to German firms for German goods.

On March 7 Mr. Lloyd George reported that Dr. Simons, on behalf of the German Delegation, had that day put forward new proposals. The German Delegation were informed, however, that these proposals offered no basis whatever for an agreement. Instructions had therefore been given for the troops to occupy the three indicated towns, and for the necessary steps to be taken for carrying out the other penalties.

The subject was raised again on March 10, when Mr. Clynes said that the Labour Party considered that Germany's debt for the damage viciously done by her during the war could only be discharged when trade conditions became normal. Mr. Lloyd George then explained that the Allied demand was that Germany should pay in the next two years 100,000,000*l.* sterling plus 20 per cent. of her exports, that is to say, that Germany should pay 130,000,000*l.* sterling, which was about one-half of her exports and about one-fourth or less of what we were paying for our debt charges for the war and for pensions.

The German Reparation (Recovery) Bill was introduced and passed through all its stages during the month of March. It provided for the application for part of the purchase price of imported German goods towards the discharge of the obligations of Germany under the Treaty of Versailles. Mr. Chamberlain moved the second reading in the House of Commons on March 14, and pointed out that under its provisions the Treasury would from time to time prescribe the payment of part of the purchase price of imported German goods not exceeding 50 per cent. to the Customs Commissioners. This money would be applied towards the discharge of Germany's obligations under the Treaty of Versailles. Goods would be classed as of German origin if 75 per cent. of their value was German. Goods entering this country only for re-exportation would not be affected. The Act would apply to all payments to Germany after March 8, but in certain cases where the enforcement of this rule would cause serious hardship it would be modified on application.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Bottomley. Mr. Asquith thought that it was not practicable, and Sir F. Banbury said that it would lead to a good deal of trade being sent through America. Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that other measures would have entailed taking complete control of Germany, and that the money would have been collected in paper marks. By the present scheme we were able to collect it in sterling. If Germany carried out her part—the

reimbursement of her own exporters—the Act would work smoothly; if she refused it would operate as a penalty, and she would suffer by an enormous loss of trade. After some further discussion the second reading of the Bill was agreed to. \*

During the Committee stage a Government amendment was introduced providing that the Bill should not apply to goods imported before April 15, 1921, if contracted before March 8. Colonel Guinness then moved an amendment declaring that if Germany did her part satisfactorily, the monies collected under the Bill should be pooled in a General Reparation Fund, but that otherwise these monies should be used to discharge her obligations to the United Kingdom only. Mr. Lloyd George explained that the present view of the Government was that we ought to apply such monies to the liquidation of our share of the indemnity, which was 22 per cent., and that the application of any surplus might be a matter of discussion among the Allies. The amendment was then rejected.

On the motion for the third reading on March 18, Mr. Clynes moved that the House should not assent to legislation not representative of the common policy of the Allies, injurious to British trade, and likely to increase unemployment, and introduced before sufficient effort had been made to reach a settlement by agreement. After a short discussion the motion was negatived and the Bill was read a third time and passed. No amendments were inserted by the House of Lords and the royal assent was given on March 24.

The Government of Burma Bill, applying to Burma the provisions of the Government of India Act with respect to Governors' provinces, was introduced in the House of Lords on March 1. In the course of the second reading Lord Lytton said that if the Bill became law a Committee would proceed to Burma and, subject to rules which might be suggested by the Committee, this Bill would establish in Burma the principle of a dyarchy which was in force in India. The rejection was moved by Lord Sydenham, but the second reading was carried by a majority of five, and during the summer the Bill passed and was sent to the House of Commons.

As regards Mesopotamia and Palestine, Lord Curzon stated—in reply to questions on March 14—that the Government had no other solution in view when going into Mesopotamia than self-determination. In the case of Palestine, the object had been to reconcile the re-creation of a national home for the Zionists in Palestine with the rights of the Arab people.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which had been introduced in the House of Lords in February, passed its second reading on March 9. The Bishop of London, who was responsible for it, said that the object of the Bill was to raise the age of consent of girls from sixteen to seventeen, providing that reasonable cause be believed that a girl was of or above the

age of seventeen years should not be a defence. The time limit for certain prosecutions would be increased from six months to twelve months. Several amendments were introduced during the Committee stage, including one moved by the Lord Chancellor for the insertion of a new clause repealing Section 5 of the Punishment of Incest Act, 1918, which required that all proceedings under that Act should be held in camera. The Bill passed the House of Lords and was sent to the Commons on March 21.

A new Divorce Bill was also introduced into the House of Lords at the same time. Its object was to provide for annulling marriage in certain cases, for presuming the death of a husband or a wife in certain circumstances, for placing the two sexes in a position of equality in regard to the dissolution of marriage, and for amending and simplifying procedure in matrimonial causes. The second reading was moved by Lord Gorell on March 10. He said that the object of the Bill was to make the law, which was enacted for the benefit of all, accessible to all, and to place women in a position of equality with men in the matter of divorce. Lord Russell then moved that the House should not proceed further with a Bill which provided illusory remedies for real hardships. The Bill was opposed by Lord Buckmaster and supported by the Archbishop of York, and ultimately the second reading was carried.

The demand for reducing expenditure on Government Departments took practical expression in a Bill for terminating the existence of the Ministries of Munitions and Shipping. Lord Hylton, in moving the second reading of this Bill in the House of Lords on March 14, explained that its object was to terminate these Ministries on March 31, and transfer their remaining functions to permanent departments. The functions of the Ministry of Munitions would be transferred to the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Air Ministry. The liquidation of the liabilities of the Ministry of Shipping would be carried out by the Board of Trade. The Bill was duly passed by both Houses and received the royal assent on March 24.

During the middle of March a political crisis of the first magnitude suddenly arose through the resignation of Mr. Bonar Law from the Government. This entirely unexpected development was announced by the Prime Minister at the sitting of the House of Commons on March 17. Mr. Lloyd George read a letter from Mr. Bonar Law in which he informed him that he was reluctantly obliged to give up his political work on account of ill-health. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Clynes, and Sir D. Maclean joined in expressions of sympathy for the Leader of the House, and in hopes for his speedy return. A meeting of Unionist M.P.'s was immediately called at the Carlton Club for the purpose of electing a new Leader of the Party in the House of Commons. The meeting unanimously decided in favour of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, no other name being proposed. After the

decision of the meeting had been reported to him the Prime Minister invited Mr. Chamberlain to become Leader of the House of Commons, and he at once entered upon his duties. Upon his election Mr. Chamberlain made a suitable speech to the meeting at the Carlton Club. He said that he accepted the responsibility which they had imposed upon him, not lightly, but with a great sense of all that it implied, and he pledged his word that he would do his best to justify their choice. He admitted that it was a task of peculiar difficulty to succeed one who had so won the confidence and affection of the Commons as Mr. Bonar Law, and he had no thought that he could be to the Party or to the House what Mr. Bonar Law had been. He called not only for the support and forbearance of his followers, but also that they should stand together, not merely in support of their leaders but in support of one another.

Reference must here be made to the Law of Property Bill which passed its second reading in the House of Lords on March 17. Its main object was to attain to such simplicity as was obtainable in order to reduce costs and expenses which were at present incidental to dealings in land, to abolish all work in connexion with the transfer of land which was in itself not necessary, to expedite transactions, and to remove all those pitfalls and unnecessary technicalities which lay in the way of unwary purchasers.

A discussion arose in the House of Lords on March 21 on the reference in the King's Speech to the question of the reform of the Second Chamber, and Lord Selborne moved that the Government should be urged to introduce their measure for reform in time for it to be dealt with adequately by both Houses of Parliament during the current session. Lord Haldane took the view that the Second Chamber should act in the capacity of an advisory body and should be a small body. Lord Curzon expressed the hope that in the following session a Bill on the subject would be introduced. Lord Lansdowne then moved an amendment urging the Government to introduce, at the earliest possible moment, their measure for the reform of the Second Chamber, and the resolution as thus amended was adopted.

The Court of Inquiry instituted to report on the Mallow shooting published its findings on March 29. It transpired that a party, including three railwaymen since dead, and others who were wounded, had come under rebel fire to which the Royal Irish Constabulary had replied. One casualty at least was caused by rebel fire, and some of the casualties were unavoidably caused by the return fire of the Royal Irish Constabulary.

By far the most important events which took place during March, however, were those which led up to the great coal strike. On the first day of the month the industry became free, after several years of control, from restrictions on pit-

head prices and inland distribution. The depression in trade, moreover, had occasioned a fall in the output of coal, as the result of which the whole of the wage advances secured by the miners in the strike settlement of November, 1920, were wiped out. The position at the end of 1920 and the beginning of 1921 was that while wages and total net costs per ton had increased, owners' royalties and the proceeds of commercial disposals had declined, so that during the month of January the total losses incurred by the owners were 4,889,331*l.*—the debit balance per ton disposable commercially being put at about 5*s.* 8½*d.*

In this position the Government brought in their Coal Mines (Decontrol) Bill, the object of which was to bring the Government control of the coal industry to an end on March 31 instead of at the end of August as originally intended. The effect of this Bill was that all directions as to wages and profits would cease at the end of March. For the first seven quarters up to December 31, 1920, the owners were not to claim the 10 per cent. of the surplus profits to which they were entitled, but only their pre-war standard of profits. During the debate on the second reading in the House of Commons Sir C. Cory said that the coal-owners had agreed to accept the Bill and its arrangement solely on the ground of the present embarrassed state of finance. After several efforts had been made to postpone the date of decontrol the measure was ultimately carried and received the royal assent on March 24. A number of conferences took place early in March both on the owners' side and on the men's side. The Executive of the Miners' Federation submitted their wages scheme to a Delegate Conference on March 10, and were instructed to place it before the owners in the first instance, and afterwards, if necessary, before the Government. On the 11th both the owners and miners placed their respective views on the wage controversy before Sir Robert Horne, President of the Board of Trade. The necessity for a speedy agreement was impressed by the Government on both deputations, but otherwise the proceedings were not published. Proposals of the mine-owners were placed before the Miners' Federation on March 18. They were to the effect that the base rates now existing at each colliery, with the percentages or the equivalents in any district where there had been a subsequent merging into new standards which were paid in July, 1914, should be regarded as the point below which wages should not be automatically reduced; that the owners' aggregate standard profits in each district, in correspondence with the above, should be taken as 17 per cent. of the aggregate amount of wages payable as above; that any surplus remaining of the proceeds of the sale of coal at the pit-head, after such wages and profits and all other costs had been taken into account, should be divisible in the proportion of 75 per cent. to the workmen

and 25 per cent. to the owners, the workmen's share being expressed as a percentage upon the standard rate of the district; finally, that if during any period of ascertainment the owners' standard profit was not realised, the amount of the deficiency should be carried forward as a prior charge against any surplus available for the payment of wages in excess of the basis of wages provided above.

After discussing these proposals at some length, the National Delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation decided to go back to their districts for a mandate. On March 24 they met again and rejected the owners' suggestions without further reference to their constituents. It appeared that the replies received from the districts had shown a very large majority against entering into any temporary agreement on a district basis. At the end of March the miners' leaders determined to take sudden action, and notices were despatched to the districts instructing the men to cease work at midnight on March 31 when Government control of the industry came to an end. The instruction was to be obeyed "regardless of occupation;" that is to say, it applied not only to the hewers of coal and the pit-head workers, but also to the engine-men and pump-men whose work kept the mines free from flood. Accordingly all work came to an end in the coal mines on March 31. The consequences of this momentous step are described in our next chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE COAL STRIKE.

THE decision of the Miners' Federation to stop work in the coal mines was efficiently carried out except on the part of associations of engine-men who, in defiance of the general instruction, remained at work for a short time to ensure the safety of the mines. Hitherto the Government had not intervened in the dispute to any further extent than that of giving friendly advice. The proposals of the owners may be summarised as a reversion to the standard rates current in each district before the war, with additional percentages varying in accordance with the ability of districts to pay, as ascertained monthly. The miners' demands, on the other hand, were for a standard wage equal throughout the nation, with a national pool of profits to enable less prosperous districts to pay this wage. They advocated further a National Coal Board to determine questions of wages and conditions.

As soon as the strike began a Royal Proclamation was issued declaring the existence of a "State of Emergency" under the Emergency Powers Act, 1920. The exportation of coal was immediately prohibited by the Mines Department of the Board of Trade. The production of coal ceased, to all practical intent,

on April 1. A few small collieries were still working, and pumping was being carried on in most of the other pits with the aid of colliery officials and clerks, but in many pits the water soon began to gain on the pumps, while the improvised pumping staffs were in some cases met with threats from the miners. Those pump-men who had at first disregarded the instructions of the National Federation with the consent of their own district organisation, were a few days later withdrawn by order of that body. The position was then described by Sir Robert Horne as "one of infinite anxiety." He repudiated the suggestion that the cause of the stoppage was an attempt upon the part of the coal-owners to institute too drastic reductions in wages. He pointed out that it was agreed on all hands that higher wages could not be paid than the industry could afford, and that there were no means in possession of the owners to prevent a drastic reduction of wages in many districts. The remedy proposed by the miners was a Government subsidy, but this remedy the Government refused to adopt. Sir Robert Horne pointed out that at a time when many of the great industries of the country were in desperate straits, an equal justification could be put forward for the subsidising of many other trades. Such a subsidy could only be raised out of taxation which would, in short, be the extraction from other industries at the most difficult period of their existence of money which they could not afford to pay, in order to pay uneconomic wages in an industry which, on the whole, was better off in the matter of employment than almost any other.

The subject was discussed in the House of Commons on several dates at the beginning of April. Mr. Clynes suggested that Government control should be continued for another month or two in order that time might be afforded for seeking an agreement. Mr. J. H. Thomas expressed the opinion that it was overwhelmingly probable that the dispute would spread to other industries. Mr. Lloyd George stated that the Government were very willing to assist in bringing the dispute to an end, but that they could not enter into any negotiations which included the maintenance of the industry out of the general taxation of the country, or which involved resumption of Government control. Meanwhile it was essential that the Miners' Federation should give assistance to prevent the flooding of the mines. On April 7 a Conference took place between the Government and the miners which, however, ended in a deadlock. Mr. Lloyd George insisted that the miners should start pumping as a preliminary to any further discussion of the subject, and this they refused to do. Later Mr. Lloyd George expressed the willingness of the Government to summon a Conference of both miners and owners to consider first the question of pumping, and to dispose of that question before any other was entered upon. The invitation to this Conference was immediately accepted by the coal-owners, but refused by

the miners. Mr. Lloyd George thereupon laid it down as the duty of the Government to prevent the mines being ruined by flooding. He announced the intention of the Government therefore to call for volunteers to save the mines, and if necessary to carry on the transport services, and to invite members of the Territorial Force and ex-service men and other patriotic citizens to enlist in a Defence Force, and also to call up the Services reserves. The miners, in declining the invitation to a Conference limited to the subject of the resumption of pumping in the mines, expressed their readiness to attend any Conference which was not restricted by conditions. At any such Conference they stated their intention of pressing for a National Wages Board and a National Profits Pool as the main problems to be solved.

The next development in the strike was a public announcement on behalf of the Triple Alliance, which included the railwaymen and the transport workers, that they would go on strike at midnight on April 12 unless negotiations had been opened within the four days intervening before that date. Before April 12 was reached, however, both the Government and the miners had receded somewhat from their uncompromising attitude, and a meeting was arranged between the owners and miners for April 11 to discuss all questions in dispute between the parties. Instructions were at the same time issued by the Miners' Federation that there was to be no interference with safety measures in the mines, and it appeared that these instructions were generally observed. Further, it was announced that the Government was prepared to grant monetary assistance for a limited period to help in bringing up the wage offer in the poorest areas. The Triple Alliance were not satisfied with this arrangement, for they proceeded immediately to issue a new threat in the form of a manifesto on April 11 announcing that unless an offer was made to the miners which their colleagues in the Triple Alliance considered them justified in accepting, a stoppage of railwaymen and transport workers would begin.

The Conference met on the morning of April 11, and the proceedings were opened by an address of Mr. Lloyd George to the coal-owners and miners together. He re-stated the attitude that the Government had taken up in relation to de-control. He pointed out that the principle of maintaining any industry out of the taxes of the country was vicious and could not be continued, and that the question before them was, therefore, of what the industry itself could pay. He asked that the owners should first justify their case for reduction and that the miners having heard it should state their own case, not merely in opposition to the figures, but with plans and proposals for adjusting the whole position. He urged the necessity for setting up a smaller joint body in place of the present cumbrous body of sixty members, to examine the possibilities of the situation



either with the assistance of Government representatives or without. The parties then withdrew, and after a few hours exhaustive statements of the kind asked for were submitted.

Another Conference was held on April 12, but broke down after sitting for about two hours. The position of the Government was that control was to be permanently discontinued, while the position of the owners was that they objected to a National Profits Pool and National Wage rates as demanded by the miners. The owners, however, were prepared to leave open to further examination the relation of profits to wages, and the Government made a definite offer of financial assistance by loan or otherwise during a short period to mitigate the reduction of wages in the districts most severely affected. After the breakdown of the Conference there was a meeting of the Triple Alliance, and it was decided to postpone the strike which it had threatened to call.

It appeared that the postponement, however, was to be only for a very brief period, for on the morning of the next day the Triple Alliance held a Conference, and unanimously decided to declare a strike at 10 o'clock on the following night. The decision was immediately conveyed to Mr. Lloyd George, who inquired on what grounds the Alliance had determined to inflict such a blow on their fellow-countrymen.

The gravity of the crisis provoked a number of members of Parliament to take private action of a somewhat unusual character. They invited the chief spokesmen of the coal-owners to meet them in one of the Committee rooms of the House, and there explain to them in detail the actual schedules of wages which would come into operation under the owners' scheme. Later in the day Mr. Frank Hodges, the Secretary of the Miners' Federation, placed before members the views of the miners, and ended with a new offer which radically altered the situation. He said that the miners were prepared to consider wages provided they were not related to a permanent settlement on a district basis, but were of a temporary character.

The immediate result of this concession was that the strike of railwaymen and transport workers, which was threatened for the evening of April 15, was called off a few hours before it was due to begin. This decision was reached after acrimonious debate at the headquarters of the Triple Alliance, and was strongly resented by a section of the Miners' Executive. That Executive repudiated the offer of Mr. Hodges, and again insisted on the concession of the national wage and the pool as a preliminary condition to the discussion of wages. It was known that the Executive itself was favourable to the view expressed by Mr. Hodges, but they felt bound by the decisions of their delegate meeting which had held firm for the principle of a national settlement and had called for the assistance of the railwaymen and the transport workers. This assistance, however, they were not destined to have. Those two other branches

of the Triple Alliance were not prepared to plunge the country in disorder or to force acceptance of the uncompromising principles of extremists when a reasonable settlement appeared so easy to obtain. The Triple Alliance, in taking this decision, retired finally from the arena of the conflict. It was, in fact, shaken beyond recovery, and its disruption which now actually took place was formally ratified later on in the year. Henceforward the Government had to deal with the miners alone, and from that time, however protracted the strike might be, the end could never be in doubt. The fact was that the rank and file of railwaymen and transport workers were very reluctant to undergo the hardship of a strike from which they could themselves expect to derive no advantage. Their leaders knew that any strike which they might call would be very imperfect owing to lack of support among their own men, and the risk of an unsuccessful strike was one that they were not prepared to face. On April 15 Mr. Lloyd George explained the position in the House of Commons. The miners had definitely refused to meet the coal-owners to discuss any question of the amount of wages until the questions of a national settlement of wages and a national pool had been decided in their favour.

Nevertheless the strike could not be without serious effects upon social and industrial life. The Census, which had been fixed for April 24, was postponed to a later date. Train services were largely curtailed, and there was very stringent restriction of the quantities of coal that could be supplied for domestic use. A "Defence Force" was created for service in England, Scotland, and Wales, recruited from volunteers among the general public. These volunteers came forward in great numbers, and after ten days the Force was as large as seemed to be required and recruiting was brought to an end. 75,000 men had then been enlisted and a great many more had registered themselves as desirous of joining. After the first few days of the strike, however, there was no rioting, and the Defence Force was not called upon for any active measures. In the House of Commons on April 18 Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the coal dispute challenged the definite decision of Parliament to decontrol the industry, and that the Government would have been failing in their duty if they had not taken measures to meet this threat.

The next step was the publication by the coal-owners on April 19 of nine proposals for a settlement of the dispute. These proposals were: to establish a National Wages Board to ascertain principles for the determination of wages in each district; to prevent any automatic reduction of wages below a point to be determined by reference to the base rates now existing at each colliery, this point representing earnings considerably in excess of the highest earnings in any period before the war; to give as wages to the workers in addition to these rates the whole of the surplus revenue available in each district

during the existing abnormal period; to satisfy the workers' representatives in each district that the district was paying all the wages that it could bear, and to fix with the workers a permanent relation between wages and profits. For the next few days no events took place of any importance, although the situation was copiously discussed and argued on both sides. On April 22 the Prime Minister met representatives of the owners and the miners' leaders, and urged them to meet together and investigate the question of wages. The Conference, after a discussion in private, adjourned till April 25 when new proposals were put forward by the owners representing a distinct concession on their last. In the first place a new system of grouping was proposed which joined less prosperous districts with those where a smaller reduction would have been necessary under the original scheme. Another concession was an undertaking not to go below a fixed minimum of wages even though it might necessitate the owners foregoing both standard and surplus profits. The Government, on their side, agreed that they would make up any deficiency of wages in order to prevent the reduction from being more than 3s. a day during a temporary period of three months, or possibly longer. In return, however, they stipulated that a permanent agreement should be evolved. On April 28 the Government again made concessions in the hope of securing peace. The final offer of the Government was a grant of 10,000,000*l.* and a guarantee that no greater reduction in wages should occur during May than 3s. per shift, or in June than 3s. 6*d.* The remainder of the Government grant, after these safeguards had been provided, was to be applied to improvement of the wage conditions in the districts most requiring it during July and August. The proposals of the Government were dependent on the condition that a durable settlement should be made which would last one year from the end of the temporary settlement, and afterwards be terminable at three months' notice on either side. As regards the National Pool, the Government regarded it as a political issue involving legislation.

Little result came of all these negotiations. The offer of the Government was reported by the Miners' Executive to a Delegate Conference on April 28. The Executive themselves, being divided in opinion, made no recommendation, but the Delegate Conference almost unanimously passed a resolution rejecting the proposals of the Government on the ground that they did not concede the fundamental principles of a National Wages Board and a National Pool for which the miners stood. Thus, after the strike had been in progress for a month a settlement seemed no nearer than before. All negotiations came definitely to an end. We may here break off from the story of the strike to record the other events which took place during April.

The depression of trade and the gradual restoration of the

country to a normal condition necessitated reductions in wages in almost every industry. Shipyard wages were among those to be dealt with during March. Conferences had been held between the shipyard workers and representatives of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation, but by the middle of April no agreement had been reached. At length, on April 19, the representatives of the men agreed to recommend the acceptance of a reduction in wages. The settlement arranged that the rates of pay on monthly vessels should be reduced by 2*l.* 10*s.* per month, and that the wages on weekly vessels should be reduced by 8*s.* 6*d.* a week, to take effect in both cases from May 6. During the month there were also negotiations with a view to reducing wages in the engineering industry, but no decision was reached until later in the year.

The state of Ireland showed little improvement during April. On the 1st of the month Mr. de Valera announced that Dail Eireann would sanction the holding of the approaching elections for the two Irish Parliaments. This decision, of course, did not imply any acceptance of the Home Rule Act. On the contrary Dail Eireann proposed to use the elections for the purpose of proving the strength and the unanimity of the country's demand for independence. It was intended to nominate republican candidates for all the constituencies in the Southern Parliament, and a working arrangement was made between Sinn Fein and the Constitutional Nationalists in the six counties area.

The beginning of April was marked by several murders. A policeman was shot dead and another seriously wounded in West Clare. A man was dangerously wounded in County Wexford, and a woman was shot dead in her house in Dublin. Organised attacks on Crown Forces in Londonderry resulted in the death of a police sergeant and the wounding of two soldiers, two policemen, and two civilians. On April 3 a party of sixty or seventy armed civilians drilling in the Dublin mountains was surprised by policemen and a running fight took place, during which two of the rebels were believed to have been shot. Many other murders and ambushes continued to occur. On April 6 two men entered a house in County Longford and shot an ex-soldier, crippled by his wounds, in the presence of his mother. On April 8 and 9 bombs were thrown in Limerick and Dublin wounding a number of people. On the 11th an attempt was made to destroy the hotel of the London & North-Western Railway Co. at North Wall, Dublin. The attack failed, but one man lost his life and several others were wounded. The place was attacked from three different points, bombs were thrown and also bottles filled with petrol, and there was much revolver firing. Bombs were again thrown in Cork on April 12.

On April 14 Sir Arthur Vicars was taken from his bed and murdered outside his house. A label was placed round his neck with the words, "Spy; informers beware." The house and contents were afterwards fired and completely

destroyed. This outrage was perpetrated by about thirty armed men.

The worst crime perpetrated by Sinn Feiners in the north of Ireland took place early on the morning of April 17, the victim being a poor woman who lived about six miles from the town of Monaghan. She was put through the farce of a trial by her assassins and shot dead through the head, her body being left on the roadside. She was the sole support of her family, and resisted with all her strength before she was overpowered and bound by her murderers. On the same day a shooting affair in County Limerick resulted in the death of two members of the Crown Forces and a civilian, and the wounding of a policeman. It appeared that some members of the Royal Irish Constabulary fell in with a party of auxiliary policemen; each party believed the other to be Sinn Feiners and shots were fired. From January 1 up to the middle of April the Sinn Feiners murdered in all seventy-three civilians in cold blood; of this number four were women and twenty-one ex-service men.

During the latter half of April many outrages were reported. On the 23rd a train was held up near Monaghan and its contents destroyed. On the same day in the centre of Belfast two auxiliary police were attacked by a party of armed Sinn Feiners, and one of them was killed and the other seriously wounded. In Cork at the same time His Majesty's mails were captured by the Irish Republican Army on a large scale, the postmen being held up on their rounds by bands of armed men. The official mails, however, did not fall into the hands of the raiders, as special arrangements had been made for their safe conveyance. In a wild part of County Galway a prolonged fight took place between rebels and policemen. A cycle patrol of fourteen constables and a district inspector set out to search for a flying column of the Republican Army which was known to be operating in the locality; fire was opened on them from high ground overlooking the road, one constable was shot dead and a sergeant was wounded twice and another constable was also wounded. The police maintained their position for nearly twelve hours before reinforcements arrived.

The murder of Sir Arthur Vicars was the occasion for further official reprisals. On April 27 four business houses were destroyed by the military at Listowel. Executions were carried out from time to time both by the Crown Forces and by the rebels. The wife of a district inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary received a typewritten letter one morning to say that her husband had been tried and sentenced to death, and that he had been executed that day. On the other hand four rebels who had been convicted of levying war against the King, and sentenced to be shot, were executed at Cork on April 28. Two of them had been taken prisoners

during a fight round a house containing twenty armed men and much ammunition, and the other two were members of an ambush party which had been surprised by the police.

Towards the end of the month rumours became rife that attempts were being made to arrange a truce. Much attention was attracted to these rumours by a private and unofficial visit paid to Ireland by Lord Derby under an assumed name. He admitted that the Prime Minister knew of his visit though he had no commission from the Government. He did not disclose anything which he had seen or heard, but made a report to the Prime Minister.

Some discussion took place on Ireland in the House of Commons on April 28 on the vote to complete the sum for the expenses of the office of the Chief Secretary. The vote was for 65,201*l.* as compared with 56,846*l.* the previous year. Sir H. Greenwood explained that the increase was mainly due to the appointment of a Chief of Police and the creation of his staff. Mr. Lloyd George took the opportunity presented by this vote to announce that the Government intended to go forward with the elections for the Irish Parliaments. He said that if the people of Ireland refused to set up this measure of self-government which was offered to them, the responsibility was theirs. The Government were, however, still willing at any time to meet any representative Irishmen, not under suspicion of murder, to discuss any problem of Irish government without laying down any preliminary conditions. Captain Redmond moved the reduction of the vote by 100*l.* as a protest against the administration of the Chief Secretary. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 111 and progress was then reported.

During April outrages occurred from time to time in England which were set down to the activities of Sinn Fein. On the 1st 10,000 ammunition boxes were destroyed by an outbreak of fire attributed to incendiarism at the Hereford National Filling factory. On the 2nd a carefully planned series of outrages took place in the heart of Manchester. Abortive attempts were made to set on fire a number of hotels and suites of offices, while a police constable was shot at and seriously wounded. When the police visited an Irish Club in order to search for persons implicated in these outrages, they were fired upon from the door with revolvers and returned the fire. Three of the policemen were slightly wounded and about twenty arrests were made. On the 3rd the dead body of a man was found on a golf links in Middlesex. He had a bullet wound in the chest and a piece of paper was found near by bearing the words, "Let spies and traitors beware. I. R. A." On the 4th several more farm fires were reported from various parts of the country. On April 10 the trial was concluded at Liverpool of a number of men on charges of arson, conspiracy, and unlawful possession of firearms. They were sentenced to terms of penal servitude varying from five to ten years.

During the latter half of the month a new kind of outrage came into fashion. On April 20 windows all over London were slashed by an organised gang armed with glass cutters. Nearly every district in the metropolis suffered from their depredations, and over 350 valuable plate glass windows were irreparably damaged. On the following day about a dozen shop windows were scratched in the City, while many fresh reports of damage were received from widely separated parts of the metropolitan area. In Worcester similar outrages were perpetrated. Birmingham, Swansea, Cardiff, and other towns were also affected, while in London the campaign spread to the main thoroughfares, and the gang, which had previously worked by night, increased in boldness and attacked windows in daylight.

The resignation of Mr. Bonar Law from the Government led to a general revision of ministerial appointments, the result of which was announced after the Easter holidays. Lord Edmund Talbot succeeded Field-Marshal Viscount French as First Viceroy of Ireland under the Home Rule Act of 1920, and received a peerage with the title of Lord FitzAlan. The appointment of Lord Edmund Talbot was regarded as a historical event of the first importance, for he was the leading lay Roman Catholic in the kingdom and the first Roman Catholic to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Sir Robert Horne became Chancellor of the Exchequer in succession to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. Captain F. E. Guest became Secretary of State for Air, and Mr. Stanley Baldwin President of the Board of Trade, while Sir Alfred Mond, late First Commissioner of Works, was appointed Minister of Health. Mr. Illingworth was succeeded at the Post Office by Mr. F. G. Kellaway; Dr. Addison, who had been Minister of Health, was appointed Minister without portfolio, an appointment which, as we shall see later on, led to much controversy and lasted only a short time.

The great increase in local rates—which has already been referred to—led to discussion in the House of Commons on various occasions during April. On the 6th Colonel Bowles called attention to the increase in rates, and moved that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into the incidence of local rating. The motion was resisted by the Government and defeated by only one vote in a very small House. On the 29th the second reading was taken of a Bill to prevent increase in local rates. The Bill was introduced by Lieut.-Colonel Royds, who explained that its object was to prevent the increase of rates by giving to all Local Bodies statutory Finance Committees; by transferring to the Treasury the powers of the Ministry of Health with regard to loans and the disposal of the property of Local Authorities; by setting up machinery to enable all Local Bodies to send to the Finance Committee of their County Councils a statement of their receipts and expenditure for the past year, and by providing that 5 per cent. of the

ratepayers might petition against a Bill before either House of Parliament. The Bill was opposed by the Government on account of one clause, but on assurance being received that this clause would not be pressed, the opposition was withdrawn and the Bill was read a second time.

The vote for the Board of Education, which was taken on April 12, showed an increase in the estimate for the current year of 5,000,000*l.* over that for the previous year. This increase was mainly due to grants in aid to the expenditure of Local Education Authorities. Mr. Fisher explained, however, in the House of Commons, that about 4,500,000*l.* of the whole sum might be considered as abnormal and temporary expenditure. The necessity for raising the teachers' salaries in elementary schools was being considered by a Joint Committee. Mr. Fisher said that there were not enough secondary schools to satisfy the demand.

The vote for the Ministry of Agriculture, which was taken on April 19, showed a reduction of over 2,000,000*l.* on the amount for the previous year. Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, in moving the vote, stated that the fishery industry was suffering badly, for although prices had gone up over 100 per cent. the costs, chiefly in coal, had risen to 150 per cent.

The Air Force estimates were dealt with on April 21. The vote was for 915,467*l.*, including a sum of 467*l.* for the expenses of the Air Ministry. Captain Guest stated that Egypt would become the central flying depot of our Eastern activities. 167,000*l.* was being devoted to bettering the housing arrangements there for our personnel. An agreement, including a subsidy of 25,000*l.*, had been made with Cross-Channel Companies to ensure an English service between London and Paris.

The Bill for carrying into effect the Treaty of Peace with Hungary was read a second time on April 20, and having passed through both Houses, received the royal assent on May 12. After the second reading had been carried Sir Keith Fraser called the attention of the House to the disbanding of certain British cavalry regiments, insisting that this policy was contrary to the experience gained in the late war and inimical to the best interests of the defence of the Empire. After a short discussion Sir L. Worthington-Evans explained that the war had proved the vulnerability of cavalry from machine-guns and air attack, and it had therefore been decided to replace four cavalry regiments with tanks and armoured motor cars. This substitution was also in the direction of economy.

The Matrimonial Causes Bill went through its Committee stage in the House of Lords during April. Lord Buckmaster moved an amendment, which was carried, providing that three years' desertion should constitute a ground for divorce. A new clause was added, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, protecting the clergy from penalty or censure arising out of the refusal to publish banns of marriage or to solemnise



marriage between divorced persons. The third reading was carried on April 28. It was supported by the Bishop of Durham, but opposed by Lord Selborne. The Archbishop of Canterbury also opposed the third reading on account of the amendment which provided that desertion should be a ground for divorce. In the House of Commons the Bill was not proceeded with and ultimately it was dropped.

Immediately before the introduction of the Budget on April 25 in the House of Commons, the Speaker, Mr. J. W. Lowther, announced to the House his resignation of office. He pointed out that he had occupied the chair for sixteen years and had wished to retire two years ago, but under considerable pressure had then agreed to reassume the position of Speaker for one or two years longer. On the following day Mr. Lloyd George moved that the thanks of the House should be given to the Speaker for his distinguished services in the chair. Mr. S. Walsh seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Asquith and agreed to unanimously. The Speaker thanked the House for passing a vote of thanks to him, and a further resolution was then agreed to thanking the Speaker for what he had said that day to the House. The Prime Minister thereupon moved that an Address should be presented to His Majesty praying him to confer upon the Speaker some signal mark of his royal favour. This resolution was also agreed to unanimously. On the following day Mr. Lloyd George announced that His Majesty, having been informed of the resignation of Mr. Lowther, the late Speaker, gave leave to the Commons to choose a new Speaker. Colonel Mildmay moved that Mr. J. H. Whitley, who had an unrivalled knowledge of the rules and usages of the House, should be chosen for the office. The motion was seconded by Mr. Henderson. Mr. Whitley was conducted to the chair, and, after thanking the House for the great honour done to him, proceeded to occupy the chair. The Prime Minister and Mr. Asquith congratulated the Speaker-Elect upon his promotion, and the House was then adjourned on the motion of Mr. Chamberlain. When the House met on April 28, and the Speaker-Elect had taken the chair, a message to attend the Lords Commissioners was delivered by Black Rod. The Speaker-Elect with the House went to the Lords, and, having returned, reported that His Majesty had been pleased to approve of the Commons' choice of himself as Speaker.

The Budget was brought forward on April 25 by Mr. Chamberlain for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the expenditure and revenue for the last year had exceeded the estimate, while the surplus was almost the estimated figure. The Consolidated Fund Services excess was accounted for by the increased tender of Victory Loan for Death Duties. The Supply Services excess was due to the Navy, Army, and Air Force. The Civil Services showed a substantial decrease, helped by the termination of the bread

subsidy. He said that the revenue had been adversely affected by the trade depression in the autumn and by the October coal strike. Spirits, tobacco, and wines fell short of the estimate by 15,500,000*l.*, but beer exceeded it by 11,000,000*l.* The duties on imported motor cars and entertainments had also exceeded the estimate. The Inland Revenue had exceeded the estimate on every head except that of the Corporation Profits Tax, the deficit on the estimated yield of which was due to the initial difficulty in starting it. There had also been a fall in miscellaneous receipts. The Floating Debt had only been reduced by 37,000,000*l.* instead of by the 70,000,000*l.* which it had been hoped to achieve, but this was because there had been a larger reduction of foreign debt which during the year had been reduced by 117,000,000*l.*, and because of the large amount of 28,000,000*l.* of maturing Exchequer Bonds which had had to be met. With the exception of 826,000*l.* to Sweden, not yet due to be paid off, the only external debts we now had were to the United States and to Canada. For the present year the Excess Profits Duty would not be renewed. The *ad valorem* surtax of 50 per cent. on cigars would cease, and only a specific duty of 15*s.* a gallon would be imposed on sparkling wines instead of the existing duty. It had also been decided to issue a new 3½ per cent. conversion loan to holders of National War Bonds maturing between 1922 and 1925.

In introducing this Budget Mr. Chamberlain made a departure from British practice by dividing the expenditure and the revenue into two sections—ordinary and extraordinary. His estimate of ordinary expenditure was 974,000,000*l.*, but the amount that the Government set out to raise was 1,058,000,000*l.* The Budget statement was very much what had been anticipated except for the new loan for the purpose of converting into a longer dated security some of the National War Bonds which were due soon to mature. The final balance sheet was as follows:—

ORDINARY RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.		
Customs	- - - - -	£126,800,000
Excise	- - - - -	196,200,000
		<hr/>
		£323,000,000
		<hr/>
Motor Tax	- - - - -	£9,000,000
		<hr/>
Estate Duties	- - - - -	£48,000,000
Stamps	- - - - -	21,000,000
Land Tax and House Duty	- - - - -	2,500,000
Income Tax (including Super-Tax and Mineral Rights Duty)	- - - - -	410,500,000
Excess Profits Duty	- - - - -	120,000,000
Corporation Profits Tax	- - - - -	30,000,000
		<hr/>
		£632,000,000
		<hr/>
Post Office	- - - - -	£60,000,000
Crown Lands	- - - - -	650,000
Receipts from Sundry Loans	- - - - -	12,000,000
Miscellaneous Receipts	- - - - -	21,500,000
		<hr/>
Total	- - - - -	<u>£1,058,150,000</u>

## CONSOLIDATED FUND SERVICES.

National Debt Services :—	
Inside the Fixed Debt Charge - - - - -	£24,500,000
Outside the Fixed Debt Charge - - - - -	320,500,000
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	£345,000,000
Road Fund - - - - -	8,400,000
Payments to Local Taxation Accounts, etc. - - - - -	11,115,000
Land Settlement - - - - -	5,000,000
Other Consolidated Fund Services - - - - -	1,757,000
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Total Consolidated Fund Services - - - - -	£371,272,000
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Supply Services :—	
Army - - - - -	£95,963,000
Navy - - - - -	80,479,000
Air Force - - - - -	16,940,000
Civil Services - - - - -	327,503,000
Customs and Excise, and Inland Revenue Departments - - - - -	14,701,000
Post Office Services - - - - -	67,165,000
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Total Supply Services - - - - -	£602,751,000
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Total - - - - -	£974,023,000
Surplus - - - - -	84,127,000
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Total - - - - -	£1,058,150,000

## SPECIAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE.

Special Revenue :—	
Arising from the realisation of War Assets - - - - -	£158,500,000
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Liquidation of War Commitments - - - - -	£65,705,000
Surplus - - - - -	92,795,000
	<hr/>
Total - - - - -	£158,500,000

After some discussion, in the course of which Mr. Asquith pointed out that the deadweight debt stood higher than it did two years ago, the Budget resolutions were agreed to.

Meanwhile the Supreme Council had before it some very important and difficult problems. It will be remembered that when the representatives of the Allied Governments met the German delegates in conference in London at the beginning of March, Dr. Simons, the German Foreign Minister, put forward counter-proposals to the demands of the Allies, which were not regarded as affording any basis for discussion. On that occasion Germany proposed that her liability should be satisfied by a payment of 30,000,000,000 of gold marks, and that she should be relieved of any further payments or deliveries under the Treaty. In the course of his speech Dr. Simons refused to admit that the sole guilt of the war rested upon Germany, or that her guilt was established by the signature of the Peace Treaty. Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Allies, announced on March 3 that the German counter-proposals were a mockery of and a challenge to the Treaty of Versailles. He described Dr. Simons's proposals as an offence and an exasperation which must be rejected. If Germany refused to sign the Paris Agreement the Allies would extend their occupation and impose

penalties. These included the occupation of certain towns; the payment of a proportion of all payments due to Germany on German goods by Allied nations; the seizure of duties collected by German Custom Houses on the external frontiers of the occupied territory, and the establishment of Custom Houses on the Rhine and at the boundary of the occupied territory, with tariffs to be levied as determined by the Allied High Commission.

The Conference ended in a rupture between the Allies and the German delegates, and on the following day the military "sanctions" were put into force, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort being occupied by British, French, and Belgian troops.

The situation again became acute at the end of April, for that date marked the expiration of the time limit given to Germany for payment by her to the Allies of 600,000,000*l.* the balance of the sum of 1,000,000,000*l.* to be paid by May 1. In anticipation of the fresh meetings of the Supreme Council necessitated on this account, Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand met, in the third week of April, at Sir Phillip Sassoon's residence at Lympne to discuss the situation. On that day it was announced that the German Chancellor and the Foreign Minister had sent a note to President Harding asking for the good offices of the United States as mediator and judge of Germany's capacity to pay. Whatever hopes might have been entertained in Berlin of the success of this step were quickly dashed to the ground, for the President declined altogether to mediate or to arbitrate; his Government merely expressed the hope that the German Government would promptly formulate "such proposals as would present a proper basis for discussion." The German Government also addressed to the United States Chargé d'Affaires in Berlin new proposals for reparations with a view to their being forwarded to the Allies should the United States Government regard them as a basis likely to lead to fresh negotiations.

The first meeting of the Allied Council was held at 10 Downing Street on April 30. Mr. Lloyd George, who presided, was accompanied by Lord Curzon, France was represented by M. Briand, Italy by Count Sforza, Japan by Baron Hayashi, and Belgium by M. Jaspar. Considerable progress was made towards a detailed agreement on the subject of German reparations. The Allies took their stand upon the Treaty of Versailles and upon the German obligations under it as defined by the Reparations Commission. The amount of these obligations was 132,000,000,000 gold marks, or 6,600,000,000*l.* in present cash value. The totals and annuities fixed by the Paris Conference in January therefore lapsed and were replaced by the total fixed by the Reparations Commission.

The point of view originally adopted by the British Government was thus abandoned in favour of the standpoint of

France, who held that the rejection of the Paris decisions by Germany rendered those decisions of no effect and reinstated the more drastic provisions of the Treaty. On the other hand, France made considerable concessions to the British argument that before coercive action was taken by the Allies in the form of the occupation of the Ruhr a fresh ultimatum should be addressed to Germany, and that only in the event of her failure to accept the findings of the Reparations Commission, together with the modes of payment and guarantees to be defined by the Reparations Commission, should the occupation of the Ruhr be fully carried out.

This decision was communicated by Mr. Lloyd George to the House of Commons in Committee of Supply on the vote for the Foreign Office on May 5. He then announced that the Allies had issued an ultimatum to Germany which she must accept by May 12. If the German Government failed to do this the Allied Powers would occupy the Ruhr valley. Under the terms of the ultimatum Germany was to pay the reparation which she still owed—a sum of 6,600,000,000*l.*—in the following manner: Bonds were to be created and delivered to the Reparations Commission by the following dates—600,000,000*l.* by July 1; 1,900,000,000*l.* by November 1. Germany was to pay each year until the redemption of the Bonds 100,000,000*l.* together with 26 per cent. of the value of her exports. She was also to carry out, without reserve or delay, the measures of disarmament notified, and the trial of the war criminals.

The new reparation proposals were supported by Mr. Asquith and many other members of the House. On May 11 Mr. Lloyd George was able to announce that he had that morning received a reply from the German Government to the ultimatum conveying complete acceptance of the Allied demands.

Lord FitzAlan, the new Viceroy of Ireland, was sworn in, in the presence of the Privy Council, on May 2. Rumours concerning a truce continued to be rife about this time. Mr. J. J. Farrell, a former Lord Mayor of Dublin, after a visit to the Irish Office, went to Mountjoy Prison and had an interview with Mr. John Macneill and Mr. Arthur Griffith. He stated that the Government was prepared to give Ireland Dominion Home Rule subject to safeguards about the Navy and Army the moment Ireland indicated that she would accept it, but he said that it was unusual for a great Power or a great statesman to make an offer in writing unless they knew that it would be accepted.

A more definite step was taken on May 5 when a meeting took place between Sir James Craig and Mr. de Valera. The British Government was not represented, and nothing took place but a personal exchange of views between the two leaders, but it was generally felt that much had been accomplished in

bringing together the leaders of Northern and Southern Ireland if only for a brief interview. It was understood that the interview related chiefly to the situation which would arise after the elections, and not to the position as it then existed. On May 11 a memorial, signed by a number of Irishmen, was addressed to the Prime Minister, proposing an all-Ireland Conference, with a view to obtaining a settlement by consent. The signatories asked the Government to take the initiative and make an offer of full dominion status to Ireland, leaving its people free to determine the form of its government subject only to two conditions: (1) that an agreement between Britain and Ireland in regard to defence and foreign relations should be reached; (2) that North-east Ulster should not be compelled to accept for itself the above form of government if it preferred to enjoy the position given to it by the Act of 1920.

The nominations for the elections for the Parliament for the South of Ireland took place on May 13 without any disturbance. In every case except one the returns for the whole Southern Parliament were unopposed; that one was County Donegal, where there were six Sinn Fein candidates and one Unionist candidate for six seats, but at the last moment the Unionist candidate withdrew. The result was a sweeping victory for Sinn Fein, and a virtually unanimous repudiation of the Government of Ireland Act. Four members, including Sir James Craig, were returned without opposition for Dublin University. Their ideal was a United Ireland, but they were prepared to employ the existing Act as a stepping-stone to better things. With these four exceptions Sinn Fein secured the unopposed return of about 120 out of the total membership of 128 in the Southern Parliament. In County Clare Mr. de Valera was again returned for his old constituency. A remarkable feature of the elections was the number of candidates who were in gaol. They included Madame Markievicz, who was again returned for one of the Dublin seats; Mrs. O'Callaghan, widow of the Mayor of Limerick who had been murdered some time previously; and Mrs. Pearse, the mother of Patrick Pearse who was executed after the Dublin rebellion.

The nominations for the Ulster Parliament confirmed the expectations that there would be contests in all the divisions. In the six Northern counties the Sinn Fein and Nationalist Parties put forward candidates in all divisions, but they declared that if elected their candidates would not take their seats, their object being to show the strength of the anti-partition vote in the hope that it might have some effect in leading to the formation of one Parliament for all Ireland. The elections took place on May 24. There were 78 candidates for the 52 seats in the new Parliament—40 Unionists, 12 Nationalists, 20 Sinn Fein, 5 Socialists, and 1 Independent. The result was a sweeping victory for the Unionists who secured the election of all their

40 candidates. The remaining 12 seats were won by 6 Nationalists and 6 Sinn Feiners respectively, so that the Unionists had a majority of 28 over the other parties combined. This result was much more favourable to them than they had anticipated.

The elections to the Irish Parliaments did nothing to diminish acts of lawlessness, which continued to be reported during May. On the 4th, a patrol of the Royal Irish Constabulary, consisting of one sergeant and eight constables, was ambushed and the whole party killed with the exception of one constable who escaped. On the same day a shooting outrage occurred in Glasgow in broad daylight in one of the busiest thoroughfares of the town. Armed raiders held up a police patrol van shortly after midday, apparently with the object of rescuing an Irish prisoner, who was being conveyed to prison, and although they were unsuccessful in this attempt, they killed one police officer and caused serious injury to another. On May 5 armed civilians caused a fire in Dublin which resulted in the destruction of property valued at 40,000*l.* On the 9th another bank robbery took place in Dublin, when six armed men entered the National Bank in Camden Street and took a large sum in notes and silver. About the same time many other outrages were reported. A constable on leave was captured and shot dead after being blindfolded and put up against a wall. Men were dragged from their beds and left riddled with bullets by the roadside. Crown Forces were ambushed and many murders took place. In one case a farmer's daughter, who had been seen talking to policemen, was knocked down, robbed, dragged along the road, and had her hair cut off with a reaping hook. On May 14 an armoured car was captured from the military at Dublin and used later on in an attempt to rescue a prisoner from Mountjoy Gaol. Two rebels dressed as officers visited the Governor and presented a demand for the transfer of a prisoner. Upon the Governor's refusal they blindfolded him and his assistant, and their confederates entered the gaol. The Governor, however, telephoned to the military headquarters and assistance arrived before the rebels had effected their purpose.

A particularly atrocious murder was committed on May 15, when a Captain of the Royal Irish Constabulary in County Galway, his wife, and a Captain and Lieutenant of the 17th Lancers, were shot while leaving a party at Ballyturin House. Outrages seemed to grow gradually more audacious. During a football match in County Cork, in which soldiers were taking part, fire was opened both on the players and the spectators with a Lewis gun. A military patrol returned the fire and covered the retreat of the football players to their barracks. One soldier of the Essex Regiment was killed.

Every day reports came in of the murders of policemen. On the 17th a patrol of nine men was ambushed in County Longford; one was shot dead and three others badly wounded.

In King's County four policemen were caught in an ambush, one was shot dead and three were wounded. On the 18th a convoy of the Devon Regiment surprised a column of rebels on the road in County Waterford and captured thirteen men and five bicycles. Trains were stopped and police barracks attacked, and in every case men were killed or wounded. In one instance an officer of the Irish Republican Army, who had been interned in Cork Prison, was given a week's parole to visit a relative who was dangerously ill. Although he solemnly pledged his word that he would return to the prison at the expiration of the week, he did not do so, and in consequence an order went forth that no parole would in future be accepted for any member of the Irish Republican Army held for internment or imprisonment. On the 20th a district inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary and twenty policemen were ambushed in County Mayo. The police attacked the entrenched position and, after fierce fighting, drove the rebels headlong into flight. The pursuit continued across the country; four rebels were killed and five were wounded and taken prisoner, while one unwounded prisoner was also captured, together with arms, ammunition, and bombs. On the same day several bank robberies were perpetrated, two of them in Dublin. At another ambush on May 23, also in County Mayo, the police engaged the rebels and the fighting continued for fifteen hours.

An audacious *coup* was carried out on May 25 when the Dublin Customs House, which had cost nearly 400,000*l.* to build 130 years ago, was destroyed by fire by a large body of rebels. Petrol, cotton waste, and bombs were used to start the fire, and the Fire Brigade was held up at its station by armed men. Soldiers and police engaged the rebels and a fierce battle developed, in which seven civilians were killed and ten or eleven wounded. Over 100 arrests were made, and it was believed that several rebels were burnt to death. The beautiful building was totally destroyed, for it was found impossible to extinguish the flames. The news of this outrage shook the whole country, and strengthened the demand for bringing to an end the reign of chaos and destruction. One of the first results was a decision on the part of the Cabinet to send large reinforcements of troops to Ireland. The strength of the Forces in Ireland at the time was approximately 50,000 men, but Mr. Lloyd George announced the intention of the Government to increase the military strength at the disposal of the Viceroy. At the end of the month four bombs were thrown and revolver fire directed at two tenders containing members of the Auxiliary Division of the Royal Irish Constabulary in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. The fire was returned, one attacker being wounded and one bomb-thrower captured.

Incendiarism attributed to Sinn Fein occurred also in England during May. Early in the month a timber yard in the Old Kent Road was burnt out, a number of sacks filled with



shavings and soaked with paraffin having previously been placed on the premises. In the middle of the month there was a renewal of the Sinn Fein campaign of outrage on an extended scale. A large number of armed and masked men were concerned in shootings and burnings in London, at St. Albans, and at Liverpool. Five persons were wounded during the raids. In several cases murder was attempted, and in others the destruction of property was aimed at. The persons attacked were mainly connected with the Royal Irish Constabulary. They were gagged and bound, and attempts were made by soaking carpets and clothes with paraffin to set their houses on fire. The raiders then made off in motor cars, and in many cases no arrests were made. Among the victims was Mr. Horace McNeill, whose son-in-law was serving with the Royal Irish Constabulary. It appeared that the Sinn Fein organisation in London had been carefully developed and was in possession of considerable funds. Another outbreak of incendiarism attributed to Sinn Fein took place in the Tyne district on May 21, and was accompanied by outrages and attempted outrages both at Jarrow and at Stockton-on-Tees where a saw-mill was completely destroyed.

The coal strike continued throughout the month of May. The deadlock, which had been reached when we left off the story of the negotiations, continued for several days. The offer of the Government of 10,000,000*l.* remained in force, but there was no extension of the emergency orders. The miners, on their side, maintained great unanimity in supporting the strike. Further curtailment of the train services took place, and fresh restrictions were placed on the consumption of coal, gas, and electricity.

The first move that was made towards attempting to break the deadlock was a proposal by Lord Weir, which was submitted to the Government, the coal-owners, and the miners. Lord Weir's main contention was that all proposals for a settlement, even of a temporary nature based entirely on wage changes, were foredoomed to failure on account of the downward tendency of world coal prices. He argued that any wage settlement that satisfied the miners would cause the closing of many mines, and that one which satisfied the owners would mean a very grave reduction in the miners' standard of living. He suggested, therefore, that the proposals and counter-proposals should be abandoned, and that measures should be taken to reduce the cost of coal, a step which was essential to a revival of industry. In March the cost of coal had been 39*s.* 1*d.* per ton, and to meet industrial needs it was necessary to reduce that figure to something near 20*s.* The largest factor was the wage cost of 27*s.* 9*d.* per ton. Lord Weir's proposals were: to return to the eight-hour shift, which would reduce wage cost to 24*s.* 1*d.* per ton; to restore the 1913 rate of output, reducing the figure to 20*s.* 2*d.*; to eliminate uneconomic pits, reducing it to 19*s.* 2*d.* ;

to reduce wages by 2s. per shift, bringing wage cost per ton to 16s. 2d.; to reduce cost of management, etc. Lord Weir proposed that this scheme should serve as the basis of a two years' settlement and of resumption of work by the miners. The scheme was much talked of, but nothing more came of it. Attempts at reconciliation were, unfortunately, still premature.

The Prime Minister, speaking at Maidstone on May 7, devoted the greater part of his speech to the coal situation. He said that the first thing was to get rid of the notion that there were huge profits in the mines, and that grasping capitalists were trying to rob the miners of their share. The mines were not paying because prices had tumbled down quite suddenly. If the price of home coal were increased the cost of every article would go up. He denied that there was any conspiracy to reduce wages, but insisted that the taxpayers could not be asked to contribute to keep up the wages of one industry. Government control, he said, had done more to destroy the case for nationalisation than a million speeches could have done. The principle of the national pool was a premium on inefficiency; it would mean a gigantic army of inspectors; if we surrendered to threats and starvation and made an improvident peace, we might irretrievably damage the industries of the country.

At the end of the first week in May a serious extension of the coal dispute was threatened by the unofficial action of transport workers in Glasgow. Dockers refused to discharge coal cargoes and went on strike when non-union labour was employed to do so. At the same time the railwaymen of Glasgow decided not to handle sea-borne coal and many of them hoped to bring about a national strike. The Triple Alliance had already, as we have seen, decided against such a course, and the movement was of the nature of a revolt against Trade Union leadership and Executive authority. The Government immediately took firm action, and directed the Caledonian Railway to insist on the performance of duty by its employees. The issue was limited to the transport of coal for public utility services only, not for industrial use. On May 10 railwaymen declined to work on a train carrying sea-borne coal unloaded by non-Union labour, and eight men were suspended by the Caledonian Railway Company. On the same day the Executive of the National Transport Workers' Federation resolved "to tighten the embargo on coal likely to defeat the Miners' Federation" and to consult the railwaymen with that end in view. More employees of the Caledonian Railway were suspended during the following few days, and their reinstatement was immediately demanded by the local secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. The coal blockade—for this was the term by which the transport workers described their proceedings—produced little material effect. On the 12th the Glasgow and West of Scotland District Council of the National

Union of Railwaymen decided to strike the following evening, in order to enforce the reinstatement of men suspended for refusing to handle coal. This decision was taken without the sanction of the Union Executive which met the Transport Workers' Federation Executive on the following day to consider jointly the policy of the coal embargo. The threatened strike did not take place. The leaders of the men deprecated the policy of a sectional strike, and represented to the proposed strikers that reinstatement could be more easily secured by peaceable means. Accordingly the local members of the National Union of Railwaymen at Glasgow decided to abandon their strike policy. The position then created was that the transport workers and the railwaymen were in agreement in refusing to handle foreign coal for any purpose, and the railwaymen, in addition, went back on their former expression of willingness to handle coal required for public utility services. The Government, on the other hand, announced its intention to continue to import such foreign coal as might be necessary to maintain vital public services, and to distribute it by means of any labour that was available. In point of fact they experienced no difficulty in doing so.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke on the coal situation in the House of Commons on May 13. He said that the last thing the Government wanted to do was to starve the miners into surrender. We owed them too heavy a war debt to embark upon such a policy as that. He repudiated the argument that it would have paid to make peace on almost any terms; that was like saying that because it cost more to defend oneself it was always better to give way. Where, he asked, was that sort of thing to end? Obviously the parties must be brought together again, but it must be at the right moment; a premature meeting would delay the chances of peace. Mr. Lloyd George's speech was couched in an optimistic vein which led to a general impression that he anticipated a favourable turn of affairs before very long.

The next step attempted in order to bring about a termination of the dispute was at the initiative of Lord Londonderry. He addressed to his fellow coal-owners in Durham and Northumberland a proposal for amalgamation of the various coal undertakings in the United Kingdom, with a view to the organisation of the industry on more efficient and economical lines. Lord Londonderry suggested that the industry should be organised by districts so as to reduce the overhead charges and the cost of distributing the coal, which were now incidental to the control of the 3,000 mines in the United Kingdom by more than 1,400 different undertakings. In this way Lord Londonderry believed that the price of coal could be largely reduced without undue diminution of the miners' wages and without the unrest and discontent which such diminution would entail. He believed also that his proposal would secure the

advantages without the disadvantages inherent in nationalisation. On the whole Lord Londonderry's proposal did not recommend itself to the coal-owners, but by this time a very genuine demand for peace had arisen both among them and among the men, and informal discussions continued to take place. On May 18 representative coal-owners visited Mr. Lloyd George in London. At the same time Mr. Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation, went to Yorkshire for the purpose of a consultation with Mr. Herbert Smith, acting President of the Federation. Fresh suggestions for a settlement continued to be made, as for instance one by Sir Henry Keith, a well-known arbiter in coal disputes, who submitted to the Prime Minister a scheme for the payment as wages to the miners of such sums as were equivalent to the increased cost of living, maintaining, and possibly improving the pre-war standard. If these informal discussions and suggestions led to no immediate result, they indicated at all events the desire on both sides to bring the present disastrous situation to an end.

At length Mr. Lloyd George arrived at the conclusion that the time had arrived for making a fresh effort to bring together the contending parties. On May 25 he issued invitations for a meeting at the Board of Trade of the Executive bodies of the Mining Association and the Miners' Federation. In his opening address to this Conference, the Prime Minister delivered a speech in which he began by pointing out that the coal stoppage had now lasted eight weeks, and was causing much suffering and some privation. He said that the business community as a whole would nevertheless rather that the stoppage continued unless they could obtain a real settlement, bringing definite peace and providing cheaper coal. Unless the parties were prepared to deal on that basis further Conferences would be idle. He said that the Government would take no part in any temporary arrangement unless they were assured that it would lead to a permanent arrangement. They would not put a single Treasury Note on the table until they knew that the terms of a permanent settlement were agreed upon, nor would the Government subsidise the industry. The offer of 10,000,000*l.* to help to meet the wage deficiency during a temporary period was not withdrawn, but it would not be increased. Describing the position at the present moment, Mr. Lloyd George said that in principle a standard wage, a standard profit, and a division of any surplus proceeds of the industry between wages and profits in a settled ratio had been agreed upon, but there was disagreement about the amount of the standard wage, the amount of the standard profit, and the ratio in which the surplus should be divided. If, after a fixed period, the parties had not come to a definite agreement, then they must establish machinery which would come into operation with full powers to determine the issues between the parties. The proposal of the Govern-

ment was for a temporary settlement by which wages would be scaled down gradually to the economic level, the deficiency being made up out of the grant of 10,000,000*l.* and out of the proceeds of the offer of the owners to forego their profits altogether for a period. Finally Mr. Lloyd George defined the attitude of the Government as one that was strictly impartial between the parties.

Following upon this Conference a number of separate meetings took place. The Owners' and Miners' Executives met in private to discuss the Prime Minister's statement. Subsequently the miners first, and the owners afterwards, conferred with the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street, and lastly there was another meeting of the Miners' Executive.

As the result of these meetings Mr. Lloyd George formulated definite proposals which were handed to the representatives both of the owners and the miners. The leading feature of the scheme was that there should be a temporary arrangement leading up to a permanent arrangement. During the temporary arrangement it was proposed that there should be a gradual scaling down of wages until they reached the economic level which the industry was capable of sustaining. The length of this period depended partly on the amount available from external sources for making up the difference between the economic capacity of the mines and the actual payment of wages, and partly on the amount of reduction immediately made in the wages. The sums available for covering the deficiency during the temporary period were derived firstly from the grant of 10,000,000*l.* from the Exchequer, and secondly from the surrender by the owners of the right to take out of the industry those sums which, in the scheme adopted by the miners and the mine-owners, would be attributed to the owners as standard profits for a period of three months in the districts in which Government assistance was required.

As regards the permanent scheme, the Prime Minister's proposal was based upon the fact that the parties were unable to agree upon the terms of a settlement. He said, therefore, that the controversy must be decided by one of the three following methods: (1) that a National Wages Board should be set up, composed of equal numbers of representatives of the coal-owners and miners, over which a neutral chairman with a casting vote should preside: (2) that a tribunal of three persons should be established to decide the matters at issue: (3) that the questions in dispute should be referred to a single arbitrator. The decision of the body or person selected was to be binding upon both parties for a period of twelve months, and thereafter subject to three months' notice on either side. At this point we may break off the history of these negotiations and turn to other events which occurred during May [*v. p.* 71].

Reductions in wages were gradually being brought about great deal less disturbance than

that which occurred in the mining industry. In the building trade wage rates began to be reduced in the middle of May as a result of a two days' conference of a newly formed National Wages Council for the building trade. In general the reduction was to the extent of about 2*d.* an hour.

Among railway workers there seemed to be little sign of discontent, and general satisfaction was expressed with the Railways Bill of the Government, which was introduced into the House of Commons early in May. The object of this Bill was to put the railways of the country into certain groups in order to effect economy. All reductions in rates would be divided in the proportion of 80 per cent. to the users and 20 per cent. to the companies. On the decision of the Railway Companies themselves it had been settled that workmen-directors should be dropped from the Management Board, and that the National Wages Board should be accepted.

The second reading of this Bill was taken on May 26, and Mr. Clynes then moved its rejection on the ground that it did not provide for the public ownership and control of the railways, but provided for the payment to the Railway Companies of a sum in excess of the amount due to them in consequence of temporary State control. Major Hills suggested that the Government should not exercise control over the work of the railways so long as the management was efficient. Mr. Lambert, Mr. Henderson, Colonel Gretton, and others criticised the measure adversely, but the motion for rejection of the second reading was negatived by a majority of 194, and the Bill was then referred to a Standing Committee.

Protests on the subject of local rating took the form of a motion brought forward by Mr. A. Sprot attacking the working of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, on the ground that it inflicted a heavy burden on certain ratepayers in Scotland, and had not increased the efficiency of education. Mr. Munro then announced that a Committee had been appointed to inquire into rating in Scotland, and explained that the working of the Education Act was answerable for less than 1*d.* in the £ of extra money taken from the ratepayers, the remainder being due to transitory adjustments. These adjustments were now at an end, and there would be about 1,000,000*l.* available for reduction of rates, equal to a reduction of 9*d.* in the £.

Several other minor Bills may here be alluded to. One was the Guardianship of Infants Bill, the object of which was to place husband and wife on an equal footing with regard to the control and upbringing of their children. It also obliged parents to maintain and bring up their children according to their respective means. This Bill passed its second reading on May 6. Several Bills were introduced during the session to prohibit the importation of plumage, and one of these eventually passed into law after it had been amended to the extent of

exempting plumage worn by a passenger if *bona fide* intended for his personal use.

A much more important subject which occupied the House of Commons during May was that of the safeguarding of industries, on which the Government introduced one of their chief Bills of the session. The financial resolutions of this Bill were discussed in the House of Commons on May 9, 10, and 11. Mr. Baldwin brought forward resolutions imposing a Customs tax of 33½ per cent. of the value of the article for the period of five years upon certain imported scientific and optical instruments, and certain imported chemicals, and on imported articles of any description in respect of which an order had been made by the Board of Trade. This proposal was attacked by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Clynes, but was carried by a majority of 210. The passage of the other resolutions through Committee were characterised by a frequent application of the closure, but no amendments were made.

Much public interest was aroused by a statement of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on May 9 that the Government had decided that the allowance of 400*l.* a year to members should not be subject to income tax, and that first-class fares should be granted to members from London to their constituencies. This proposal was justified on the ground that the 400*l.* salary should be regarded as an allowance for expenses and therefore exempted from taxation. Nevertheless it aroused much public criticism and did not appear to be popular even in the House of Commons itself. It was estimated that the remission of income tax on the whole of the 400*l.* would cause a loss to the Exchequer of 50,000*l.* It was also calculated that the payment of travelling expenses would cost the State 75,000*l.* even if there were no Autumn session. An Autumn session would increase the cost by 55,000*l.* to 130,000*l.*

The matter was raised in the House of Commons, on the motion for the salaries and expenses of members, on June 1. The vote was for 75,010*l.* Mr. Chamberlain explained that the allowance of 400*l.* paid to members since 1911 was now inadequate; for this reason the Government had suggested that first-class passes on the railways should be given to all members, and that members should make a return of the amount of their expenses which would, as in any other case, be exempt from income tax. This attitude conceded something to the criticisms which had been directed against the original proposal, for under the revised suggestion of the Government only such part of the 400*l.* salary would be relieved from income tax as might be put under the heading of necessary expenditure. Nevertheless criticism continued to be vigorous. The Government did not put on their whips, but left the matter to the discretion of the House; and the proposal for free railway passes was defeated by a majority of twenty-six.

The call for economy gave rise to a decrease in the estimates

of many of the Government departments, including the Ministry of Health which, in the course of the year, reduced its expenditure by over 3,000,000*l.* The Navy estimates also, as we have already mentioned, showed substantial reductions. About this time the Admiralty decided on the policy of building ships to burn oil fuel only on the ground of its greater cheapness and easier handling. The amount required in the present year to feed ships with oil on the ordinary ocean routes was 428,000*l.*

The second reading of the Finance Bill was taken on May 25. An amendment was moved by Mr. Bottomley regretting that the country should be taxed to double the extent of the pre-war period, and asking the Government to exercise rigid economy in the current financial year with a view to lessening taxation. Economy was also urged by Lord Robert Cecil and Sir D. Maclean. Sir Frederick Banbury pointed out that the Post Office expenditure was now 67,000,000*l.* as compared with 17,000,000*l.* before the war. In short, economy appeared to be the main concern of Parliament throughout the discussions on the Finance Bill, which was eventually read a second time.

The most important Bill dealt with during June was the Safeguarding of Industries Bill, the object of which was to impose Customs Duties on certain goods with a view to the safeguarding of certain special industries, and the safeguarding of employment in British industries against the effects of the depreciation of foreign currencies, and the disposal of imported goods at prices below the cost of production. The Bill, which was commonly referred to as the Key Industries Bill, was a departure from the strict principles of free trade; it aimed to prohibit dumping and also to ensure the preservation of industries in this country which might be vital in time of war. The rejection of the Bill was moved on its second reading by Sir Donald Maclean on the ground that it would injure our export trade and send up prices at home. Mr. Baldwin pointed out, however, that economic conditions had become changeful and shifting, and that the Bill was an attempt to meet changed circumstances by giving some measure of protection, for the time being, to our key industries. The second reading debate occupied two days, and then only came to an end on an application of the closure, when the motion for rejection was negatived by a majority of 220.

The Committee stage was dealt with at the end of June. Amendments were proposed and rejected providing that the Bill should not come into force until January, 1922; that an article coming under Part I. of the Bill should not have to pay a second duty under Part II., and omitting the paragraph which dealt with dumping due to the effect of exchanges. Major Barnes moved that the Committee to be constituted for the purpose of inquiry into the effect of dumping on employment should also report as to whether orders made under this part of



the Act would diminish the aggregate employment in the United Kingdom. Mr. Asquith supported the amendment, which was negatived by a majority of 129. An amendment was rejected which aimed at preventing cumulative duties being levied under the Bill, and also one for reducing the Customs Duty payable from one-third to one-tenth of the value of the goods.

A new Unemployment Insurance Bill was dealt with during June, the object of which was to vary the rates of contributions and the rates and period of benefit under the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920 and the Amending Act of 1921 which we have already alluded to. The Bill proposed to reduce the unemployment benefit to the rate of 15s. for men and 12s. for women, with proportionate reductions for boys and girls. The contributions under the Bill would be, as from July 4, men 7*d.* and their employers 3*d.*, while the State added a fourth as heretofore. Dr. Macnamara, in introducing the Bill, said that it had been rendered necessary by the continued increase of unemployment occasioned chiefly by the coal stoppage. The second reading was duly carried on June 15, after a motion for the rejection had been negatived. In the Committee stage an amendment was added for the purpose of providing that where an insured contributor had refused suitable employment and had therefore been refused the benefit, such benefit should, on the renewal of application, be reviewed every six weeks. Mr. Clynes moved a new clause designed to avoid injustice to individual workmen forced to be out of work through no fault of their own, but the amendment was negatived by a majority of forty. A new clause was agreed to which enabled workmen under Poor Law administration to continue their unemployment benefits from one Authority to another. A motion that the unemployment benefit for men should be 18s. a week was rejected. The motion for the third reading was opposed by Mr. Clynes, but carried by a majority of 159. Certain amendments were introduced in the House of Lords, most of which were agreed to by the House of Commons, and the royal assent was given on July 1.

Allusion has already been made to the increased expenditure on the Post Office. In 1913-14 the net revenue of the Post Office was 32,783,000*l.* and the expenditure on salaries was 15,730,000*l.* In 1920-21 the net revenue was 58,178,000*l.*, and the expenditure on salaries was 45,000,000*l.* The Post Office vote was taken on June 9, when Mr. Kellaway stated that on last year's working there had been a deficit of 7,300,000*l.* This, he said, was partly a result of the postponement of the increased telephone charges to April 1, and partly of the depression in trade. He did not propose to make any increase in the foreign printed paper rate. The expenditure for the present year was estimated at 70,000,000*l.* It had been decided to establish an Advisory Council of business men, and also in the Post Office a Board of the heads of each branch of the work.

The reduction of the vote was moved as a protest against the increase in the charges, but after a debate was negatived by a majority of seventy-eight.

Among the Bills dealt with during June was the Deceased Brother's Widow's Marriage Bill, which was the counterpart to the Deceased Wife's Sister's Act of 1917. It experienced, however, very much less opposition than had attended the earlier Act. In the House of Lords it was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, but supported by Lord Haldane, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Buckmaster, and the second reading was carried by a majority of thirty-eight. In the Committee stage the Bishop of Norwich moved an amendment, the object of which was to relieve the clergy of the necessity of publishing banns of marriages under the Act if they had conscientious scruples. The amendment was withdrawn, and another moved by Lord Haldane was carried, enabling a substituted clergyman to be brought in, with the permission of the incumbent of the church, to proclaim the banns of marriage between a man and his dead brother's widow. This amendment, however, was reversed during the third reading. A similar amendment was moved in the House of Commons by Lord Hugh Cecil, but failed to find support. Another amendment, however, was agreed to, for the purpose of putting the deceased brother's widow in the same position as the deceased wife's sister. The royal assent was given later in the summer.

On a supplementary vote of 27,197,000*l.* for Middle-Eastern Services, Mr. Churchill stated that it had been decided to reduce the garrison in Mesopotamia, which would effect a net saving of 4,500,000*l.* It was intended to replace the provisional Government there in the course of the summer by a Government based on an Assembly elected by the Arab people, and to instal an Arab ruler acceptable to the Assembly. The Arab Army, he said, was already partly formed, and its cost would be defrayed from Mesopotamian revenue. The British garrison in Palestine consisted of 7,000 men, and could not at present be further reduced. An amendment for the reduction of the vote was withdrawn after a short debate. On the report of the vote the amendment was again moved, but negatived by a majority of eighty-seven.

The campaign for economy gave rise, during June, to a manifesto and pledge signed by 170 members of the House of Commons, and presented officially to Mr. Austen Chamberlain. The manifesto stated that the signatories viewed with grave concern the practice of the Government in spending public money before the sanction of the House had been obtained. It recognised that in case of sudden and unforeseen emergency this might exceptionally be inevitable, but the signatories expressed their conviction that it cut at the root of all Parliamentary control, and they announced their intention in future to vote against any unauthorised expenditure

unless fully persuaded that such emergency expenditure was unavoidable, and that it had been submitted for the sanction of the House at the earliest possible moment. All but fourteen of the signatories were Unionists desirous of giving Mr. Chamberlain their support in his Leadership of the House, but still more desirous of making a stand for economy, even at the risk of defeating the Government. The fourteen non-Unionists included several Independent members who gave the Government general support; two Independent Conservatives, who sat and voted with the Opposition; six Coalition Liberals, and one Coalition Labour member.

In reply to this manifesto Mr. Chamberlain denied that the Government had departed from the practice of its predecessors, and reproached the memorialists by exhorting them to a more constant and active support of the Government in the measures which it was impelled to take to restore the national finances to a sound condition.

The Finance Bill was considered in Committee at intervals during June. Major Barnes moved an amendment designed to do away with the differentiation in the duty between British and foreign tea, and Mr. N. McLean moved that the increased duty on tea should be abolished, but both amendments were negatived, as also was one providing for the cessation of the import duty of  $33\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. levied on certain manufactured goods. An amendment, moved with the object of giving income tax relief to a person suffering from diminishing profits, was negatived by a majority of 143. One limiting the incidence of the Corporation Profits Tax was negatived, and also one for exempting from the tax Societies working under the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts. A suggestion that a widower or widow should be entitled to a deduction of 22*l.* on the income tax in respect of his or her housekeeper was rejected, and another which proposed to increase from 45*l.* to 75*l.* the personal allowance in respect of a widowed mother.

In the House of Lords the Dentists' Bill was carried during June. This Bill was aimed against unqualified practice, and provided for the establishment of a Dental Board to be responsible for the registration of dentists and for admission to the profession. An amendment was moved prohibiting any person from practising unless he were a registered dentist, but it failed to obtain support and the Bill duly passed into law.

A small Bill passed by the House of Commons during June was the National Health Insurance Bill, amending the National Health Insurance Acts, 1911-20, by increasing the amount payable to Insurance Committees on account of their administrative expenses, and reducing the number of members of Insurance Committees. Sir A. Mond, in moving the second reading, explained that the Bill enabled the administration

allowance for Approved Societies to be increased from 4s. 5*d.* to 4s. 10*d.* per member, without raising the contributions or reducing the benefits of insured members. No amendments were added in the House of Lords and the Bill passed into law.

The first Imperial Conference to be held since the war, was opened on June 20 at 10 Downing Street. The United Kingdom was represented by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Churchill; Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa all sent their Prime Ministers to represent them, namely, Mr. Arthur Meighen, Mr. W. M. Hughes, Mr. W. F. Massey, and General Smuts. India was represented by Mr. Montagu and two Indian gentlemen. The proceedings were opened by a speech from Mr. Lloyd George, in which he said that the British Empire from end to end was bound both by honour and by interests, to the Treaties which had been signed. Unless Treaty faith was maintained an era of disorganisation, increasing misery, and smouldering war would continue, and civilisation might very easily be destroyed by a prolongation of that state of things. Our foreign policy could never range itself in any sense upon the differences of race and civilisation between East and West, for that would be fatal to the Empire. Friendly co-operation with the United States was for us a cardinal principle, and Mr. Lloyd George added that we were ready to discuss with American statesmen any proposal for the limitation of armaments which they might wish to set out. He insisted that the very life of the United Kingdom, and indeed of the whole Empire, had been built upon sea power, and that sea power was necessarily the basis for the existence of the whole Empire. He invited any suggestions as to methods by which the business of the Dominions in London might be transacted with greater dignity and efficiency. He also welcomed any suggestions which might be made for associating the Dominions more closely with the conduct of foreign relations. Finally, he affirmed that the British Empire was the most hopeful experiment in human organisation which the world had yet seen, and that its binding principle was liberty.

At the next meeting of the Conference speeches were made on behalf of India and the Dominions. Mr. Meighen spoke first on behalf of Canada. He referred to the Japanese Treaty and the deliberations for its renewal, saying that it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of the observations made by Mr. Lloyd George in this connexion. He agreed that it was possible that in the outlying Dominions they were not disposed to give the same attention to the paramount necessity of seeing that no step was taken that left out of mind the importance of mitigating racial divisions. As to suspicions of designs on the autonomy of the Dominions, and conspiracies to bring about revolutionary changes in our constitutional relations, Mr. Meighen did not think that any responsible representative

of any Dominion—and certainly no member of the Government of Canada—required to have his mind cleansed of evil thought in that respect. Referring to the problem of publicity for the proceedings of the Conference, he admitted that it was not a simple one, but suggested that it was better to err on the side of publicity than on the side of secrecy.

Mr. Meighen was followed by Mr. Hughes, who said that foreign policy was the concern of the whole Empire, though for many years it had been regarded as the sole prerogative of Great Britain. He agreed that the case for the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was very strong, if not indeed overwhelming. In any case we must have such naval defence as was necessary for our security. They could not fairly ask for the right to decide the foreign policy of the Empire, and at the same time refuse to take any part in naval defence.

General Smuts then spoke on behalf of South Africa. He said that armaments depended upon policy, and he therefore pressed very strongly that our policy should be such as to make the race for armaments impossible. That should be the cardinal feature of our foreign policy, and in his opinion the most vital mistake of all would be a race of armaments against America. It seemed clear to him that the only path of safety for the British Empire was a path on which she could walk together with America. All the great parties concerned in the Pacific and in Pacific policy were pledged to friendly conference and consultation, either by membership of the League of Nations and its Council, or, in the case of America, by the resolution which had just been passed by the Senate of that country.

Finally Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, on behalf of India, remarked that while India had not yet acquired full dominion status, they realised that they were planted firmly on the road to the acquisition of that status. He entered a plea on behalf of those citizens of India who were already domiciled in the various Dominions. He pleaded that where they were lawfully settled they should be admitted into the general body of citizenship, and no deductions made from the rights that other British subjects enjoyed.

Following upon these speeches Mr. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, delivered an address on Imperial questions, in which he insisted on the enormous value of the Crown Colonies to the Empire at large and the need to develop them, making special reference to East Africa, Nigeria, and the Federated Malay States. He dwelt on the desirability of closer relations between the Dominions and Crown Colonies, naming as an instance the agreement between Canada and the West Indies. He emphasised the need of settling the status of Rhodesia whose ultimate entry into the Union of South Africa he regarded as assured. On the question of Indian settlers, Mr. Churchill said that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man of merit from reaching any

station if he was fitted for it. At any rate he did not feel able to adopt any lesser statement of principle in regard to the Crown Colonies. The further proceedings of the Imperial Conference will be referred to later.

Meanwhile some excitement took place in the House of Commons over the question of Dr. Addison's salary. It will be remembered that on April 1 Dr. Addison had been transferred from his post as Minister of Health and appointed Minister without Portfolio at a salary of 5,000*l.* a year. The appointment caused widespread criticism among those who had adopted the watchword of economy, and it appeared to be very doubtful whether the Government would be able to count upon the support of its followers when the vote for Ministerial offices came up for discussion. In short, it became clear that a continuance of the salary of 5,000*l.* a year would not be countenanced by the House, and that some concession would have to be made by the Government. Accordingly Mr. Lloyd George threw little energy into the defence of the appointment when the subject was discussed on June 23. He pointed out that Dr. Addison was chairman of four important Cabinet Committees, one dealing with local taxation, and another with questions arising out of unemployment, and that he was a member of six other Committees. He credited Dr. Addison with the main responsibility for the great system of costings, which, during the war, had reduced the cost of the provision of munitions by hundreds of millions. The House was obviously unsympathetic, and finally Mr. Lloyd George announced that the Government did not propose to retain the services of the Minister without Portfolio beyond the end of the session.

This, however, was not sufficient to meet the views of members, and Colonel Guinness moved to reduce the salary of the Minister without Portfolio by 2,500*l.* This figure, indeed, had been suggested as a compromise by Mr. Lloyd George himself, and on that basis it was announced that the Government proposed to treat the vote as a question of confidence. These concessions allayed all further excitement, for the House had now obtained almost complete victory for its views.

Not much interest was taken on the votes for the other Government offices. A reduction was moved in respect of the salaries of the Parliamentary Secretaries of the Treasury, but negatived by a majority of fifty-eight. A special vote was necessary to meet expenses arising from the Government control of railways and canals. This vote had been rendered necessary by the coal dispute, and a motion for its reduction was negatived by a majority of 118.

Outrages continued to be perpetrated in Ireland throughout the month of June. On the first day of the month it was reported that rebels had exploded a land mine under a party of the Hampshire Regiment, killing six of the party and wounding twenty-one. The survivors fired on the attackers, and, with

the aid of reinforcements, pursued them, making several arrests. Shortly afterwards a police patrol was ambushed in County Kerry, a district inspector and three constables being killed, while three more constables were wounded. Next day a patrol of seventeen members of the Royal Irish Constabulary were attacked by about 100 armed civilians, and a district inspector, a sergeant, and four constables were killed. Another party of twelve police cyclists in County Tipperary was attacked by 200 rebels concealed in woods, and four of them were killed and five wounded.

June 4-5 was a night of alarm in Dublin. As the result of shooting in different parts of the city, and an attempt to bomb soldiers, four persons lost their lives and at least a dozen others, including two policemen, were wounded. On the 8th two civilians and one policeman were killed at Newry, County Down. An attempt was made to ambush a police cycle patrol near the town; the police returned the fire and reinforcements quickly arrived. The two civilians were members of the attacking party. About the same time a document was captured in Dublin giving the terms of a proposed Treaty between the Russian Soviet and the Irish Republics.

In the middle of the month rioting occurred in Belfast. Sinn Feiners indulged in sniping during the morning of June 13, and when Royal Irish Constabulary and Special Constables arrived on the scene, fire was opened upon them. The sniping went on for a considerable period, the Sinn Feiners mostly remaining indoors and shooting through windows and skylights, so that the task of the police was very difficult. During the suppression of the rioting it was alleged that the Crown Forces had displayed a lack of proper control and discipline, and on June 14 the adjournment of the House of Commons was moved to call attention to this allegation. Sir H. Greenwood then said that there was a deliberate campaign going on, organised by the Sinn Feiners in the North, in the hope of making the Parliament in the North impossible. He assured the House that the Government would take every step to meet this conspiracy.

Disturbances continued in Belfast for another day or two, but they were confined to strictly limited areas, and the normal business of the city proceeded without interruption. In Dublin attacks upon police and troops began to occur at night during Curfew hours. Rifle and machine-gun firing broke out on several occasions, but little damage was done.

On June 16 a patrol of twenty-five auxiliary police, travelling in four lorries, was attacked in County Cork. The road had been mined and three of the mines exploded putting three of the lorries out of action. The fourth mine did not explode and the fourth lorry escaped. The convoy was attacked by between 200 and 300 men who were in ambush, and the fight continued for three hours when the rebels withdrew after several casualties

had been inflicted on both sides. During the week-end of June 18-20 a large number of murders and other outrages were reported. A party of the Wiltshire Regiment, driving in a lorry, were attacked with bombs, and the officer in charge and five men were wounded. The other men in the lorry immediately returned the fire and nine civilians were afterwards taken to hospital. On the 20th Colonel-Commandant Lambert was fired upon when returning by motor from a lawn tennis party and died from the wounds which he received. The wife of another officer who was in the same car was also slightly wounded. Three military officers were murdered in County Tipperary. They had been taking a walk together dressed in civilian clothes, and their bodies were found later with bullet wounds and shot-gun marks on them.

One of the worst outrages of the month, however, was perpetrated about twelve miles north of Dundalk, on June 24, on the Great Northern railway system. A troop train conveying men of the 10th Hussars met with a disaster caused by the explosion of a mine laid by Sinn Feiners on the permanent way. One of the carriages containing men, and over a dozen trucks with horses fell over a steep embankment; three of the soldiers and the guard of the train were killed, and four soldiers were seriously wounded. A number of civilians who were seen running away near the scene of the occurrence were fired upon, and two of them were killed. Before the outrage the telegraph wires north and south of the scene of the occurrence had been cut, and when approaching the place the troops observed signal fires at various points in the adjoining mountains. These signals were believed to be for the purpose of communicating the exact position of the train to those responsible for exploding the mine.

There were further outbreaks of the Sinn Fein campaign in England during June. This campaign centred largely around the Liverpool district, but many outrages occurred in the belt of country surrounding outer London, and the warfare extended even to Eastbourne and Brighton. On the night of June 7 more than 300 telegraph and telephone wires were cut over a wide area in and around Liverpool. Large numbers of police rushed to the scene in motor conveyances and scoured the district, searching for traces of the criminals. Shots were fired at the officers by men from a wood, and the police, after returning the fire, kept a cordon round the copse the whole night, only to find at daybreak that their assailants had escaped in the darkness. During the same night the Sinn Feiners were also busy in Cheshire where sixty wires were cut. At many other places in England telegraph and telephone wires were cut on a smaller scale.

On the night of June 16 a wild Sinn Fein outbreak occurred in the suburbs of London. Railway signalmen were fired at, bound and gagged, and their cabins were set on fire; telegraph



and signal wires were cut, a railway porter and a watchman were attacked, and there was firing between the marauders and the police. The outrages were spread over suburbs on all sides of London. Most of the raiders travelled in motor cars, many of them were masked, and all seemed to have been armed and to have carried wire cutters, petrol, and paraffin.

Attacks on railway signal boxes, similar to the London outrages, were made during the night of June 8 in three different places near Manchester. Two of the signal boxes were empty and were set on fire, while the third was occupied by a defenceless signalman on whom a cowardly attack was made. Without any warning a shot was fired into his cabin by which he was wounded; he switched off the light, but more shots were fired and he was again wounded before his assailants made off. Some further outrages were reported at the same time on London railway premises. On the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway some sleepers were set on fire in a locomotive yard, and a note left behind showing that the outrage had been perpetrated by Sinn Feiners. The fire, however, was promptly extinguished.

The first Parliament of Northern Ireland was opened in Belfast on June 7. The twelve Sinn Fein and Nationalist members did not attend the ceremony, but the forty Unionist members were all present to take their part in so important a scene of Irish history. The proceedings were based on the traditional procedure of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The mace, according to custom, was placed below the table, the Royal Proclamation calling the Parliament was read, and the Lord-Lieutenant then declared that he was commanded by His Majesty to say that as soon as the election of the Senate had been held, and members of both Houses had been sworn, the causes for the summoning of Parliament would be declared.

The first business of the House was the election of a speaker. Major the Hon. Hugh O'Neill was proposed, and no other name being brought forward was unanimously elected. Various Cabinet appointments were afterwards announced. Sir James Craig became Prime Minister; Mr. H. Pollock, Minister of Finance; Sir R. Dawson Bates, Minister for Home Affairs; Mr. J. M. Andrews, Minister of Labour; Lord Londonderry, Minister of Education; and Mr. E. M. Archdale, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. After the transaction of formal business the House adjourned until June 22, news having been received that the King would attend in state formally to open the new Parliament.

The election of the Senate of Northern Ireland was completed on June 12. The Nationalist and Sinn Fein Parties, in pursuance of their policy of boycotting the new Parliament, refrained from nominating any candidates, and consequently twenty-four nominees of the Unionists were returned unopposed.

These, with the Lord Mayor of Belfast and the Mayor of Derry who held seats ex-officio, formed the complete Senate.

The King arrived in his yacht *Victoria and Albert* early on the morning of the 22nd, accompanied by a naval escort. There was loud cheering when he came ashore accompanied by the Queen, and their Majesties received a great ovation as they drove away. The chief ceremony of the day took place in the Belfast City Council Chamber which had been converted for the occasion into a Senate House. The benches nearest to the front were occupied by Senators of the Northern Parliament and their ladies. After the Commons had been summoned the King read his speech. He said that this was a profoundly moving occasion in Irish history. He inaugurated the new Parliament with the deep-felt hope that it would be used as an instrument of happiness and good government for all parts of the community which it represented. Few things were more earnestly desired throughout the English-speaking world than a satisfactory solution of the age-long Irish problems which had for generations embarrassed our forefathers as they now weighed heavily upon us. The King expressed confidence that the important matters under the control of the Northern Parliament would be managed with wisdom and moderation, with fairness and due regard to every faith and interest, and with no abatement of that patriotic devotion to the Empire which they had proved so gallantly in the great war. He appealed to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and to forget, and to join in making for the land which they loved a new era of peace, contentment, and goodwill. It was his earnest desire that in Southern Ireland there might also take place before long a similar ceremony.

After the opening of the Northern Parliament the King went to the Ulster Hall, where a number of addresses were presented to him, to which he read a general reply. He reiterated the appeal which he had already made to the members of the new Parliament, and prayed with earnest confidence that, in the era now opening, there would be a readiness on all sides to work in harmony for the common good.

At the conclusion of the proceedings in Ulster Hall the King and Queen, amid a scene of great enthusiasm, drove in an open carriage through the streets on their return to the *Victoria and Albert*. Throughout the day there was no suggestion of any unfortunate incident, and it was even questioned whether the elaborate military and police precautions taken to ensure the safety of the King had been really necessary. Vociferous cheering met their Majesties wherever they went, and the King's speech in opening the new Parliament created a profound impression on all who heard it. When the King arrived back in London the following day he received a great welcome, and there was general satisfaction at the unqualified success of a step which had caused much anxious anticipation beforehand.

Meanwhile the negotiations for an Irish truce continued to make progress. The position was complicated by the certainty that the Southern Parliament would not meet, and the Cabinet were seriously considering the question of Crown Colony government for Ireland. The Home Rule Act provided that if the Southern Parliament, after being summoned, failed to meet, the government should be carried on by the Viceroy. This was one alternative, the other being to endeavour to arrange terms with the South. The principal feature suggested as the basis for this second policy was fiscal autonomy for Ireland, the questions reserved to the Imperial Parliament being those of defence and foreign relations. As between these two policies the Cabinet appeared to be almost equally divided, but the King's speech weighed the scales in favour of peace, and on June 24 Mr. Lloyd George despatched letters to Sir James Craig and Mr. de Valera inviting them to a Conference in London "to explore to the utmost the possibility of a settlement." The Government offered a safe conduct to all who might be chosen to participate in the Conference.

Sir James Craig placed the invitation before his Cabinet, who unanimously decided, on June 28, to accept it. Mr. de Valera replied that he did not see any avenue by which peace could be reached if essential unity was denied to Ireland, and the principle of national self-determination set aside. Before replying more fully, therefore, he would seek a conference with certain representatives of the political minority in Ireland.

Accordingly Mr. de Valera addressed a letter to Sir James Craig expressing a desire to confer with him before replying to the invitation of Mr. Lloyd George. This suggestion was at once declined by Sir James Craig on the ground that he had already announced his readiness to meet the Sinn Fein leader in London, and Mr. de Valera then approached the Southern Unionist leaders with a view to a Conference. The further history of these negotiations will be dealt with in the next chapter.

A formal meeting of the Parliament of Southern Ireland was held on June 28 at Dublin. The proceedings were the mere shadow of a ceremony. Only 15 out of 64 Senators, and only 4 out of 128 members of the Lower House attended and took the oath. The session was then adjourned until July 13, on which date, if the statutory proportion of the members of both Houses had not taken the oath of allegiance, the Parliament would lapse.

The coal industry was not the only industry in which labour troubles were experienced during the summer. Proposed reductions of wages in the cotton trade resulted in the threat of a strike at the beginning of June which would affect over 600,000 workers. The existing wage agreement was due to expire on June 4, and the proposal of the employers was for a reduction equal to 5s. in the £. To this the operatives made a counter-offer to submit to a reduction of 2s. 6d. in the £ on

their present full-time earnings. Prolonged negotiations between the cotton masters and operatives on June 3 failed to reach a settlement on the question of the amount of reduction, and a strike began at noon on June 4. Action was immediately taken by the Minister of Labour, who invited the representatives of the employers and of the operatives to meet him on June 7. The object of the Minister was to induce the parties to meet and reach some sort of a compromise, and after the negotiations had several times very nearly broken down, provisional terms of settlement were at length reached on June 15. They provided for a reduction of 70 per cent. on the standard piece price list rates of wages equivalent to a reduction of 4*s.* 5*d.* in the £ on current wages. Of this 70 per cent. reduction, 60 per cent. was to come into operation forthwith, while the remaining 10 per cent. was to take effect at the end of six months. At any time after the expiration of six months either side desiring an alteration in the rates of wages, were to give three months' notice to the other side of the alteration which they desired. This compromise represented great concessions on both sides, the employers having originally demanded a reduction of 6*s.* in the £, while the operatives had offered to accept the equivalent of about 2*s.* in the £.

The terms of settlement were accepted by a joint meeting of delegates representing the three organisations of operatives, but the spinners separately refused at first to fall in, and an unexpected delay occurred in terminating the strike. It was not until June 23 that they at length gave way, and the formal ratifications of peace were exchanged on the following day. Thereupon the mills re-opened and the strike was at an end.

Corresponding reductions of wages took place in the woollen industry with much less disturbance. The reductions ranged from 13*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* 5*d.* per week for men, and affected 200,000 operatives.

A crisis also arose during the month in the engineering industry, owing to the breakdown of negotiations on the wage reductions which had been notified by the employers. These reductions amounted to 6*s.* per week for time workers and 15 per cent. on piece-work rates, together with the abolition in September of the bonus of 12½ per cent. for time workers and 7½ per cent. for piece workers on total earnings granted to meet special war-time conditions. The proposal was subsequently modified to the extent that the reduction should take place in two steps at a month's interval instead of all at once. This suggestion was based on the shipbuilding agreement which was on precisely similar lines. A strike was called for June 15, the number of employees affected being 1½ millions, but at the last moment intervention by the Minister of Labour led to a resumption of negotiations, and a suspension of the strike notices for a fortnight was ordered. During the interval a ballot took place on modified terms offered by the employers. The effect of this

modified offer was to postpone the first half of the reduction already referred to until the first week in October, and the second half to such time as the cost of living index figure might fall to 115, but not in any case earlier than the beginning of November. The war bonuses were to be removed in three stages in July, August, and September.

The result of the ballot on the terms offered by the employers was announced on June 29, and showed a majority of more than two to one against acceptance. Conferences, however, were immediately resumed in the hope that a settlement might yet be reached without recourse to a stoppage of work. These new negotiations resulted in a further modification of the terms whereby the reduction in wages should come into force as already proposed, but the question of the war bonus should be deferred and again considered during September. The representatives of the Trade Unions in the engineering industry agreed to have another ballot and recommend these improved terms to the men. This new ballot took place about a fortnight later and showed a majority in favour of accepting the terms. No strike, therefore, took place and peace reigned in the industry once more.

The coal strike continued throughout the month of June, but the miners were gradually weakening, and their ultimate defeat became more certain as the month went on. Train services, instead of deteriorating further, began to improve; in a number of industries oil began to be used for driving the engines; at the beginning of the month the embargo placed by the railwaymen and transport workers on imported coal came to an end. In most districts there had been a marked reluctance on the part of the men to comply with the order for the embargo, and when the Ministry of Transport had given an assurance that no imported coal would be used except for vital public services, and that members of the Unions who had been suspended would be reinstated, the Unions concerned definitely withdrew their instructions to their members to refuse to handle coal, and henceforward coal was imported without any further difficulty. The situation was so improved that the Army Reserve which had been called up on April 8 was demobilised at the beginning of June, the new Defence Force being found quite sufficient for the preservation of public order.

The reply of the Miners' Federation to the Government proposals submitted on May 28 [v. p. 55], was conveyed to the Prime Minister on June 3. The Executive of the Federation limited themselves to informing Mr. Lloyd George that they had received the replies from their districts upon the Government proposals, and that in every instance these proposals had been rejected. Thereupon the Government informed the miners that they had nothing further to propose, and that the offer of 10,000,000*l.* for the purpose of temporarily easing the wage difficulties could not remain open longer than another fortnight. This period

was allowed in order to give sufficient time for a ballot of members of the Federation, if it was desired to take one, or for a settlement to be approached by other means.

No time was lost in ascertaining whether other means would be likely to effect a reconciliation. After an interval of nearly eleven weeks leaders of the coal-owners and of the miners met on June 6 and discussed for several hours the various points in dispute. This discussion led to further steps. It was decided to hold a full delegate Conference of the Miners' Federation on June 10 when the Executive Committee would recommend a ballot on the proposals of the Government and the owners. The proposals on which the ballot was to be taken involved a temporary scheme of settlement, and also a permanent scheme. Under the temporary scheme reduction in wages was not to exceed 2s. per shift for workers over sixteen until August 1; after August 1 further reductions were to be enforced until the Government grant had been exhausted. The permanent scheme provided for a National Board to fix principles for the guidance of District Boards with reference to the ratio of profits to wages and the new standard wage. District Boards were to fix a minimum for the lowest paid day worker, which would secure him a subsistence wage. The decisions of the National Board were to continue for twelve months, and were afterwards to be determined by three months' notice on either side.

As to the exact amount of the reduction after August 1, this would naturally depend upon the period of time over which the Government grant of 10,000,000*l.* was to be spread. The question, therefore, put to the miners at the ballot was whether they were to continue fighting on for the principles of the National Wages Board and the National Pool, thereby losing the Government subsidy, or whether they were to accept the terms offered by the Government and the owners.

The result of the ballot was announced on June 17, and gave a large majority in favour of continuing the strike. A question had arisen whether a bare majority would have sufficed to maintain the strike according to Union rules, but the actual majority gave a clear margin of more than 20,000 votes over what would have been a two-thirds majority, and the question therefore was left unsettled. The decision of the men was immediately communicated to the Government with the intimation that in view of the ballot the stoppage must continue. The Prime Minister thereupon informed the Executive of the Miners' Federation that the offer of a grant of 10,000,000*l.* could no longer remain open.

There was no doubt that the miners' leaders had been extremely anxious to see the proposals of the Government accepted. Their funds were nearly exhausted, and they knew that it would be impossible to continue the strike much longer. The decision of their followers placed them, therefore, in a very difficult situation; and though they took every possible measure

to improve their position, they were unable to do much. They decided forthwith to seek a meeting with the Executives of all Unions affected by wage disputes, with the object of taking national action. In reply they received much sympathy, but virtually no offers of material assistance. The movement, in fact, never had the slightest prospect of success, and before the negotiations had reached the point of a Conference, this last forlorn hope was abandoned and a new move towards peace suddenly appeared on the horizon.

For no sooner had the result of the ballot been declared, in which the proposals of the Government appeared to be so definitely rejected, than fresh negotiations were set on foot in which the miners' leaders showed a far more genuine desire for peace than they had yet exhibited. The Prime Minister was requested by the Miners' Executive to call fresh Coal Conferences, and on June 27 the miners and owners at length succeeded in reaching a provisional agreement. The main points of this agreement were as follows: National and District Wages Boards were to be established with equal representation of both sides and independent chairmen; district wages were to be in the form of a percentage upon the district basis rates, periodically adjusted and determined by the proceeds of the industry in each district ascertained after joint audit. Wages above the standard were to amount to a sum equal to 83 per cent. of the proceeds after allowance for standard wages, for other costs of production, and for 17 per cent. of the aggregate standard wages to be devoted to standard profits. A subsistence wage for low-paid day workers was to be decided by the District Wages Board, or, failing agreement, by the independent chairmen. Standard wages were fixed as the basis rates existing in each district on March 31 last, with the addition of the district percentages payable in July, 1914, or equivalents necessitated by subsequent adjustments. The minimum rate was to be the standard wage within an addition of 20 per cent. Items of costs were to be decided by the National Board, or, failing agreement by July 31, by the independent chairmen. During the temporary period of three months the costs of production were to be based on the average of the first quarter of the year. The reductions during this period were not to exceed 2s. per shift in July, 2s. 6d. in August, and 3s. in September, providing that the balance of the Government grant was sufficient. The agreement was to last until September, 1922, and otherwise only to be terminated by three months' notice on either side. There was to be no victimisation, and men engaged temporarily during the stoppage were to give way to men working in their places before the stoppage.

Mr. Lloyd George informed the House of Commons of this provisional agreement on June 28. He then moved the adjournment of the House, announcing that the demand for a

National Pool had been definitely abandoned, and until the permanent scheme agreed upon came into full force the Government proposed that the State should contribute a subsidy, the limit to the sum contributed being 10,000,000*l.* The offer of this subsidy having been previously withdrawn, Mr. Lloyd George determined to put the question of its renewal to a vote of the House. The vote was carried without opposition on July 1, and on the 4th work started generally in the mines throughout the country. Thus the coal strike came to an end through collapse and exhaustion of the miners. Train services speedily became normal, the emergency orders were removed, and little further inconvenience was felt by the public. It was remarkable that the summer was one of the hottest that had occurred for a long period, and the deficiency in the supply of coal caused very little inconvenience except to industries which depended upon it.

The cost of Government measures taken in connexion with the coal stoppage was considerable. The Defence Force, Army Reserves, etc., cost 7,000,000*l.*; the Navy, 1,225,000*l.*; the Air Force, 330,000*l.*; civil emergency organisations, 300,000*l.*, and there was also the subsidy of 10,000,000*l.* It was estimated further that the indemnification of railway profits would probably come to over 10,000,000*l.* The cost of the stoppage, as a whole, to the country was something like 250,000,000*l.* The result was felt in the revenue returns for the first quarter of the current financial year, in which expenditure exceeded revenue by 67,251,905*l.* This deficiency of income, together with other outlays not chargeable to revenue, including compulsory repayment of debt, produced a deficit which necessitated an increase in the Floating Debt of no less than 98,641,000*l.*

### CHAPTER III.

#### TRUCE IN IRELAND.

THE movement towards an Irish truce developed rapidly at the beginning of July, and a conciliatory spirit was adopted on both sides. On the first day of the month it was announced that the Government had released from Mountjoy Prison Mr. Arthur Griffith and Mr. John MacNeill, two of Mr. de Valera's principal colleagues, and two other members of Dail Eireann. The Sinn Feiners responded by the prompt release of Lord Bandon who had been carried off on June 21 after his home in County Cork had been set on fire.

After Sir James Craig had refused Mr. de Valera's invitation to a meeting in Dublin, the Irish Republican leader turned, as already related, to the leaders of Southern Unionism and met four of their representatives in the Dublin Mansion House on



July 4. At the same time General Smuts went over to Ireland and had a private interview with Mr. de Valera, afterwards returning to report to Mr. Lloyd George in London. The Conference with the Southern Unionists was resumed on July 8, General Macready, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, being present. The proceedings were kept private, but it was understood that the Conference expressed the view that it would be impossible to conduct negotiations with any hope of achieving satisfactory results unless there was a cessation of bloodshed in Ireland. Lord Midleton, on behalf of the Government, expressed concurrence with this view, and at the conclusion of the Conference it was announced that a truce had been agreed upon to come into force at noon on July 11. Mr. de Valera forthwith wrote to Mr. Lloyd George accepting the invitation to a Conference in London with Sir James Craig and the British Government. The news was received with profound relief and thankfulness by men of all parties and creeds in Ireland. The Dublin newspapers gave a unanimous welcome to the truce, and expressed a unanimous hope for the success of the peace negotiations. The truce was, on the whole, well preserved. During the first ten days of July outrages had broken out in various parts of Ireland as before, and on the 10th many persons had been killed and wounded in rioting in Belfast. For some time previously it was stated that the average daily number of outrages had been between twenty and thirty, but Mr. de Valera was able to keep his forces under control, and the peace was on the whole loyally observed.

Mr. de Valera and his colleagues immediately came to London, and on July 14 had a private interview with Mr. Lloyd George at 10 Downing Street. Nothing was published concerning this interview except a brief official report to the effect that a free exchange of views took place and relative positions were defined. On the following day Mr. Lloyd George had another interview with Sir James Craig, and further conversations took place with the leaders of both Irish sections. Sir James Craig afterwards returned to Ireland, and on July 22 it was announced, as a result of a further conversation between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera, that no basis for a formal Conference had yet been found, but that Mr. de Valera was to return to Ireland and to communicate with Mr. Lloyd George again after further discussion with his colleagues. It was understood that the Government had made a fresh offer for the settlement of Ireland, but the terms of the offer were withheld until Mr. de Valera should have an opportunity of placing them before his colleagues. These terms were in fact not made known until the middle of August, and the further history of the negotiations will be carried on later.

On July 1 Dr. Macnamara brought forward a motion in the House of Commons declaring that the House approved of the policy of the Government respecting the several conventions

and recommendations of the International Labour Conference at Washington in November, 1919. The motion was agreed to by a majority of 111. A few days later Mr. Fisher announced in the House that, at a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations at Geneva, it had been decided to recognise the Finnish sovereignty over the Aaland Islands.

Reductions in wages continued to be carried out, and during July the question of the wages of agricultural workers came before the Agricultural Wages Board and were hotly discussed. The main proposal advanced by the National Farmers' Union, which had equal representation on the Board with the workers, was for a reduction of the minimum wages from 46s. to 40s. per week for adult males. In the case of women it was proposed to fix the rate of pay at a uniform amount of 7*d.* per hour. This involved no reduction as regards the greater part of the country, though in Somersetshire women's pay had previously been 8*d.* an hour and in Yorkshire 10*d.* an hour. Ultimately it was decided that the minimum wage should be reduced to 42s. per week.

The Corn Production Acts (Repeal) Bill was discussed by the House of Commons during July. The object of the Bill was to de-control agriculture. It provided that payments for the present year's harvest should be arranged for by a composition; that the State should give an additional capital sum of 1,000,000*l.* to be spent on education and research, and that voluntary Joint Councils of Conciliation should take the place of the Wages Board which was to be abolished. The second reading was taken on July 4 and opposed by Mr. W. Smith and other members. Mr. Clynes desired to retain the Wages Board, but Mr. Chamberlain insisted that the Bill was a financial necessity, and after the closure had been agreed to the second reading was carried, and the Bill referred to a Standing Committee. Although the Wages Board was abolished by the Bill, voluntary Joint Councils were established of employers and workmen, and it was in respect of this provision that several amendments were moved during the Committee and Report stages. Efforts were made to retain the Wages Board, but to this the Government would not agree, and the third reading was carried on July 25. Several amendments were introduced in the House of Lords, the most important of which was one providing that the Conciliation Committees should deal with wages and hours of labour, but not with conditions of employment. This amendment failed to be carried through the House of Commons, however, and after some further conversation between the two Houses the Bill received the royal assent on August 19.

The issue of a new loan was announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the House of Commons on July 5. It took the form of Treasury Bonds bearing 5½ per cent. interest and redeemable in 1929. The price of issue was 97 per cent. and

the amount of issue unlimited. The principal object of the loan was to provide for the conversion of the earliest maturities of war-time securities. Money was urgently needed by the Government to meet obligations maturing within the next few months. These were estimated at 300,000,000*l.*, and as the Budget surplus seemed unlikely to be realised, a very large sum was required by the Treasury before the end of the financial year in order to avoid a further big expansion in the Floating Debt.

The War Pensions Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on July 1 and passed its second reading on the 8th. This Bill gave the Minister of Pensions power to appoint and control the local Committees. Under Clause 2 the Committees would retain all their powers under the Act of 1915 except with regard to the provision of medical treatment and employment. The Bill also provided that the fourth year after a man's discharge should be the date of his final examination for a permanent pension by an independent Appeal Tribunal, composed of two doctors, an ex-service man, and an officer; and that any ex-army man should have the right of claiming to be thus examined for seven years after service. Mr. Macpherson, in moving the second reading, said that the Bill would effect a saving of at least 6,000,000*l.*, and probably double that amount. The Bill received the royal assent on August 19.

The necessity for reducing Government expenditure was constantly being emphasised. In the middle of July a letter on the subject of national finance, signed by every member of the Independent Parliamentary Group, was handed to the Prime Minister. In it the writers drew attention to what they conceived to be the precarious condition of the country's finances. They insisted that drastic measures were necessary, and made the suggestion that only a certain amount of money should be allocated to each Government Department for the financial year, and that no supplementary estimates which were not absolutely imperative should be submitted to the House of Commons. In order that such "rationing" should be made consistent with public safety, the writers further suggested that the new departments which were created during the war should be immediately dispensed with and that those which had been increased in size during the war should be reduced to their pre-war size.

A defence of the Civil Service was made by Sir Robert Horne when introducing in the House of Commons the vote to complete the sum required for the Treasury and subordinate departments. He said that criticism against members of the Civil Service had been of a very uninformed character, and he paid a high tribute to the work of Civil Servants. He pointed out that whereas before the war the staff had been 283,000 it was now 312,000, the increase being necessitated by business connected with the termination of the war. The war bonuses were

already being decreased, and by September the decrease would amount to 10,000,000*l.* or 11,000,000*l.* The motion to reduce the vote was defeated after the closure had been applied, and the vote was then agreed to.

The Railways Bill, which had passed its second reading in the House of Commons in May, was dealt with by a Standing Committee during July. On the 6th Mr. Chamberlain moved a resolution arranging for the consideration of one part of the Bill by a separate Standing Committee, and allocating three days to the report stage and third reading. Sir D. Maclean protested against the resolution as infringing on the powers and rights of the House, but it was ultimately carried after the closure had been agreed to, and after five days had been substituted for three days for the report stage and third reading. The discussions in Committee were marked by a defeat of the Government on July 14 on an amendment providing that the charges fixed by the Rates Tribunal should be permissive instead of compulsory, so that the Companies might be able to grant exceptional rates freely. The amendment was carried against Government opposition by 17 votes to 12, and Sir E. Geddes immediately announced that the Government would ask the House of Commons to reverse the decision of the Committee on report.

The Report stage was taken on July 27 when the Government amendment was duly carried reversing the hostile decision of the Standing Committee. Some further alterations were at the same time made in the Bill. A sub-section providing that amalgamation schemes must have the approval of both Houses of Parliament was dropped out of the Bill. A Government amendment providing that schemes for absorption might be submitted up to January 1, 1923, was agreed to.

As normal peace conditions gradually took the place of war restrictions, it was felt that the control of the liquor traffic ought to be placed on a more constitutional basis than had been the case during the war. The Liquor Control Board had, for the last few years, exercised a bureaucratic power entirely justified in war conditions and very successful in its results, but not suited for retention when peace had been permanently established. Various measures were accordingly introduced into both Houses of Parliament to deal with the subject of licensing. In the House of Lords the Liquor (Popular Control) Bill was brought in by the Bishop of Oxford with a view to enabling Local Authorities to determine for themselves the extent and mode in which the liquor traffic was to be carried on. The Bill proposed to establish a Liquor Management Board and a Judicial Tribunal consisting of three commissioners to be appointed by the King. It was, however, thrown out on the second reading. In the House of Commons a Licensing Bill was brought in by Colonel Gretton, which proposed to establish a new Appeal Court

in place of Quarter Sessions, to give right of appeal against a refusal of license and to make various other provisions for the convenience of the public. The Bill was opposed by the Government and failed to make progress. A Licensing (Scotland) Bill, and a Liquor Traffic Local Veto (England and Wales) Bill were also introduced in the House of Commons during the session, but both of them were dropped.

After these abortive attempts on the part of private members to introduce alterations in the law, the Government brought in their own Licensing Bill on July 19. The Attorney-General moved the second reading on July 22 explaining that the object of the Bill was to regulate the number of hours during which alcoholic liquors might be on sale, to make a wider definition of premises to which the additional latitude in hours might apply, and to return to pre-war practice with regard to the dilution of spirits. He said that the Central Control Board would shortly come to an end, and that the ownership and management of the property which it had acquired would be vested in England in the Home Secretary, and in Scotland in the Secretary for Scotland. The Bill provided that the Licensing Justices should be the Local Authority in each area. Subject to special exceptions the earliest hour at which liquor might be supplied on week days would be 11 A.M. and the latest hour 10 P.M. Among the special exceptions was London itself, in which the latest hour was fixed at 11 P.M. The maximum number of hours of sale were to be nine per day in London and eight elsewhere, and the sale of liquor was to cease for at least two hours in the afternoon. Hotels and restaurants were permitted to remain open for an hour beyond the latest hour authorised for the consumption of meals with or without liquor.

The rejection of the Bill was moved by Mr. Bottomley, and in the course of the ensuing debate Sir D. Maclean pointed out that since the relaxation in 1920 upon the restrictions of the hours of opening the cases of conviction for drunkenness had greatly increased. The Bill was then read a second time without a division.

Considerable progress was made with the Key Industries Bill, and the Committee stage was concluded during July. A Government amendment was added for the purpose of putting upon the importer the onus of showing that he was entitled to the benefit of the remission and repayment—which in certain cases the Bill permitted—of duty levied under an order of the Board of Trade. An amendment was negatived which provided that semi-manufactured imports to be used as raw material in iron and steel works should be duty free. Captain W. Benn moved that the Committee for setting up machinery to decide the amount of the duties should be a Select Committee of the House, but this amendment was negatived at the instance of the Government. Among other

amendments which were negatived was one providing that the value of goods should be taken to be the price at the port of shipment, and another that disputes as to the value of goods should be decided by a judge instead of a referee appointed by the Treasury. An attempt to secure the omission of optical glass from the schedule was defeated.

The housing policy of the Government was discussed on several occasions during July. On the 14th Sir A. Mond announced, in reply to questions from Mr. Hogge and others, that in view of the need for economy at the present time the number of houses to be constructed by Local Authorities would be limited to 76,000. The subsidy to private builders would be given in full for houses completed by April 23 last, and additional houses would only be subsidised if begun before July 1. The Minister also stated that the Government were prepared to give an annual contribution not exceeding 200,000*l.* towards the improvement of slum areas. Similar modifications were announced with regard to the Scottish housing scheme.

On the report of the vote for the Ministry of Health Mr. Asquith moved a reduction of 100*l.* in order to review the policy of the Government in relation to housing. Mr. Asquith contrasted the disappointing results of the housing schemes of the Government with the promises held out during the General Election. He insisted that we were no better off now, nearly three years after the conclusion of the war, notwithstanding the assurances which had been given. The debate was notable for a strong attack on the Government by Dr. Addison, who had resigned from the office of Minister without Portfolio a few days previously. Dr. Addison complained that the Government had abandoned the housing plans which he had developed while at the Ministry of Health. The ground for the abandonment of these schemes had been the need for economy, but Dr. Addison asserted that the result of the change in the housing policy of the Government would ruin many, and he challenged the new Minister of Health to say that the decision arrived at was consonant with the health needs of the people, or that the programme would meet the necessities even of the ex-service men alone.

Mr. Lloyd George, in reply, said that the housing scheme had been cut down in February owing to the heavy expenditure on Mesopotamia, and he asked why Dr. Addison had not taken that opportunity to resign. The Prime Minister contended that the action of the Government was absolutely consistent with the development of the housing policy of the country, the only difference being that it would be developed on sounder and more business-like lines. Dr. Addison had fixed the limit of houses at 200,000; Sir A. Mond had set it at 176,000. As a result of the change of policy not a single house less would be built for eighteen months in England, or for two years in Scotland. The alternative was that they would go on entering into

contracts at present prices knowing that prices were going to fall, and allowing the building trade to become more and more masters of the situation.

The Criminal Law Amendment Bill was brought up from the House of Lords and read a second time during July after amendments for its rejection had been negatived without a division.

The Finance Bill was considered at various dates during July. A new Government clause was moved exempting from Entertainments Duty exhibitions of the products of certain industries. An amendment to this clause to the effect that these exhibitions should still be exempted if they contained side-shows or music was rejected, and the clause was then added to the Bill. An attempt to reduce by half the tax on liquor supplied to Workmen's Clubs was defeated, as also was a proposed new clause for the alteration of the Entertainments Duty. A clause to repeal all duties on mechanical lighters was agreed to, but one to exempt from Entertainments Duty the exhibitions of Art Societies was rejected by a majority of 107. On July 19 the Government experienced a defeat on an amendment to the Finance Bill. The Corporation Profits Tax was under discussion, and an amendment was moved to exempt from the tax the profits of Co-operative Societies derived solely from trading with their own members. The Government was defeated by a majority of two votes and there were loud opposition cries of "resign." The Government, however, took no notice of the incident and, notwithstanding protests, proceeded with the business of the House. Small as the incident was, it denoted a great change in the practice of Government. In any Parliament before the war a defeat of the Government on a Finance Bill would have been understood as involving its resignation, and this was the first occasion on which a Government defeated on a proposal affecting taxation had continued with the normal business of the House. On the motion for the adjournment later in the day Sir Frederick Banbury charged the Government with showing contempt for the House, and ruining Parliamentary Government. Mr. Chamberlain, however, firmly denied the accusation. He described the matter as merely an "unfortunate incident," and said that the Government would acquiesce in the decision of the House on the ground that this would be in conformity to the new ideas of allowing greater latitude to private members of Parliament. The Government therefore would not ask the House to reverse its decision.

On the motion for the third reading Mr. Mosley moved that, in view of the serious decline in public revenue which had occurred during recent months, the House desired, before proceeding further with the Bill, that a fresh statement of the financial position should be laid before it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that of the supplementary estimates

41,000,000*l.* represented ordinary expenditure, and 56,000,000*l.* represented liabilities in respect of war agreements, the coal stoppage, and the cost of the Reserve Force. The third reading was thereupon agreed to and the royal assent was given on August 4.

The Supreme Council met in Paris during the first half of August, and its decisions were announced by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons on August 16. He said that the Council had decided to refer the question of Upper Silesia for decision to the Council of the League of Nations, to terminate the economic sanctions on the Rhine, since Germany had accepted better arrangements with regard to reparations, but to continue the military sanctions for the present. The Supreme Council had further agreed to abstain, for the present, from interference between the Turks and the Greeks, and to appoint an International Commission to deal with the question of how to render immediate aid to starving Russia.

The Imperial Conference, which had first met on June 20, did not conclude its deliberations until August 5. The opening speeches have already been referred to (see pp. 62-63), but most of the subsequent proceedings were kept private. It was known, however, that one of the first questions to be discussed among the Prime Ministers was that of the renewal of the Japanese Alliance. Lord Curzon, who introduced the subject on June 28, was said to have made a very lucid and impartial statement. Later on, however, the Lord Chancellor addressed the Prime Ministers from a different point of view. He expressed the opinion that the Alliance need not be renewed because it was not about to expire, no valid denunciation of it having hitherto been made. This opinion occasioned considerable surprise, in view of the fact that it was an over-riding of an opinion expressed by the law officers of the Crown. It altered the whole situation and relieved the Prime Ministers of the duty of solving a very difficult problem by July 13, the date on which a decision would have had to be taken. The proceedings of the Conference were greatly influenced by the acceptance of the invitation from the American President to attend a Conference later in the year in Washington on disarmament and the Pacific. The Japanese Alliance was held to be still in continuance, and its future depended largely on the results of the Washington Conference. The same applied to the future of the Navy and of armaments generally, a fact which was realised when the Prime Ministers came to deal with the naval policy of the Empire. They reaffirmed the principle that the Empire must have an adequate naval force to defend it, and they promised their co-operation with Great Britain in the securing of such a force, but its nature and the degree of its potency depended upon the issue of the Conference on disarmament.

Some of the most important discussions held by the Prime



Ministers were concerned with foreign affairs. They were kept extremely private, but it was believed that the Prime Ministers were taken into the fullest confidence of the British Government, and that all which concerned the relations of Great Britain with other nations was frankly exposed to them. The significance of these meetings was clearly indicated when the Prime Ministers of the Dominions took part in the Cabinet Council which had to consider the French attitude towards the question of Upper Silesia, and to frame a reply to the French note.

A subject of the highest importance dealt with by the Prime Ministers was that of Empire communications. They decided to extend wireless facilities, and also to maintain communication by airship. The many other questions discussed by the Prime Ministers included the German reparations and their apportionment amongst the various parts of the Empire; the status of Indians in the Dominions; inter-imperial migration, in regard to which the Dominions confirmed the principle of mutual co-operation in helping the movement and settlement of British subjects within the Empire; and lastly, the question of a Constitutional Conference to be held at some future time and place. At the conclusion of the Conference the Dominion Prime Ministers and other representatives of the Empire, addressed a message to the King, in reply to which the King expressed his gratification with the conviction which they had expressed that the Crown was the important link uniting together in cohesion and strength the component parts of the Empire.

Mr. Lloyd George made a statement on the work of the Imperial Conference in the House of Commons on August 18. In reply to a question he admitted that there had been no discussion of the Irish problem. On the question of naval defence, he said that the Conference was agreed that we must have a naval force equal to that of any other country in the world, and there had been a general feeling that it was unfair that the whole of the cost should be borne by the mother-country. The extent to which the Dominions should contribute must be left to the Dominions themselves. Referring to the Japanese Alliance, Mr. Lloyd George said that it was still in existence, and that twelve months' notice had to be given to terminate it. After paying a tribute to the part played by Japan during the war, he asked if this was the time in which we ought to abandon our Allies. He saw no reason why it should be impossible to remember our obligations to Japan and keep our friendship for that country, while at the same time we preserved the spirit of fraternity with the United States of America. He expressed the hope that the Alliance with Japan might merge in a greater understanding with Japan and the United States in all the problems of the Pacific. The four Powers primarily concerned in the Pacific were the United States, Japan, China,

and the British Empire. If the question of disarmament was to be made easier there must be an understanding first on that problem. The Imperial Conference desired that the British Empire should have complete friendship with the United States, and that every conceivable prospective obstacle to such friendship should be removed. What was chiefly to be hoped for was a settlement by which the British Empire and the United States could work side by side in a common partnership for guaranteeing the peace of the world, for this would be the best guarantee that it would be possible to have.

The consideration of the Railways Bill was concluded during August. A debate on amendments introduced on the Report stage on August 8 was interrupted by the sudden death of Mr. T. Wintringham, the Independent Liberal member for the Louth Division, who collapsed in the newsroom of the House of Commons and died immediately. The Leader of the House immediately intervened in the debate and moved the adjournment, his expressions of sympathy being supported by Sir Donald Maclean and Mr. Thomas.

No further amendments of any importance were made in the Railways Bill, and the third reading was passed on August 9. Several amendments were introduced in the House of Lords and agreed to by the Commons, and the Bill received the royal assent on August 19.

The Corn Production Acts (Repeal) Bill passed through all its stages in the House of Lords during August. The Bill was read a second time on August 3. In Committee an amendment was inserted providing that the Committees should be local and not central. Another amendment was agreed to providing that a workman should not be allowed to recover more than six weeks' arrears of wages, and the Bill later on received the royal assent.

The Licensing Bill was also carried during August. A new clause was agreed to providing that certain liquor should not be treated as an intoxicating liquor if Excise License was not required for its sale. An amendment was carried by a majority of thirty-five providing that the hours of opening of licensed premises outside the metropolis should be a uniform eight hours. The Bill received the royal assent on August 17.

Revised Navy estimates were submitted to the House of Commons on August 3. The vote was for 11,845,600*l.*, this sum being required for building the four new capital ships, for guns and expenses in connexion with them, for the partial reorganisation of the torpedo factory at Greenock and other items. Mr. Amery, Financial Secretary to the Admiralty, insisted that the expenditure was the least that was consonant with maintaining the Navy at the standard which the defence of the Empire demanded. He said that our policy was not one of competition or of challenge, but simply one of replacing obsolete ships already relegated to the Disposals Board. Mr. Amery

said that all reliable evidence showed that the capital ship was the basis of naval warfare.

Mr. Asquith questioned the immediate necessity or wisdom of embarking upon the construction of four new capital ships, and other members urged that the construction should be delayed until after the Washington Conference. Mr. Churchill then defended the policy of the Admiralty, saying that unless we built capital ships we should sink to the level of a third-rate Power, and although we might continue on the best possible terms with other naval Powers, we should exist only on sufferance.

It will be remembered that some few weeks back 170 Unionist members had signed a declaration condemning the practice of the Government in spending public money before the sanction of the House of Commons had been obtained. The restiveness prevailing in the House on the subject of expenditure led the Prime Minister to appoint, early in August, a Committee of business men to advise him on matters of finance. The Committee was authorised to consider not only the estimates of departments but the policy underlying the estimates. The object of this committee, which was sometimes referred to as the Super-axe Committee, was to supervise the spending departments of the State, and to advise the Prime Minister as to any directions in which economy might be made. The matter was discussed in the House of Commons on August 8, criticism being mainly levelled against the principle of establishing a new department to undertake functions which had hitherto always been carried out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Chamberlain, however, insisted that the Government were entitled to seek the assistance of anybody whom they thought could be useful in any question whether of finance or of administration. The question was again raised in the House of Commons on August 16, and it was then announced that Sir Eric Geddes was to be chairman, the other members being Lord Inchcape, Lord Faringdon, Sir Joseph Maclay, and Sir Guy Granet. The Committee was to make recommendations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for effecting forthwith all possible reductions in national expenditure in the Civil Services, having regard especially to the present position of revenue. So far as questions of policy were concerned, these would remain for the consideration of the Cabinet, but it was explained that it would be open to the Committee to indicate economies which might be effected by a particular policy. The Treasury organisation would be employed in the ordinary course for the purposes of the Committee, and the Committee would be provided with all the necessary information.

It did not appear that the establishment of this Committee was popular in the House of Commons. Sir Donald Maclean criticised not only the functions of the Committee but the personality of the chairman, who, he said, had always been

concerned with spending rather than with saving public money. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Robert Horne, in defending the Committee, reviewed the financial situation and pointed out that next year it would be necessary to reduce expenditure by 130,000,000*l.* The Treasury had already arranged for a reduction of 50,000,000*l.* which it was hoped might ultimately be increased to 70,000,000*l.* A saving of a further 60,000,000*l.* was therefore necessary, and Sir Robert Horne denied that the Committee constituted any derogation from the authority of the House.

The Safeguarding of Industries Bill went through its concluding stages in both Houses during August. In the House of Commons a clause was moved to exempt goods to be used in shipbuilding, but was negatived by a majority of 117. A clause for exempting goods imported for educational or scientific purposes was also negatived. An attempt was made to secure the omission of the clause which authorised the Board of Trade to make orders applying to certain goods other than food or drink, but this attempt was defeated. On the motion for the third reading Mr. Asquith moved the rejection, but the Bill was carried by a majority of 122.

Several amendments were added in the House of Lords, but when they came up for agreement by the Commons the question was immediately raised as to whether the Bill was a money Bill, and therefore not capable of being amended by the Lords. The Speaker ruled that this was the case and that the amendments were privileged amendments. Mr. Chamberlain thereupon moved that the House disagree with the amendments of the Lords, saying that they not merely infringed the old-established principle of the constitution, but directly contravened the Parliament Act. It was open to the House of Commons, he said, to pass the Bill into law in the form in which they had left it, whether the House of Lords made amendments to it or not. The opinion expressed by Mr. Chamberlain was endorsed in an equal degree by Mr. Asquith, who protested against any infringements of the rights of the House of Commons. Whatever view might be held of the Lords' amendments, the House could not agree to waive its undoubted traditional privileges. The House thereupon formally disagreed with the Lords' amendments, the House of Lords made no further protest, and the Bill passed into law in the form in which it had left the House of Commons.

The offer made by the Government to Sinn Fein was not published until the middle of August. In the meanwhile steps were taken to facilitate the growth of a friendly feeling on both sides. On August 5 it was announced that the Government had decided to release forthwith, and without conditions, all members of Dail Eireann who were at present interned or who were undergoing sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment, in order to enable them to attend a meeting of the Republican

Parliament which had been summoned for August 16. This concession applied to thirty-three members of Dail Eireann, but the Government at first declined to release one other member who had been convicted of the murder of a district inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The refusal to release this member caused considerable heart-burning among Sinn Feiners, and it was officially stated on behalf of Dail Eireann that that body would not meet until the member in question had been released. Thereupon the Government at once gave way and this prisoner was released in common with the rest.

It was not until August 15 that the course of the Irish negotiations was published. It then transpired that the offer made by the Government to Sinn Fein involved the setting up of full Dominion status in Ireland forthwith, and complete autonomy in taxation and finance. Ireland was to maintain her own military forces for home defence and her own police. Irishmen were to be left to determine themselves whether the proposed new powers should be taken over by Ireland as a whole. Six conditions, however, were declared to be vital: the Royal Navy was to control the seas around Ireland; the Irish Territorial Force was to be limited; Great Britain was to have facilities for air defence and communications; voluntary recruiting was to be permitted for the Empire Forces; no protective duties were to be imposed between parts of the British Islands; and finally, Ireland was to assume responsibility for a share of the debt of the United Kingdom. Failing agreement the share was to be determined by a British arbitrator.

Mr. de Valera, in his reply to these proposals, stated that the conditions involved a control which Ireland could not admit, and described Dominion status as illusory. As to the share of the debt, he suggested the appointment of three arbitrators, one to be chosen by agreement or by the President of the United States.

Mr. Lloyd George, in a further reply, said that there could be no compromise on the question of allegiance to the King, and that no foreign arbitration could be accepted. He affirmed that the Government could not go further than the proposals which they had already made, but intimated his readiness to discuss them in detail whenever Mr. de Valera accepted them in principle.

The proposals of the Government were submitted to Sir James Craig at the same time as to Mr. de Valera. Sir James Craig replied that when the Prime Minister and Mr. de Valera had arrived at a settlement, Ulster would be ready to co-operate with Southern Ireland on equal terms for the welfare of the country.

Parliament adjourned on August 19, and the motions for the adjournment gave rise in both Houses to debates on the Government proposals with reference to Ireland. In the House of Commons Mr. Lloyd George made a full statement in which

he insisted that the offer of the Government was a genuine one, that it represented a whole-hearted attempt to secure peace and goodwill of the Irish people, and that the outline of those terms could not be altered nor the basis changed. Mr. Lloyd George stated that he had heard of no suggestions from any quarter in this country, or from any part of the world except Ireland, that we had not gone to the very limits of possible concessions. On the contrary, he said, some thought that the Government had gone too far. In the present situation only two contingencies could arise; either there would be agreement or there would be a definite rupture. In the case of agreement being arrived at, the details would have to be thrashed out. That undoubtedly would take time. When all details were agreed upon a Bill would have to be framed, and as soon as that was done it would be the duty of the Executive to take steps immediately to place that Bill before Parliament and to invite Parliament to give it legislative enactment without delay. The Prime Minister then referred to the other possible contingency, saying that if that final misfortune befell the relations between these two Islands, whose history had been so full of such unfortunate incidents, we should be faced with a graver situation in regard to Ireland than any with which we had been previously confronted. The terms had, at all events, defined the issues more clearly than they had ever been defined before. Their rejection would be an unmistakable challenge to the authority of the Crown and the unity of the Empire, and no party in the State could possibly pass that over without notice. If there were a final rejection of terms beyond hope, steps would undoubtedly have to be taken which the Executive would not wish to take without consulting Parliament. The position of Parliament was, therefore, that if agreement had been reached by October 18, or if negotiations were proceeding satisfactorily, the House would meet only for formal purposes. If the negotiations broke down, and the position was hopeless as far as any chance of agreement was concerned, the Speaker would be authorised, after consultation with the Government, to summon Parliament at forty-eight hours' notice. Emergency measures might be necessary even before Parliament met, but there would be no delay in summoning Parliament. In conclusion Mr. Lloyd George said that the Government were sincerely desirous that peace should ensue and that the long misunderstandings should be brought to an end. He hoped that reason would prevail even over logic, and that the Irish leaders would not reject the largest measure of freedom ever offered to their country, and take the responsibility of renewing a conflict which would be robbed of all glory and all gratitude by its overshadowing horror.

After Mr. Lloyd George had concluded his statement Mr. Asquith declared that the proposals of the Government proceeded on lines which entirely commended themselves to him.

He said that it was not a question of being called upon for blindfold acceptance of ultimatums; it was a question of a free conference and discussion on an entirely new basis with the avowed object on both sides of finding a peace which would give satisfaction to the aspirations of Ireland.

The only critical voice raised against the Government was that of Colonel Gretton, who considered that the Government had gone on wrong lines and far beyond the authority given them at the last election.

A similar debate took place in the House of Lords on the same day. Lord Curzon said that no one could deny that this was a great act of renunciation which might almost be called an act of sacrifice. Looking at it from its political aspect it was difficult to believe that any body of responsible men would reject the particular form and quality of independence and dominion status which was offered to them, nor could he imagine that public opinion in Ireland, any more than in Great Britain, would willingly consent to the resumption of the cruel, wicked, pitiful, and disastrous form of civil war upon which we had been engaged during the last two years.

Lord Salisbury then brought forward a motion calling attention to the "profound dissatisfaction" felt by loyal subjects at the negotiations, and asking whether it was proposed to continue them. He denied that the policy of the Government had the support of the country, and asked what had become of the provision of the Home Rule Act under which Ireland was not to have a separate Army. The Government, he said, had misled the country; the action which they had taken had been forced upon them by an organised band of assassins.

In the course of the subsequent debate the Lord Chancellor confessed that he did not share the optimism which had pervaded so many speeches. He said that the offer conveyed the last word of the Government in the direction of concession or compromise. If this attempt at negotiations broke down we should find ourselves committed to hostilities upon a scale never before undertaken by Great Britain against Ireland. The Government would be committed to, and would not shrink from whatever measures might be necessary in order to prevent the secession of a constituent part of these Islands from the British Constitution.

After these debates both Houses of Parliament adjourned until October 18, subject to the liability of being summoned in case of need at forty-eight hours' notice as already mentioned.

Meanwhile the meetings of Dail Eireann, which were to decide the fate of Ireland, began to take place. The Irish Republican Parliament assembled at the Dublin Mansion House on August 16, and the first business to be transacted was the taking of the oath of allegiance. Every member solemnly affirmed that he did not and would not yield a voluntary support to any pretended Government authority or power within Ireland hostile

thereto, and further affirmed that he would, to the best of his knowledge and ability, support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic—which was Dail Eireann—against all enemies foreign and domestic, and that he would bear true faith and allegiance to the same.

After the oath had been taken Mr. de Valera was called to the chair. He explained that the old Dail had come to an end, that the new Dail was in session, and that the first business would be the election of a Speaker. Mr. John T. O'Kelly was proposed, but he declined the office on the ground that his business would cause his absence from Ireland for long periods, and Mr. John MacNeill was elected Speaker. When the new Speaker and his deputy had been elected, Mr. de Valera addressed the House, and announced that on the following day he would, in a general way, deal with the negotiations that had taken place between the Ministry of the Dail and the British Government. The reply which the Dail would send to the British Government would be discussed in private session. He pointed out that the British Government intended to make the issue one of peace or war with Ireland. Reviewing the work of the Dail for the past two years and a half, Mr. de Valera said that the question was put to the Irish people what form of Government they wanted, and the answer of the Irish people had been unmistakable. It had been for Irish freedom and Irish independence, which, in the present situation, could only be realised through a Republic. The first duty of the Ministry, therefore, was to get a Republic established.

On the following day Mr. de Valera addressed Dail Eireann on the negotiations with the British Government. His speech caused profound disappointment to those who hoped that a settlement was on the point of being reached, but it was received with great acclamation by his audience. He stated at once that the last letter which he had addressed to Mr. Lloyd George meant a definite rejection of the terms which had been offered. Mr. de Valera questioned the genuineness of the British proposals. He said that it was untrue that Ireland had been offered the status of a British Dominion. It was untrue because it applied only to one part of Ireland. He denied that there was any enmity either towards Great Britain or towards Ulster; on the contrary, he insisted that there ought to be a feeling of friendliness among peoples who lived in such close geographical proximity, but friendliness was impossible without the Independence of Ireland.

On August 18 Dail Eireann went into secret session at the Dublin Mansion House for the purpose of considering the reply to be sent to Mr. Lloyd George. Secret sessions continued until August 25 when the reply was handed to the Prime Minister, who immediately called a Cabinet meeting to consider it. The reply was in the form of a letter from Mr. de Valera to the Prime Minister to the effect that Dail



Eireann had unanimously rejected the Government proposals. It added that if the Government would accept the broad guiding principle of government by consent of the governed, Dail Eireann would appoint plenipotentiaries to negotiate peace on that basis.

The Prime Minister immediately wrote, in reply, that the Government had gone to the very limit of their powers in endeavouring to reconcile British and Irish interests, and considered that their proposals completely accorded with the principle laid down by Mr. de Valera. He repeated that the British Government could discuss no settlement which involved a refusal on the part of Ireland to accept their invitation to free, equal, and loyal partnership in the British Commonwealth under one Sovereign. Delay, he said, was dangerous to the truce. If Sinn Fein was prepared to examine how far the expressed conditions of the Government could be reconciled with its aspirations, he would meet its leaders.

The apparent breakdown of the negotiations did not arouse the feeling of pessimism which might have been expected in Ireland. It was believed that Mr. de Valera's official answer was in the nature of a manœuvre for position; and his proposal at the principle of government by consent of the governed should be adopted as a basis for further negotiations, was regarded as a clear indication of his desire to avoid a rupture. The chief stumbling block to a settlement appeared to be the determination of North-East Ulster to hold what she held. Sinn Fein persisted in its objections to partition as a matter of basic principle, and there was little sign of weakening in the uncompromising attitude of the North. Mr. Lloyd George referred to the position in a speech at Barnsley on August 27. He said that Great Britain had made it quite clear that she would not countenance separation. If Southern Ireland insisted on separation then he feared that all hope of accommodation would have to be abandoned, but he believed that the Irish people would realise that their destiny was greatest as a free people inside a federation of free peoples.

Mr. de Valera and his colleagues met again at the Dublin Mansion House on August 29 to consider their reply to Mr. Lloyd George. Meanwhile rioting had been taking place in Belfast; bombs were thrown and revolver firing occurred. The rioting continued for several days and a number of people were wounded. Snipers were at work in various parts of the city, but disappeared whenever the police came on the scene. On August 30 they became bolder and in some streets erected sand-bag barricades, from behind which they kept up intermittent fire. Armoured cars were requisitioned to deal with the snipers, but the latter returned to their posts whenever the cars had passed.

The disturbances became further intensified on the last day of August. Fresh areas of Belfast became involved and

the gunmen, growing bolder, congregated at points from which they occasionally fired into Royal Avenue, the principal thoroughfare in the centre of the city. From an early hour in the morning casualty cases began to be taken into the hospitals, one of the first being a night-watchman who was shot on his way home from work. People going to their work in the morning had to run the gauntlet of snipers, and several establishments had to close down their works in order to safeguard the lives of their employees. At one mill, where the exits were commanded by gunmen, it was found necessary to break through a brick wall to enable the workers to leave by ones and twos when the Company decided to close down.

On account of the Irish truce the military were not used to cope with the disturbances until August 31, when it had become abundantly clear that the police were not strong enough to deal with the situation, and the Lord Mayor urged upon the military commander the absolute necessity of restoring order and ensuring the safety of law-abiding citizens. In consequence of these representations large forces of soldiers, fully equipped and in armoured lorries, were drafted into the affected districts and soon succeeded in quelling the disturbances. During the rioting fourteen persons were killed and sixty people were taken to the hospitals for bullet wounds; of these three ultimately died. By September 1 Belfast had again become normal.

The reply of Mr. de Valera to the last communication of the Prime Minister was sent from Dublin on August 31 and reached Mr. Lloyd George in Scotland. The Prime Minister had left London on a holiday to stay at Gairloch in Ross-shire, about five hours' railway journey from Inverness. The reply was couched in very uncompromising terms. Mr. de Valera began by stating what he considered to be the essential facts of the situation with which they were confronted. These were: first, that the people of Ireland acknowledged no voluntary union with Great Britain, but claimed as a fundamental natural right to choose freely for themselves the path which they should take to realise their natural destiny, and that they had, by an overwhelming majority, declared for independence and set up a Republic; secondly, that Great Britain acted as though Ireland were bound to her by a contract of union that forbade separation. On the strength of this supposed contract the British Government and Parliament claimed to rule Ireland even to the point of partitioning Irish territory against the will of the Irish people, and killing or casting into prison every Irish citizen who refused allegiance.

Mr. de Valera then criticised the proposals of the Government which had been based on this latter assumption, and which had been rejected by Dail Eireann. He said that the rejection was irrevocable. He denied that the proposals would place Ireland on a similar footing to Canada, Australia, South Africa,

and New Zealand. He pointed out that these Colonies were guaranteed against the domination of England, not only by acknowledged constitutional rights and absolute freedom from the control of the British Parliament and Government, but by the great distances which separated them from Great Britain. He said that Ireland would have the guarantees neither of distance nor of right. The conditions offered to her by the Government were such as to divide Ireland into two artificial States, both of which were subject to the military, naval, and economic control of the British Government. Mr. de Valera insisted that the Irish view of the facts was the true and just interpretation, and expressed readiness to submit to the arbitration of a neutral or impartial judge. If the British Government endeavoured to give effect to their view by force, the Irish people would resist as the generations before them had resisted. Mr. de Valera denied that the problem could be solved by force; force could never gain the ultimate victory over reason and right. For 750 years the problem had failed to be solved by force, and threats of force should therefore be set aside. If plenipotentiaries were appointed they should meet untrammelled by any conditions and should be prepared to reconcile their differences, not by appeals to force but by reference to some guiding principle on which there was common agreement. The principle which he proposed was that of government by the consent of the governed. Mr. de Valera expressed the opinion that since this had been claimed as a peculiarly British principle instituted by Britain, it should be peculiarly acceptable to Mr. Lloyd George. He concluded by saying that on this basis alone did he see any hope of reconciliation, and that on this basis he was ready at once to appoint plenipotentiaries.

On receipt of this note Mr. Lloyd George at once called a meeting of the Cabinet, and as many Cabinet Ministers were already in Scotland he decided that the most convenient place for the meeting would be Inverness. Accordingly the Cabinet met in the Town Hall on September 7, and reached a unanimous decision which was communicated to the King who was also staying in the neighbourhood. The Cabinet appointed a Committee consisting of the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Curzon, Mr. Churchill, Lord Birkenhead, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Mr. Shortt, and Sir Hamar Greenwood, with full powers to take further action to deal with whatever reply might be received from Sinn Fein to their communication. The communication itself was handed to a Sinn Fein representative on the same day and this representative immediately left for Dublin.

The note, framed by the Cabinet in reply to Mr. de Valera, admitted that the foundation of British constitutional development was government by consent of the governed, but declined to accept as a basis of practical conference an interpretation of that principle which would commit the Government to any

demands that might be presented to them even to the extent of setting up a Republic and repudiating the Crown in Ireland. Mr. Lloyd George, whose signature was appended to the note, stated that a conference on such a basis was impossible. If applied in such a manner the principle of government by consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic State, and drive the civilised world back into tribalism. The British Government, continued Mr. Lloyd George, had invited Sinn Fein to discuss their proposals on their merits in order that there might be no doubt as to the scope and sincerity of their intentions. Such a conference would offer an opportunity to raise the subject of guarantees on any points in which Sinn Fein might consider that Irish freedom was prejudiced. The Government were unwilling to believe that Sinn Fein would insist upon rejecting their proposals without a discussion in conference. To decline to discuss a settlement, which would bestow upon the Irish people the fullest freedom of national development within the Empire, could only mean that Sinn Fein repudiated all allegiance to the Crown and all membership of the British Commonwealth. If this inference were to be drawn from the letter of Mr. de Valera, then further discussion could serve no useful purpose. If, however, this inference were mistaken, and if the real objection of Sinn Fein to the proposals was that they offered Ireland less than the liberty which had been described, that objection could be explored at a conference. Finally Mr. Lloyd George expressed the view that this correspondence had now lasted sufficiently long. The Government, therefore, asked for a definite reply as to whether Sinn Fein were prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the British Empire could best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations. If, as he hoped, their answer was in the affirmative, he suggested that the conference should meet at Inverness on September 20.

After the Ministry of Dail Eireann had considered Mr. Lloyd George's letter, they despatched two representatives to Gairloch to discuss with the Prime Minister certain points in reference to the conference which he had suggested, and thereupon to return to Dublin. Dail Eireann met in private session on September 14 and appointed plenipotentiaries to represent Sinn Fein at the proposed conference, but before the names of the plenipotentiaries had been announced the conference itself was cancelled by Mr. Lloyd George as the outcome of his interview with the two emissaries at Gairloch. It appeared that those emissaries had accepted the invitation to a conference on the lines indicated by Mr. Lloyd George, but they carried with them a note from Mr. de Valera of so uncompromising a character as to prevent, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, any further attempt at holding a conference. Mr. de Valera stated in this note that Ireland had formally declared its independence and recognised itself as a Sovereign State. He said

that it was only as the representatives of that State that he and his colleagues had any authority or powers to act on behalf of their people. He reiterated the principle of government by consent of the governed, stating that he placed upon it no interpretation except that which every plain man and woman would understand, namely, that it meant that nations which had been annexed to Empires against their will had the right to free themselves as best they could. Mr. de Valera concluded his note by accusing the Government of seeking to rend an ancient nation and to partition its territory.

Thereupon Mr. Lloyd George telegraphed to Mr. de Valera a cancellation of the arrangements for the conference. He said that the reiteration of the Sinn Fein claim to negotiate with the British Government as the representatives of an independent and Sovereign State would make a conference between them impossible. When the emissaries of Sinn Fein had handed that letter to him he had warned them of the very serious effect of such a paragraph as this, and he had offered to regard the letter as undelivered in order that Mr. de Valera might have time to reconsider it. Since advantage had not been taken of this opportunity for reconsideration, Mr. Lloyd George stated that he had cancelled the arrangements for the proposed conference at Inverness, and that he would consult his colleagues on the course of action necessitated by this new situation, and communicate their conclusions as soon as possible. Meanwhile he made it clear that the British Government could not reconsider the position which they had already taken up. If they accepted a conference with the delegates of Sinn Fein on a formal statement of the claim which had been reaffirmed, it would constitute an official recognition of the severance of Ireland from the Empire and of its existence as an independent Republic. It would, moreover, entitle Sinn Fein to declare that the Government had acknowledged that they had the right to pursue a closer association by treaty with some foreign Power in preference to association with the British Empire. Mr. Lloyd George expressed the opinion that the great concessions, which the British Government had made to the feeling of the Irish people in order to secure a lasting settlement, deserved some more generous response, but hitherto every advance had been made by the Government. Sinn Fein had not come to meet them by a single step, but had merely reiterated in phrases of emphatic challenge the letter and the spirit of their original claim.

Mr. de Valera immediately telegraphed a reply to the Prime Minister. He expressed surprise that the British Government did not see that if Sinn Fein accepted the conference on the basis proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, without making their position clear, the representatives of Ireland would enter the conference with their position misunderstood and the cause of Ireland irreparably prejudiced. He pointed out that Mr. Lloyd

George had defined the position of the Government, and Sinn Fein on their part had defined theirs. If the positions were not so definitely opposed there would be no problem to discuss. He thought that it was obvious that if there was to be any result the negotiators must meet without prejudice and untrammelled by any conditions whatsoever, except those imposed by the facts as they knew them.

A further interchange of telegrams then took place. Mr. Lloyd George insisted that it was idle to say that a conference, in which the British Government met the delegates of Sinn Fein as representatives of an independent and Sovereign State, would be a conference without prejudice. It would on the contrary constitute a formal and official recognition of the severance of Ireland from the King's Dominions. It would entitle Sinn Fein, if they thought fit, to make a treaty with the King, but it would equally entitle them to make no treaty at all, to break off the conference at any point, and to negotiate the union of Ireland with a foreign Power. It would also entitle them, if they insisted upon another appeal to force, to claim from foreign Powers the rights of lawful belligerents against the King, for if the British Government dealt with Sinn Fein as a Sovereign and independent State, they would have no right to complain of other Powers following their example. The British Government, therefore, could not consent to any abandonment, however informal, of the principle of allegiance to the King, on which the whole fabric of the Empire and every constitution within it were based. No conference would be possible as long as Sinn Fein adhered to the principle that their delegates should be present as representatives of an independent and Sovereign State.

Mr. de Valera, in reply, denied that he had ever asked Mr. Lloyd George to abandon any principle, even informally, but he insisted that Sinn Fein could only recognise themselves for what they were. If this self-recognition were made a reason for the cancellation of the conference, he regretted it, though it seemed to him inconsistent. He said that in his previous conference with Mr. Lloyd George, and in his written communications, he had never ceased to recognise himself for what he was. If this involved recognition on the part of Mr. Lloyd George then that recognition had already been given, and on the strength of that recognition Ireland might now claim the advantage of all those consequences which Mr. Lloyd George feared might follow from the reception of their delegates. He said that Sinn Fein had only one object at heart, the setting up of the conference on such a basis of truth and reality as would make it possible to secure through it the result which the people of both Islands so ardently desired.

Mr. Lloyd George, in a further reply, commented on the fact that Mr. de Valera had still omitted to modify the claim

that the delegates of Sinn Fein should enter the conference as the representatives of a Sovereign and independent State. He pointed out that no such condition had previously been spoken of. He had invited Mr. de Valera to meet him as the chosen leader of the great majority in Southern Ireland, and at the outset he had informed Mr. de Valera that the Government looked to Ireland to own allegiance to the British throne, and to make her future as a member of the British Commonwealth. That was the basis of the Government's proposals, and the status now claimed for the delegates of Sinn Fein was, in effect, a repudiation of that basis. Mr. Lloyd George said that he was still prepared to meet their delegates in the capacity of spokesmen for their people to discuss the association of Ireland with the British Commonwealth, but he and his colleagues could not meet them as the representatives of a Sovereign and independent State without disloyalty to the Throne and Empire. He repeated, therefore, that unless the objectionable paragraph of Mr. de Valera's letter was withdrawn further conference would be impossible.

To this communication Mr. de Valera telegraphed a further reply. He said that his friends had no thought of asking the British Government to accept any conditions precedent to a conference. They agreed that it would be as unreasonable to expect formal or informal recognition of the Irish Republic as to expect that they, on their side, should formally or informally surrender their national position. A conference was necessary precisely because neither side accepted the position of the other. Mr. de Valera expressed the belief that a treaty concluded between Ireland and Great Britain would end the dispute for ever and enable the two nations to settle down in peace, each pursuing its own individual development, but working together in free and friendly co-operation in affairs which they agreed to be their common concern. If such a treaty were to be negotiated representatives of the two nations must meet. If preliminary conditions were to be imposed involving surrender of the position they could not meet. Mr. de Valera concluded his telegram by saying that it seemed clear that misunderstandings were more likely to increase than to diminish by a continuance of the present correspondence. He requested Mr. Lloyd George to state, therefore, whether he demanded a surrender on the part of Sinn Fein or an invitation to a conference free on both sides. In the latter case Sinn Fein would readily accept the invitation, and their delegates would meet the representatives of the Government at any time that might be convenient.

Before replying to this telegram of Mr. de Valera the Prime Minister held a Cabinet meeting in order to ascertain the views of his colleagues. The meeting was held on September 21 and considered the lines of the reply which the Prime Minister

should send. Considerable doubt was felt as to whether Mr. de Valera in his last despatch might be considered as having waived the claim that the Sinn Fein delegates to a conference should be recognised as the representatives of a Sovereign and independent Power. General anxiety was expressed, however, that the letter to be despatched to Dublin should be such as to lead to a conference. On the other hand there was equal anxiety that it should be understood that the Irish claim to independence was an impossible one, which, if seriously made, would render a conference abortive. At length, after much discussion and considerable delay, the reply of the Government was framed and despatched to Mr. de Valera at the end of September. The Prime Minister began his letter by saying that His Majesty's Government had given close consideration to the correspondence which had passed since their invitation to Sinn Fein to a conference at Inverness. In spite of their sincere desire for peace, and in spite of the more conciliatory tone of Mr. de Valera's last communication, they had decided that they could not enter a conference upon the basis of this correspondence. Notwithstanding Mr. de Valera's personal assurance to the contrary—an assurance which was much appreciated by the Government—it might be argued in future that the acceptance of a conference on this basis had involved them in a recognition which no British Government could accord. On this point the Government must guard themselves against any possible doubt. There was no purpose to be served by any further interchange of communications upon the subject, as the position taken up by the Government was fundamental to the existence of the British Empire and could not be altered.

Mr. Lloyd George went on, however, to say that the Cabinet were keenly anxious to make another determined effort to explore every possibility of settlement by personal discussion. The proposals which they had already made had been taken by the whole world as proof that their endeavours for reconciliation and settlement were no empty form, and they felt that conference rather than correspondence was the most practical and hopeful way to an understanding such as they ardently desired to achieve. They therefore sent a fresh invitation to a conference in London on October 11 where they could meet the delegates of Sinn Fein as spokesmen of the people whom they represented, with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire, might best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

The concession made by Mr. Lloyd George in this communication was in the fact that he no longer insisted on a definite recantation of the contention by Sinn Fein that Ireland was an independent Republic. The terms which he offered as the basis of the new conference definitely ruled out that sup-



position, but no formal withdrawal was now required from the Irish leaders. Mr. de Valera at once accepted the invitation. He said that the respective positions of the two parties had been stated and were understood, and he agreed that conference not correspondence was the most practical and hopeful way to an understanding. He and his colleagues therefore accepted the invitation, and their delegates would meet the representatives of the Government in London on the date named. Mr. de Valera made no further reference to the paragraph of his earlier letter which had been the cause of the dissension. The further progress of the negotiations must be reserved for the next chapter.

Meanwhile minor disturbances occasionally occurred in Ireland. At the beginning of September employees of the Cork Harbour Commissioners, who were on strike for a minimum wage of 70s. a week, decided that no permits to enable pilots to take ships in and out of port should be granted until the Harbour Board conceded their application. This decision was immediately put into effect, the officials of the Union taking control of the harbour offices and all the shipping of the port. The Red Flag was flown over the harbour offices, strikers picketed the building, while their officials began to collect harbour dues from the ships' agents. The strike, however, was not of long duration. As the result of conferences on September 5 the dispute was referred for arbitration to a conference presided over by a chairman appointed by the Labour Department of Dail Eireann, and the men then returned to work at once.

On September 25 and 26 there were disturbances in Belfast, two bombs were thrown, three persons were killed and forty-six seriously wounded, while a large number of others received minor wounds. Further firing took place on September 28 following upon the return of a funeral party from the Belfast City Cemetery, where a Protestant victim of the rioting had been buried. The party was confronted by a large crowd, several of whom produced revolvers and began firing. One man was killed and several were wounded before police reinforcements arrived and the disturbance was quelled. On the same date an armed conflict took place between civilians and police in the town of Tipperary, as the result of which three civilians and two police were wounded. In view of the terms of the Irish truce the matter was referred to a joint inquiry, in which both sides participated.

Both Houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland met during September. In the Senate on September 20 Lord Londonderry defended the action of the Ulster Cabinet in accepting the invitation of Mr. Lloyd George to a conference in Downing Street. To refuse that invitation, he said, would have put them in the wrong before the British people, and would have involved a risk of settlement behind their back which might

have been damaging to their interests. He urged the Northern people to exercise patience, and expressed the hope that ultimately a mutual spirit of trust and confidence would spring up in all parts of the country. What was wanted was peace, and until peace was secured Ireland was at a standstill. There must be an end of intimidations and of assassination, and the part of Northern Ireland in bringing about this state of affairs was best enacted by encouraging and displaying a spirit of peace and toleration.

Sir James Craig also defended the action of the Northern Cabinet in accepting the invitation of Mr. Lloyd George to a joint conference with Mr. de Valera. Addressing the House of Commons of Northern Ireland he said that it was true that Ulster had nothing to give away in that conference, nor had any of his colleagues the slightest desire to give anything away. He insisted that they had a good cause which they were prepared to argue in any council or across any table.

The proceedings of the Northern Parliament were for some time hampered by reason of the fact that the Ministries were not yet in full control of their departments owing to the long conversations taking place between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera. The Northern Cabinet, however, were not disposed to take hasty action. They hoped that after some delay, and the exercise of patience, the Irish negotiations might be brought to a successful conclusion. But their supporters in the Commons were less accommodating. Allegations were made that the Sinn Fein Party had not kept the truce in Ulster, and it was urged that the Police Force and the Special Constabulary should be taken over by the Northern Government for the preservation of law and order. The dissatisfaction expressed itself in a debate arising on a motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons. Mr. Lynn said that they had agreed to accept their Parliament in the interests of peace, not because they believed it was the best thing; but no sooner had they accepted it than Mr. Lloyd George embarked upon a conference which was calculated to upset the whole arrangements embodied in the Government of Ireland Act. These proceedings placed the Ulster Government and Parliament in a very anomalous position. Sinn Fein were playing on the tolerance of the British people and the people of Ulster. The moment the truce had been declared there had been an intensified campaign in Ulster on the part of the Sinn Fein gunmen. Anxiety was also expressed by Sir Robert Anderson, a former Mayor of Londonderry, who said that he had grave doubts as to the effect which the proposals of Mr. de Valera would have upon Ulster, and that he hoped that if a conference took place the Premier of Northern Ireland would see that Ulster was not prejudiced. He denied that the British Government had any right to reward rebellion at the expense of loyalty.

On September 25 Sir James Craig made a statement on the subject of Sinn Fein activities and the plans of the Government for the maintenance of order. He said that it was true that during the last two months large quantities of arms and ammunition had been brought into Southern Ireland by Sinn Feiners, and that the Sinn Feiners were constantly engaged in drilling. In consequence it had been decided to re-mobilise the Special Constabulary in certain parts of Northern Ireland. In such areas as were under military control the Special Constables would be under the military for all practical purposes. The Premier appealed to law-abiding citizens to assist the military and police authorities in the arduous and dangerous duty of restoring and maintaining law and order, and in protecting life and property.

At the end of September the Parliament of Northern Ireland considered the second reading of several Exchequer Bills. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. H. M. Pollock, moved the second reading of the Temporary Exchequer Borrowing Bill, which authorised and legalised the borrowings that had already taken place in order to provide the various Services from June 7 to the end of the financial year. The second reading was passed, and the House of Commons then approved of the appointment of an Auditor-General at a salary of 1,350*l.* per annum. On the motion for the adjournment Sir James Craig announced that October 1 had been fixed as the appointed day for the handing over of the complete control of the Judiciary to Northern Ireland. From that date the High Courts of Justice would have their centre in Belfast.

The only important political speech during September was one by Mr. Churchill at Dundee on the 24th. Mr. Churchill began by referring to Ireland. He said that substantially and in principle the offer of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland went to the utmost limit possible. If it was rejected the Government had nothing else to offer. Loyalty to the Empire was the key to Irish unity. No quibble about words would be allowed to stand in the way of practical steps to peace, but a successful conference was wanted. If the conference was squandered peace would be bankrupt. Mr. Churchill went on to allude to the Washington Conference on disarmament, saying that however important it might be, a conference on the establishment of normal exchanges was even more urgent. One-tenth of the dose of Communism which had shattered Russia would kill Great Britain stone dead. Rigorous economy was demanded, and Mr. Churchill affirmed that there was every prospect of saving 20,000,000*l.* in the coming year in Mesopotamia. The troubles which were agitating the world must be met by peaceful co-operation in two quarters: (1) between Britain, France, and Germany, to rebuild the prosperity of Europe, and (2) between the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, to secure peace in the Pacific.

The general feeling against high rates took practical form at the beginning of September when the Poplar Borough Council refused to levy rates to meet the precepts of the London County Council and the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The reason given by the Council for their refusal was that the people of Poplar were unable to pay the high rates demanded. They steadily resisted all pressure brought to bear upon them to levy the rates, and eventually Writs of Attachment against members of the Council were put into execution by Sheriff's Officers, and thirty members were committed to prison. They announced that they had taken this action deliberately, and that they intended to continue to take the same course until the Government dealt with the question of unemployment, the provision of work, or a full maintenance for all, and carried into effect their long-promised and much overdue reform for the equalisation of rates. The arrests included five women members of the Poplar Borough Council who were taken to Holloway Gaol on September 5. On September 12 a petition was sent to the Home Secretary for the immediate release of the Poplar Council. The petition urged that they had not been guilty of any criminal offence, and that they had not been tried and sentenced. Their detention was not called imprisonment, but in many respects they were being treated as ordinary prisoners. They took the action which led to their arrest in order to demonstrate the inability of the district which they represented to pay the precepts levied by the London County Council, over and above the heavy rate which they themselves had felt compelled to levy in order to save the unemployed of their district from starvation. To this petition the Home Secretary replied that since the Poplar Councillors had not been convicted of criminal offences, and were not undergoing punishment for such offences, he had no power to interfere with orders made by the High Court for their detention, nor had he any power to vary the statutory provisions which governed their treatment while in prison, but all reasonable concessions within the discretion of the Prison Commission were being allowed, and the prison authorities were doing all that they could to mitigate the discomfort necessarily attendant upon imprisonment.

Local rates, however, had now reached their highest point, and during September reductions in a number of London Boroughs were announced. At Fulham the rates were reduced by 1s., from 8s. 7d. to 7s. 7d. in the £; in Kensington they were reduced by 4d.; in St. Pancras by 4d.; in Paddington by 2d.; in Chelsea by 10d.; in Deptford by 8d., and in other Boroughs on a similar scale.

The annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress was opened at Cardiff on September 5. The President, Mr. E. L. Poulton, in his opening address, appealed for unity in order that the social revolution might be brought about by a

gradual process of evolution. He referred to the disgraceful spectacle of millions of people lacking employment, while at the same time there was a crying need in the world for more and more goods to supply the necessities of life. Unemployment, indeed, formed a conspicuous feature in the discussions of the Congress. In the course of the day a deputation of unemployed arrived, and their spokesmen gave an early lead on the subject which was most prominently before their attention. It was stated that some unemployed miners had walked twenty or thirty miles in order to be present. The demand made was for work if possible, but failing it for full maintenance, and on the whole this demand was placed before the Congress in a quiet and temperate manner. One speaker said that they were determined to pester Boards of Guardians in order to make them realise their responsibility and to pass on to the Government a sense of its responsibility. The business of the Congress was to take action and put gunpowder behind the Government, not merely to pass resolutions.

A more threatening tone was adopted by a Glasgow speaker, Mr. Maclean, who promised that the unemployed would watch the actions of the Union leaders. Unless the leaders were prepared to act he would advise the workers of Scotland not to allow one of them to speak in public. Full wages should be paid to the unemployed. The position in Scotland, he said, where there were no Guardians, was desperate; the Miners' Federation had been smashed and the turn of the railwaymen was coming. Failing action by the Government the speaker called for a general strike, and concluded by the suggestion that the only thing to defeat capitalism was one big Union.

Among the speakers was the Lord Mayor of Cardiff, who warned the Congress against their biggest enemy which was within their own ranks—the reference being to the activities of the extremists. If the rank and file were stampeded, it would do more damage to the movement than would be possible to repair in ten years. There was too much complaint among the rank and file, and it was impossible to go on successfully unless confidence was placed in the leaders. On the other hand the leaders must see that they were equal to the occasion.

On September 6 the Congress discussed in detail the question of unemployment. A resolution framed by the Parliamentary Committee was moved by the President. The terms of this resolution were that the Congress reaffirmed the principle that it was the duty of the State to provide work or adequate maintenance for every willing worker, that it approved the action of those Boards of Guardians which had endeavoured adequately to relieve the necessities of the unemployed, but at the same time expressing the opinion that this burden, mainly due to the war, should not have been imposed on

the ratepayers. The resolution further demanded that Parliament should be immediately summoned, that practicable schemes of work should be introduced without delay, and that inequalities of rating should be removed in the London area. Finally, the resolution expressed the opinion that the Poplar Councillors had rendered a real national service, and the Congress pledged itself to use all the strength at its command to secure work or maintenance for the unemployed throughout the country.

In moving this resolution Mr. Poulton said that the position of the unemployed workers was intolerable and disgraceful, and that all their energy would have to be bent towards altering it. At the same time they must avoid playing into the hands of those who were ready to take advantage of any mistakes they might make. He claimed that the programme put forward by Labour would be a remedy, and reaffirmed the principle that it was the duty of the State to provide work or adequate maintenance. The terrible nightmare of unemployment was haunting not only the unemployed but those who were at the moment employed. Referring to Poplar, Mr. Poulton said that it was a remarkable thing that the Government ignored logical and constitutional methods and forced the Councillors to take exceptional action.

In the course of the debate Mr. H. Gosling attributed the action of the Poplar Council to the desire to secure equalisation of rates in London, and urged that the Government should again put into operation the Unemployed Workmen's Act. All that the Poplar Council had done was to refuse to levy certain rates which the people of Poplar were unable to pay.

Many speakers insisted on the immediate calling together of Parliament to consider the question, and on the holding of demonstrations throughout the country to impress the Labour view on members of Parliament. The resolution was then passed.

On the following day the Congress discussed the case presented by a Belfast deputation of workers expelled from the shipyards. After the riots in Belfast during the summer, culminating in the expulsion of workers from the shipyards, nominally because they were Catholics, the Joiners' Union had called out its Belfast members as a protest. No other Unions had taken similar action, and many members of the Joiners' Union who refused to strike were expelled. The Congress, after some discussion, passed a resolution asking the Parliamentary Committee to take immediate steps to safeguard the interests of those Trade Unionists who were denied the right to work in Belfast.

On September 8 a resolution was passed approving the action of the President of the United States in calling an International Conference to discuss the question of disarmament.

ment. With this policy the Congress was in full agreement, but the resolution affirmed that the conference could not be satisfactory unless labour was adequately represented thereat, and claimed the right of the Congress to appoint representatives of organised labour to attend the conference. Mr. Thomas pointed out that expenditure on our armed forces was now two and a half times what it had been before the war. The League of Nations was useless and would prove non-effective unless it dealt with armaments. The way to impress upon future generations a horror of war was to take from Governments the only means by which they could wage war. The Congress ended on September 10 after debating a great variety of subjects connected with the interests of labour. The meetings were marked by a general moderation of view, and although some extremist speeches were made the left wing was less prominent than it had sometimes been.

The movement in favour of the right to work developed during the autumn in rather a surprising way. At the end of August unemployed men at Woolwich presented to a Labour Board of Guardians a demand for relief on a scale which would give a married man with five children 5*l.* 5*s.* a week, and the unemployed of Shoreditch decided to reject a proposal of the Guardians to grant relief on a basis of 30*s.* a week for a man and his wife with an additional 5*s.* a week for each dependent child. The Boards of Guardians selected for pressure in this manner were those with Labour majorities or belonging to Boroughs where Socialists were in power on the Borough Councils. Speakers in Shoreditch impressed upon the crowds which they addressed, that by means of "solidarity" they could demand and obtain anything they liked to ask. The unreasonableness of these demands is indicated by the fact that their concession in full would in twelve months have increased the local rate of Shoreditch by 12*s.* in the *£*. A deputation of unemployed went to the offices of the Board of Guardians and a conference was held, as the result of which the Guardians proposed that relief should be granted at the rate of 15*s.* a week for each married man, with 15*s.* a week for his wife and 5*s.* a week for each dependent child. It was suggested that in the case of adults one-third of the relief should be in the form of food, and that in respect of children 2*s.* should be paid in money and 3*s.* distributed in kind. For single persons the offer was one of 10*s.* a week in money and 5*s.* a week in kind. The Guardians also reserved the right to deal with special cases on their merits. The deputation thereupon informed the Guardians that they could not accept the offer, and a crowd of about 1,000 men endorsed this refusal when the terms were conveyed to them. It was decided that a further meeting of the unemployed should be held on September 1 at Hoxton.

At the beginning of September processions of unemployed to meetings of Boards of Guardians were a daily occurrence in

London, the rates of relief demanded being equal to a full working wage. At Hackney Workhouse a number of unemployed refused to do the usual work required of inmates and were sent to prison by the magistrates. At Islington relief was granted to the amount of 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* to men with a wife and six children, and demands for similar rates were put forward at Lambeth, Hammersmith, and West Ham. In the two latter cases there were demonstrations by the unemployed for the purpose of intimidating the Local Authorities. At this period the total numbers of unemployed on the registers of the Employment Exchanges in the United Kingdom exceeded 1,500,000.

So extravagant were the demands put forward by the unemployed that even the Labour Boards of Guardians, while ready enough to give relief on a generous basis, revolted against claims which they could not meet for more than a few weeks without exhausting their immediate resources. The total impracticability of the demands, and lack of organisation among the unemployed themselves prevented the movement from assuming formidable dimensions; in point of fact it expended itself mainly in talk, and threats of violence soon died out.

On September 6 there were scenes of disorder in Dundee owing to the action of the unemployed. The trade of the city was depressed, and there was a large number of people out of work. They assembled in thousands in a central area and marched to the Parish Council offices with a view to interview the officials. On their arrival they found the doors locked. They broke the panels and a number of windows before the police arrived and charged the crowd with their batons. Subsequently a deputation was received by the officials, who stated that they had no power to give the immediate relief demanded, and that to obtain relief the unemployed must register in the ordinary way. On the 7th damage to the extent of several thousands of pounds was caused by the smashing of shop windows by the unemployed in Dundee, and the police came into conflict with the crowds both there and in Bristol, a number of arrests being made in both towns.

Meanwhile the Ministry of Health had under its consideration the scale of payments proposed by the Islington Board of Guardians, and rising, as already stated, up to 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* a week for a man with a wife and six children. The Ministry decided that the proposed rates of relief were illegal, and issued a circular laying down general instructions to Boards of Guardians on the subject. The principles embodied in these instructions were that relief should be sufficient to alleviate distress, but should be calculated on a lower scale than the earnings of a workman; that it should not be given without full investigation of the circumstances of each applicant for relief, and that the greater proportion of relief should be given in kind. The Ministry reminded the Guardians that relief



might take the form of a loan, and suggested that whenever practicable the applicant should be required to sign an undertaking to repay whatever relief might be granted. Upon receipt of these instructions the Islington Guardians abandoned the high rates which they had adopted, and reverted to their former scale of relief which allowed 5s. for a man or for a woman, 1s. for each child, and various extras. Although the high scale had been in force for less than a week it had cost the Guardians several thousands of pounds.

On September 12 a serious riot arose in Liverpool out of a demonstration of unemployed consisting of a crowd of five or six thousand persons. A grievance was made of the fact that no hall had been provided for the meeting, and after some inflammatory speeches a rush was made into the Walker Art Gallery, into which some hundreds of the demonstrators succeeded in effecting an entry. The police, however, followed them into the building and closed the doors. When they refused to leave a fight took place, at the end of which the crowd was overpowered and about 100 arrests were made, twelve persons being injured.

One effect of these disturbances was the appointment of a Cabinet Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Alfred Mond, to consider the question of unemployment. A scheme was formulated for the extension of State financial aid to those localities where the need was greatest. This Committee reached the conclusion that the best method of dealing with the problem was for Local Authorities to raise loans for utility work with a State grant to meet half the interest and sinking fund charges for a number of years. This decision was communicated on September 16 to a deputation of the Labour Mayors of London. These Labour Mayors had already taken a prominent part in urging prompt action by Government. They had announced their intention of proceeding to Inverness to see Mr. Lloyd George, but the Prime Minister had represented the improbability of his being able to see them and had referred them to the newly appointed Cabinet Committee. The proposals of the Cabinet Committee were as follows:—

(1) In cases where Local Authorities had embarked upon approved works for the purpose of providing employment, and which would not otherwise have been proceeded with, the State would give financial assistance to the extent of 50 per cent. of the interest and sinking fund charges of loans raised to meet expenditure on schemes actively commenced before January 1, 1922. These grants would be paid by the State for a period of one half the term of the loans subject to a maximum of fifteen years.

(2) In the case of revenue-producing works, grants would be paid in approved cases equivalent to 50 per cent. of the interest on loans raised for a period of not less than ten years in respect of expenditure on schemes actively commenced before January 1, 1922.

It was hoped that the effect of these proposals would be to enable Local Authorities to proceed with useful public work calculated to provide a large amount of employment. The Unemployment Grants Committee, under the chairmanship of Lord St. Davids, was to continue for the time being to deal with schemes submitted to it.

These proposals were far from satisfying the deputation of Labour Mayors. They immediately telegraphed to the Prime Minister stating their intention of proceeding forthwith to Inverness to interview him on the matter. The ground of their objection was that the scheme was inadequate as a solution of the problem, and imposed impossible burdens on local taxpayers—burdens which were in reality a national concern. The opinion generally expressed by the Mayors was that the raising of new loans was out of the question. The Mayor of Bermondsey said that they had in that Borough 10,000 unemployed men, and that it was impossible for them to shoulder any more loan commitments since their rates already stood at 22*s.* 2*d.* in the £.

Mr. Lloyd George did his best to deter the Labour Mayors from their projected journey to Inverness. He telegraphed saying that on account of ill-health he had been forbidden by his doctor to give official interviews, and therefore that it was useless for the Mayors to make their journey North. These gentlemen, however, were not to be put off, and they carried out their intention and travelled to Inverness on September 17. On arrival there they found a message awaiting them to the effect that Mr. Lloyd George was at present unable to see them, but would do so as soon as the doctor permitted it. The interview in fact took place at Gairloch on September 22. At this interview the Mayors represented that the problem of unemployment was a national one and should be shouldered by the central Government. They laid emphasis on the great burden imposed on ratepayers particularly in the poorer parts of London. They described the disappointment which had followed various schemes of work put into operation the previous winter, and which had absorbed a relatively small number of men. Finally they submitted a number of schemes and proposals to which the Prime Minister promised to give consideration.

In reply to the representations of the Mayors, the Prime Minister stated that the problem had received his close consideration, and that he had summoned Ministers from London to explore possible means of alleviating distress. He emphasised the point that the central Government could not shoulder the burden alone, and that co-operation between the Government, Local Authorities, manufacturers, traders, bankers, and organised labour was essential for dealing satisfactorily with the problem. He was taking steps immediately in this direction. Parliament must be consulted, however, and when it met he would make a

statement on the whole problem. In the meantime a Cabinet Committee were taking steps to assist Boards of Guardians seriously embarrassed by unemployment to obtain loans, for meeting which the Guardians would be responsible.

The urgency of the problem of unemployment had now become so great that it dominated every other political issue except that of Ireland. It was destined to be the main occupation of the Autumn session of Parliament, and the interval before Parliament met was spent in obtaining the views of all who were qualified to express an opinion. New members were nominated to the Cabinet Committee on Unemployment, including Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, and Mr. Winston Churchill, Colonial Secretary. The Committee thus became almost a small Cabinet, and Ministers were continuously occupied both in London and at Gairloch in seeking some solution for the difficulty. It was soon recognised that the problem was of greater dimensions than had at first been imagined, and the Cabinet Committee sought for some other methods of dealing with it beyond that of public relief work. The fact was forced upon them that relief work could touch only the fringe of the question. There were at the end of September about 1,500,000 unemployed men. If 1,000,000 of these could be put to road-making or other forms of improvised labour, the wage cost would not be less than 2*l.* a week for each man, and the labour costs of such schemes would represent only half the total cost. This meant that relief work would involve an expenditure of about 16,000,000*l.* a month. This was the state of affairs in which the Government found themselves called upon to formulate a policy before the meeting of Parliament.

## CHAPTER IV.

### FOUNDATION OF THE IRISH FREE STATE.

THE most pressing task of the Cabinet at the beginning of October was the consideration of the business for the Autumn session of Parliament and the selection of representatives for the Irish Conference. It was generally understood that the Autumn session would be short and devoted mainly to attempting to solve the problem of unemployment. Notwithstanding his preoccupation with Irish affairs, Mr. Lloyd George found time to give close personal attention to the unemployment problem. On October 1 and following days he held a conference at Gairloch with a number of representative manufacturers and financiers on the industrial position of the country. The discussion elicited the fact that there was a demand for British manufactures in the markets of the world, but that it was not an effective demand, partly because the prices of commodities were too high, and partly because the

instability of the foreign exchanges made realisable prices uncertain. Consideration of the prices of commodities then led to discussion of the causes of high cost of production. The standard of wages was reviewed in relation to the standard of living, and there was a strong expression of opinion that the retail prices of many essential articles of food and clothing ought to come down. Competition in the retail trades had not, in the opinion of some of the experts, been effective in adjusting shop prices to manufacturers' prices, with the result that the purchaser—who in the majority of cases was a good wage-earner—had not realised the full purchasing power of his wages. If retail prices fell until they were commensurate with wholesale prices, the nominal amount of wages might be reduced without diminishing their purchasing power. Reductions in wages would be reflected in lower costs of production and in course of time a normal standard would be reached. Simultaneous reductions in the cost of production might once again, with a stable rate of exchange, bring British manufactures within the purchasing power of the foreign consumer.

The Prime Minister expressed anxiety to learn the present and the prospective extent of trade depression and unemployment, the probable duration of the crisis, the parts of the world with which business might be carried on and extended, and whether a revival of trade might be anticipated in the near future. The replies were not reassuring. As far as the depression was concerned it was expected to become more acute during the winter months. It was anticipated that unemployment would steadily increase in intensity for six months, and that no revival of industry could be looked for, in the normal course of events, before March, 1922.

In the course of the discussion it was made clear that the industrial community would appreciate an export credits scheme. The criticism which had been levelled against such a scheme was not directed against the principle of it but against the method of its administration, which, instead of being in the hands of commercial men, was largely committed to financiers and Government officials. The commercial community desired a scheme under the control of business men who would relax the rigidity of Government regulations, and make conditions to suit the needs of particular countries and particular kinds of trade. Representations were made to the Prime Minister both as to the need for drastic retrenchment in national expenditure, in order that the burden of taxation might be lightened, and as to the disturbing effects upon trade of continuance of war in the Near East and of the political unrest in Poland.

In view of the important business which had to be transacted, Mr. Lloyd George decided to curtail his holiday in the North by a few days, and he left Gairloch on October 4. On

his way south he stopped at Inverness, where the freedom of the city was conferred upon him. In replying, Mr. Lloyd George dealt with the question of unemployment. He said that the schemes of Ministers were not yet formulated and could not be formulated until the Cabinet had met. The trade depression was not a normal depression. It was a result of the shattering effect of war on world trade, credit, and confidence. The greatest amount of unemployment was in the countries whose credit stood highest. The exchanges reflected the conditions paralysing trade; their violent and extreme fluctuations made trade difficult. Normal conditions would not be established until the nations realised two things: (1) That concord and co-operation with their neighbours constituted the only firm basis for their own national prosperity; (2) That national wealth was not increased by turning out fresh batches of Treasury Notes from the printing press.

The Prime Minister then laid down four general considerations which must apply to any sound scheme for dealing with unemployment.

The first—put forward as an axiom of civilised government—was that men willing and anxious to work, but for whom no work could be found, must not be allowed to starve so long as there was a crust in the national cupboard. He reminded his hearers that multitudes of these men had willingly placed their lives at the disposal of their country and faced death and mutilation.

Secondly, in computing the measure of support to be given, the resources of the country and the burdens of the country had to be considered. It was impossible to deal out, even to a perfectly justifiable claimant, the full measure of what he was entitled to without regard to what there was in the common till.

Thirdly, doles unduly prolonged were apt to become demoralising to the individual who received them. It was very much better to find work for him.

Fourthly, it was infinitely better to find work for him in the ordinary operations of his own trade if possible, but no expedient should have the effect of retarding the return to normal conditions. The fact was frequently forgotten that the nation was producing only 80 per cent. of its pre-war productions. Many were insisting upon better conditions than they had had before the war, which meant that others had to go very short.

The final point in the Prime Minister's speech was that the nations and the several classes of our own nation must co-operate in economy. If a return to normal conditions was to be expected it was necessary to promote an atmosphere of peace throughout the world. Nations must not only live within their means, but must save. The Government must show the strictest economy, and the same duty fell upon Local Authorities and upon private individuals. A permanent cure

could only be achieved by complete co-operation between all classes of the community such as existed during the war. Unless there was co-operation we should proceed from crisis to disaster. Mr. Lloyd George gave Russia as an instance of what happened when one class endeavoured to benefit itself at the expense of another class. He asked, therefore, for the measures which he would propose, a consideration free from any class spirit but inspired by the recognition that what was best for all classes was best for each, and what was best for each was best for all. At the conclusion of this speech Mr. Lloyd George left Inverness for London.

As soon as he had returned he called Labour and Trade Union leaders into consultation on the subject of unemployment. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress happened to be in session, and practically all its members went to Downing Street, where the case for Labour was put by various speakers. Mr. Lloyd George suggested that they should appoint four or five members to consult with him on the programme which they had put forward, and further that they should act upon a small Committee which he intended to appoint, representing various sides of industry and commerce, for the consideration of the best course of procedure to meet the existing and future situation. Subsequently nominees were duly appointed and met the Prime Minister. The Government, however, found great difficulty in formulating their policy, and a week before the opening of Parliament Ministers had still failed to find agreement upon the proposals which Parliament was meeting to deliberate. It was believed that the procedure favoured by the Cabinet Committee on unemployment was different from that which commended itself to Mr. Lloyd George.

Meanwhile disorders among the unemployed again broke out. The third week of October had been marked by agitators as a national week of agitation, the claim which they made being either for work or for full maintenance at Trade Union rate of wages. Demonstrations, therefore, were organised on a large scale. On October 13 there was a procession through the streets of London, of which the avowed objects were to seek an interview with the Prime Minister, and to hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square. Neither of these objects was achieved, but there were several fights with the police, leading to some minor injuries and a few arrests, and also a little window smashing and attempted looting.

The Autumn session of Parliament opened on October 18, and Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons immediately moved a resolution taking the whole of the Parliamentary time for the consideration of Bills dealing with unemployment. He indicated that the Government would introduce four Bills, all of which were designed to alleviate the existing distress and to remove the difficulties with which the country was confronted.

Mr. Chamberlain said that he was assuming a general desire on the part of the House to deal with the subject as expeditiously as possible, and as far as possible free from a controversial atmosphere. Assuming a general spirit of good-will and a desire to find a settlement and carry such measures he anticipated that the House might rise after a fortnight.

Mr. Clynes then complained that the procedure was not in keeping with the expectations of the country. He protested against the idea that members must hurry through the measures within a fortnight. It was better that the House should spend two or three times that period in considering the proposed legislation than that it should be obliged to meet again later on by the pressure of the crisis which was certain to develop in the country.

The proposals of the Government were submitted to the House by the Prime Minister on the following day. He said that the country was confronted with the worst period of unemployment that it had seen probably for 100 years. Every war had been followed by periods of depression, and the depression in the present circumstances had been in proportion to the magnitude of the war. He explained that there were two possible policies; either that they should take no action and let economic causes work their ruthless way to the end, or that the community should render such assistance as it could towards shortening the period of depression, and limiting its operations. He reminded the House that in 1920 a measure had been carried which added 8,000,000 workers to the Insurance fund. Between September, 1920, and October, 1921, 48,000,000*l.* had been distributed. Schemes for providing relief work had been set on foot, and steps had been taken to enable ex-Service men to settle in the Dominions. Under the latter scheme 60,000 men had already benefited.

As part of the new scheme now proposed, Parliament was to be asked to sanction the expenditure of 300,000*l.* to enable more ex-Service men to emigrate. As regards a revival of trade, he did not believe that there was a wide field for enterprise in Russia as had been suggested. Emphasising the necessity for decreasing the cost of production, the Prime Minister said that that was a matter which employers and employed must work out for themselves. The Government could assist in raising capital for business enterprises, and a guarantee would be given to pay interest and principal on a loan if this was calculated to promote employment in the United Kingdom. Such enterprises would be railway extension, electrification schemes, and waterway works, which would produce immediate employment, the powers to be so limited that the aggregate capital sum guaranteed should not exceed 25,000,000*l.* A Committee of men of high authority was to assist the working of the scheme. The remainder of the Government's proposals included an effort to develop the resources of African and other possessions, and a

provision of 10,000,000*l.* for relief works; an Unemployed Workers' Dependents' Fund was to be established, the grants being at the weekly rate of 5*s.* for a wife and 1*s.* for each child, subject to a maximum limit of 9*s.* a week. The necessary money was to be raised by means of a compulsory levy upon contributors under the Unemployment Insurance Act.

At the conclusion of the Prime Minister's speech Mr. Clynes said that it showed that the test of Government was the provision of employment for the people and contentment. Formally Parliament had not gone beyond the provision of unemployed insurance, but now it was to enter the trade forces of the world in order to get work and keep people employed. Mr. Asquith, while regretting the delay in introducing the Government proposals, said that if provision had been made for free exchange of commodities exchanges would stabilise themselves. He declared that there must be a reduction of public expenditure which would lead to the removal of the present crushing taxation.

The debate was continued on the following day by Dr. Addison, the former Minister of Health, who denounced the futility of the proposals outlined by the Prime Minister. He said that the housing policy of the Government had increased unemployment. In connexion with the City of London housing scheme at Ilford nearly 1,000 men had been dismissed during the last three months. Ten times as many men as were engaged could have been employed.

Dr. Addison was answered by his successor, Sir Alfred Mond, who recalled that Dr. Addison had last year been chairman of the Cabinet Committee for dealing with unemployment, and that he had also been Minister for Reconstruction. Yet Sir Alfred Mond affirmed that in neither of those capacities had he produced any scheme as good as that now proposed by the Government. The Minister quoted figures from the registers of Labour Exchanges in proof of the statement that the building trade was employed to the full extent of its capacity. Turning to the criticisms regarding financial policy, Sir Alfred Mond said that Dr. Addison was completely lost when he came to deal with commerce and finance.

Mr. J. H. Thomas subsequently argued that the country was not suffering from over-production but from under-consumption. He regarded the problem as an international one, and deprecated a prejudice against Germany which might bring about economic disaster. In a general reply to the debate Dr. Macnamara stated that during the last three months things had been moving very slowly in the right direction. The prospect for the winter was that 1,500,000 people would be unemployed. The Unemployment Grants Committee had received forty-eight formal applications from twenty-eight Local Authorities.

Dr. Macnamara introduced the Unemployed Workers' Dependents' (Temporary Provision) Bill on October 24. He



said that the special fund would amount to 5,500,000*l.* in six months, of which sum the workers would contribute 1,500,000*l.*, the employers 1,500,000*l.*, and the State 2,500,000*l.* It was estimated that the measure of additional relief given during the winter would affect 700,000 wives and very nearly double as many children. Domestic servants were excluded because for them work was better than relief.

The Government scheme was criticised by Mr. Clynes, and its rejection moved on the ground that it provided inadequate assistance to working class families and no assistance to others; that it added to the burden upon certain industries, and imposed a further tax on a section of the workers while excepting from direct contribution other and wealthier classes of the community, and also that it failed to recognise the full obligation of the State towards every citizen deprived of the means of livelihood.

During the Committee stage of the Bill Mr. Clynes angrily described it as a mockery, and declared that since the amount proposed was so contemptible, the Government ought never to have undertaken to establish a fund of that kind. The Labour Party sought to amend the Bill in order that the amount received by a wife should be 10*s.* a week instead of 5*s.* They suggested that the cost of the 10*s.* grant should be a national charge. Dr. Macnamara, in reply, emphasised the fact that the State could not contribute more than 3*d.* a week, and the only way to increase the payment to dependents would be by increasing the contributions of the employers and workpeople. At the present time he was taking 1*s.* 3*d.* from the employer and 1*s.* 2*d.* from the workman, and he could not place further burdens upon them.

After this amendment had been defeated by 223 votes against 92 another was moved for increasing the grants to children to 7*s.* 6*d.* in the case of the first child and 6*s.* in the case of others. Mr. Clynes, however, intervened and said that he would not be a party to this pretence. He did not think it was necessary for Labour members to take any further part in the discussion. Dr. Macnamara regretted this step, and pointed out that to adopt the suggestion in the amendment would involve a cost of 9,800,000*l.* At this stage in the proceedings great excitement prevailed upon the Labour benches; two members were ordered by the Chairman to withdraw from the House for making insulting remarks, and an uproar ensued, in the course of which many other members of the Labour Party left the House.

The Report stage of the Bill was dealt with on November 1, when appeals were made to the Government to increase the donation in respect of the children of unemployed workpeople from 1*s.* to 2*s.* The Minister of Labour, however, could not see his way to make the concession, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to intervene in order to warn the House of the impossibility of incurring further expense.

In the division which followed the Government majority fell to thirty-three. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, while admitting the sentimental appeal, pointed out that the concession would mean 1,700,000*l.*, and this was only part of the commitments of the Government in respect of the alleviation of the conditions arising from the present unemployment. He said that next year they would have a very depleted revenue, and that a very serious problem confronted them when they came to consider the Budget. Where was the money to come from? Were they going to ask him to put on more grievous taxation? One of the most pregnant causes of unemployment was the burden of taxation under which the public already laboured, and he hoped that the House would not suggest the imposition of any further burdens. Ultimately Dr. Macnamara accepted an amendment extending the age-limit of children in respect of whom benefit would be paid to sixteen years, and also an amendment abolishing the limitation of relief to four children per family. In this form the Bill passed into law.

The most important of the other Bills introduced by the Government was the Trade Facilities Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Sir Robert Horne in the House of Commons on October 25. He said that unemployment was so grave that it might prove a menace to the social fabric of the State. We were suffering from the failure of trade and the lack of industrial enterprise. By the measure now proposed for the purpose of guaranteeing loans, the Government hoped to stimulate enterprise once more. In the schemes considered the preference would be given to those proposals which came from the Dominions. The guarantee was also applicable to undertakings within the United Kingdom. It was intended to set up a small expert Committee to deal with the applications. This Committee would have full control and the Treasury would not seek to exercise discrimination between one scheme and another. There were two limitations: guarantees could only be given for a year—though this did not mean that the work was to be completed within a year—and the guarantees would not exceed loans to the amount of 25,000,000*l.*

Sir Robert Horne referred to the various undertakings proposed by the Government to deal with unemployment, pointing out that the obligations undertaken were very great considering our present resources. He admitted that the export credit scheme had hitherto failed, but the Government now proposed, on short credits, to guarantee the whole price of the goods. The period in which the transactions had to be completed had been extended to September, 1927, and the scheme had been widened to include all the countries of the world. As regards the reduction of prices, Sir Robert Horne appealed to employers and employed to do their part. He

predicted that in the future there would be such a co-operation between employer and employed as had not before been seen; that was the first essential of the revival of trade.

Sir Donald Maclean, who continued the discussion, considered that the cause of the present world-wide bad trade was a calamitous war followed by a bad peace. He contended that we should never accomplish much improvement in trade until the insanity of military expenditure was wiped out. The Bill subsequently passed into law.

It will be remembered that part of the terms of the settlement of the coal strike in the summer included a subsidy of 10,000,000*l.* for mitigating the great reductions in wages. At that time it was generally contemplated that the whole of this sum would have been absorbed by the end of September when the transitional period was due to terminate. Owing to the fact, however, that the calls from many of the mining districts were not so great as had been anticipated, 3,000,000*l.* remained unspent at the appointed time, and under the original vote of the House of Commons this amount had now to go to the Treasury. The Miners' Federation in October requested the Government to allot this sum for the mitigation of further reductions, but the application was refused.

In point of fact the reductions brought wages down almost to the minimum, equivalent to 20 per cent. over the average earnings in July, 1914. In the South Wales coal-field during November the wages of piece-work miners stood at about 11*s.* 3*d.* per day; underground day wage men received an average of about 9*s.* 3*d.* a day, while the lower paid surface workmen received only about 7*s.* per day. These rates of wages represented a fall from 4*s.* to 5*s.* per day as compared with September. On November 9 the Executive of the Miners' Federation had an interview with the Prime Minister and placed before him a tabulated statement showing the drastic nature of the wage cuts which had come into operation. They pressed for assistance from the Government to relieve those districts where the reductions had been most serious. After Mr. Hodges had put the case for the miners Mr. Lloyd George expressed sympathy with the plight in which the men found themselves, but had to regret the inability of the Cabinet to provide financial assistance. He pointed out that there was no money at the present time to maintain wage levels by the artificial support of a subsidy, and that if there were, other industries suffering from depression would question the right of the miners to receive preferential treatment.

The demand for equalisation of rates in London led the Government to introduce a Local Authorities (Financial Provisions) Bill, the main proposal of which was that the cost of outdoor relief in London should be a charge against the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. Sir Alfred Mond, in introducing the Bill, said that the greater part of the poorer and industrial

population lived within certain municipal areas, and that the wealthier portion of the community lived in other areas. In consequence the poorer boroughs had to maintain the greatest number of sufferers, though they were financially less able to do so. The whole system of rating in London had been referred to a Royal Commission over which Lord Ullswater would preside, but in the meantime some adjustment was necessary. The figure that might be charged against the Fund by Boards of Guardians had been raised from 5*d.* to 1*s.* 3*s.*, and as a consequence the rates of boroughs like Woolwich, Limehouse, and Poplar would be substantially relieved, though they would still remain heavy. Steps would be taken to see that no Board of Guardians embarked upon undue extravagance at the expense of the others.

Clause 2 of the Bill was designed to meet such circumstances as those which had recently taken place in Poplar, where the Councillors refused to levy the rates demanded of them. In these cases the Minister of Health was empowered to authorise the appointment of a person to raise the rate. Clause 3 enabled the Local Authority to borrow by short-term loans in order to provide temporarily for current expenses.

Sir Donald Maclean criticised the Government for its delay in introducing reforms which had been recommended for years. Lord E. Percy regarded the Bill as thoroughly bad in principle, whatever it might be as an emergency measure. It empowered Local Authorities to spend money which they did not raise. Many other members complained of the inadequacy of the Bill in not extending the London provisions to the country generally, but Sir Alfred Mond retorted that if the Exchequer were to take upon itself the responsibility of local finance, the financial position of the country would be brought to a state horrible to contemplate. The Bill was ultimately passed.

The Church Congress opened at Birmingham on October 11. The keynote of the discussions showed an anxious concern with regard to the present state of public morals. The question was examined in all its aspects as it affected the individual and the State. The speakers treated the problems of divorce, prostitution, and venereal disease in a courageous and outspoken manner. The Bishop of Birmingham, as president, discussed a wide range of subjects, from Church Reform to many aspects of social life which were causing concern to the Congress. The meetings continued until October 14.

The acceptance by Sinn Fein of the invitation to Mr. Lloyd George's Peace Conference caused general satisfaction throughout Ireland, and the relief from anxiety was so great that the possibility of a failure was at first hardly contemplated. The British representatives at the Conference were: the Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Churchill, Sir L. Worthington-Evans, and Sir Hamar Greenwood. The

Irish representatives were: Mr. A. Griffith, Mr. Michael Collins (Minister of Finance), Mr. R. C. Barton (Minister of Economic Affairs), Mr. Gavan Duffy, and Mr. E. J. Duggan. Mr. de Valera did not form part of the delegation, but remained in Ireland while the Conference was in progress. The Conference opened at 10 Downing Street, on October 11, the whole of the time during the first day of its sittings being devoted to the arrangement of procedure. Two formal communications were issued for publication merely announcing the holding of the Conference and the names of those present, but otherwise the strictest secrecy was observed. This secrecy continued to be maintained throughout the sittings of the Conference, brief formal *communiqués* being issued officially every day.

Considerable excitement was occasioned by the sequel of telegrams which were exchanged in the middle of October between the Pope and the King in regard to the Irish peace negotiations. The Pope telegraphed his satisfaction at the resumption of the negotiations, and prayed that an end might be brought to the age-long dissension between England and Ireland. In reply the King joined in the Pope's prayer that the Conference would achieve a permanent settlement of the troubles in Ireland, and initiate a new era of peace and happiness for his people. No sooner had the text of these telegrams been published than Mr. de Valera, on his part, addressed a telegram to the Pope. He said that the people of Ireland appreciated the kindly interest of the Pope in their welfare and the paternal regard which had suggested his message. He expressed confidence that the ambiguities in the reply sent in the name of King George would not mislead the Pope into believing that the troubles were "in Ireland" or that the people of Ireland owed allegiance to the British King. The independence of Ireland, continued Mr. de Valera, had been formally proclaimed by the regularly elected representatives of Ireland and ratified by subsequent plebiscites. He said that the trouble was between Ireland and Britain, and its source was that the rulers of Britain had sought to impose their will upon Ireland, and by British force had endeavoured to rob her people of the liberty which was their natural right and their ancient heritage. He added that the Irish longed to be at peace and in friendship with the people of Britain as with every other people, but the same constancy through persecution and martyrdom that had proved the reality of the people's attachment to the faith of their fathers, proved the reality of their attachment to their national freedom, and no consideration would ever induce them to abandon it.

There appeared some risk that this telegram might seriously prejudice, or even bring to an end, the negotiations of the Conference which was taking place in London. It reasserted in the most extreme form the Sinn Fein claim of independence, and it contained a repudiation of allegiance to the King which, if it had been persisted in during the correspondence with Mr.

Lloyd George which led up to the Conference, would have rendered a meeting impossible. It will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George had laid down, as a basis for the holding of the Conference, that the issue of Irish independence was not one which the British Government could consider or discuss. When, therefore, so emphatic a claim for independence was asserted by the chief official representative of Sinn Fein—albeit not one of the delegates at the Conference—the position of the Government in the matter became delicate. In reply to a question in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George admitted that the telegram and its publication in the middle of the peace negotiations constituted a grave challenge. He said that the position of the Government on the questions involved in the telegram had been made abundantly clear, and they did not propose to recede from it. In point of fact it appeared that Mr. de Valera's telegram was sent without previous consultation with the Sinn Fein delegates in London, to whom it caused as much embarrassment as it did to the British delegates. It constituted the first public intimation of a split in the Sinn Fein Party, which later on became still more marked.

The incident tended further to strengthen greatly the opposition of many Unionist members of Parliament to the policy of the Government in entering into negotiations with Sinn Fein at all. Since the reassembly of Parliament this group had lost no opportunity of challenging the policy of the Government. At length the dissatisfaction culminated in the compilation of a motion tantamount to a vote of censure on the Government. The matter came to a crisis on October 27, when Sir John Butcher asked in the House of Commons whether the results of the Conference would be submitted to Parliament. The Prime Minister replied that no settlement was possible except with the full consent of Parliament, but he added that it would be impossible to conduct negotiations if reports were made from time to time of the position taken up at every meeting by the negotiators on either side. Mr. Lloyd George said that it was a matter of vital importance to the country and to the Empire, and that the Government could not continue to conduct its negotiations without knowing that it had the support of the House; he proposed, therefore, to allocate a day for the discussion of the resolution which had been proposed, condemning the policy of the Government. This resolution expressed the grave apprehension of the House with regard to the action of the Government in entering into negotiations with delegates from Southern Ireland who had taken an oath of allegiance to the Irish Republic and had repudiated the authority of the Crown. It was moved by Colonel Gretton in a crowded House on the last day of October. Colonel Gretton, representing the Unionist dissentients, began by reviewing the whole history of the Irish trouble, and alleged that the terms of the truce had not been carried out in all respects. Outrages had

been common, and the Government of the Irish Republic were utilising the respite to oust the King's Government from power. Referring to Mr. de Valera's message to the Pope, Colonel Gretton asked whether he was still the leader of the Irish people. He insisted that allegiance was a question of fact and not a mere phrase. He asserted that the success of the Conference had been hopeless from the beginning, since the differences between the two parties were fundamental. If the Government were prepared to go further in the way of concession let them say so. These were not matters for secret negotiations, but were vital to the constitution of the country and the safety of the people. Colonel Gretton quoted from speeches of the Prime Minister in which he had denounced the "murder gang," and added that it was with the representatives of that gang that the Government were now negotiating. The country had never suffered such a humiliation and had never been told what the true situation was.

Mr. Rupert Gwynne, who seconded the resolution, remarked that it had been said that consideration must be paid to what people in other countries would think; that was not the way in which the British Empire had been built up. Captain Craig pleaded that the Government should hand over to the Ulster Parliament the powers necessary for its functioning at the earliest possible moment, and later on Mr. Lloyd George gave a pledge that unless something happened within the next few days to put the position right from the point of view of the Government of Ireland Act, the Government would either use the powers they had got to confer reality on the Northern Parliament, or they would ask the House of Commons, before the close of the session, to pass a short Act enabling them to do so. Sir Samuel Hoare indicated the anxiety felt by the Unionist Party, and asked that the Government should make it clear that there would be no separation, and that there would be adequate safeguards for Ulster. Mr. Wilson Fox criticised the action of the Government—and particularly that of the Chief Secretary—on the ground that a deplorable lack of candour had been displayed. Mr. Arthur Henderson declared that the Labour Party regarded the challenge as raising issues which were vital to the country and the Empire. The Labour Party were opposed to reprisals and oppression, but they were still more in favour of negotiations, and they gave their unqualified support to the Government in seeking opportunity for carrying the Conference through to success. If there were any considerable vote in favour of the motion he should regard it as little short of a disaster.

Mr. Lloyd George disclaimed any desire to attack his critics, and said that his action in affording a day for the discussion was to enable the Government to know as soon as possible the attitude of the House of Commons. He made a statement with regard to the preparations for importing

arms into Ireland. He said that it was through the German Government that British authorities learnt of the scheme, and in response to representations to the Sinn Fein authorities they had received a distinct undertaking that during the truce no arms would be landed in Ireland at all. The Prime Minister ridiculed the idea that the Government should come to the House of Commons during the progress of negotiations to obtain their consent to detailed proposals, pointing out that no pact could be entered into without the ultimate consent of Parliament.

Referring to the question of a conference, Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that there were three kinds of possible conferences: there was the open conference where reporters were admitted, and where no business was ever transacted; there was the conference with closed doors; and there was the third kind possessing the disadvantages of both and the advantages of neither, namely, the conference of partial disclosures. If there was to be a conference at all it must be with those who, for the time being, were in the position to speak in the name of the Irish people. It was not the first time that Britain had treated with rebels with good results for the Empire.

Should there be a break in the negotiations, he added, the first thing that any Government would have to do would be to go to the House of Commons and ask it to strengthen considerably the Forces of the Crown in Ireland. For great issues this country was prepared to take great risks, but it must be convinced that the challenge was adequate and that there were no other means. If the security of this country was menaced; if the Throne was repudiated; if this Empire was to be mutilated and Ireland established as an alien country on our most vulnerable flank, able to make its own arrangements with our enemies, and free to make war on our commerce; if British commerce was to be left liable to attack on the Irish coast without Britain having the right to use the shores for defence; if it meant that the fires of civil war were to rage at our doors between Roman Catholic and Protestant, while we looked on without safeguard; then Britain, he was confident, would make the necessary sacrifice and face the necessary risk to avert such evils.

The fate of the Empire, and moreover the strength of the Empire, was involved; there was no peace yet. Negotiations were proceeding, but he could not conceal the possibility that he might have to make the announcement that it was impossible to settle without danger or dishonour. If concessions could be made which would bring an honourable peace and strengthen the Empire they would hazard all on the possibility of achieving it. He and his colleagues wanted to know whether the House of Commons wanted them to make peace; if it did not, then he would go to his Sovereign and hand back his commission.



Mr. Asquith deplored the introduction of the motion which was unsound in substance and impolitic in time, but while supporting the Government it must not be thought that Parliament was handing them a blank cheque. If the negotiations broke down the Government would be confronted with a situation of unexampled difficulty and danger, but he urged that they should not in advance commit themselves to this or that method of facing or healing such a situation.

Mr. Clynes commended the action taken by the Government as the only action that could have been taken by a self-respecting Government.

When Mr. Chamberlain rose to speak, he had to face considerable interruption at the hands of his own followers, and Colonel Croft was rebuked by the Speaker, who informed him that unless he ceased his interruptions he would have to ask him to withdraw—a caution which was heartily cheered by the Labour Party. Referring to the truce, Mr. Chamberlain said that so far as the principal delegates of the other side were concerned they had acted in the matter as men of honour. They had admitted the obligation to keep the terms of the truce and he believed they were doing their best to carry them out. If these terms were wilfully broken by those with whom the Government were negotiating it would be impossible to continue.

At the end of the debate the vote of censure was defeated by a majority of over ten to one, forty-three members voting for it and 439 against it.

At the end of October a Dinner was given in London to the British Delegates to the forthcoming Washington Conference on disarmament. It was still hoped that Mr. Lloyd George might be free himself to attend the Conference, though the pressure of the Irish negotiations did not permit this hope to be realised. The other two delegates were Lord Lee of Fareham and Mr. Arthur Balfour. Since Lord Lee had already left for America, and Mr. Lloyd George was too busy to attend, Mr. Balfour was in fact the only one of the three delegates who was present at the Dinner. The main feature of the Dinner was an important speech delivered by Mr. Harvey, the American Ambassador, on the purpose and prospects of the Washington Conference. He said that he had carried the invitation to Mr. Lloyd George one afternoon in July, and that the Prime Minister had immediately risen to his feet and accepted, saying that the British Government would do everything in their power to make the Conference a great success. Lord Curzon had likewise expressed great satisfaction when handing to the Ambassador the formal reply of acceptance. Mr. Harvey insisted that the design of the President was no challenge to the League of Nations. Behind the King and President and their Governments stood the entire peoples of our common race. No less assuring was the

attitude of our common friends such as France and Japan. He said that the position of America was plain; she did not fear war, she hated it. America was unconquerable and her moral position was impregnable. She would never seek additional territory by conquest and would not accept it as a gift. The Conference would be an ordeal not of battle but of faith. America had given evidence of its confidence in the outcome by the size of her Army. As regards the Navy, as soon as the decision to call the Conference was reached Congress had halved the normal appropriation. Two battleships were nearly completed but actual building had otherwise been suspended, and no new ship of any type could, except in case of war, be begun before July 1, 1922.

Mr. Harvey said that the real question for the Conference was not whether the nations could agree on all things, but whether they could reach an understanding with respect to anything. It would be a great test of the capacity of Governments to satisfy a universal longing for peace, prosperity, and happiness. The Conference was certain to change conditions either for better or for worse. The bonds of friendship between Britain and America would be either strengthened or relaxed, and if the two countries could not act in unison now there was slight reason to believe that they would ever be able to do so. He said that the Conference was only the beginning of greater works to follow, and finally promised a most grateful welcome to the British Delegates on their arrival in the United States.

A discussion on the Conference took place in the House of Commons on November 4, when Mr. Clynes proposed a resolution warmly approving of the meeting of the Conference, and expressing the hope that it would secure a substantial reduction in the crushing burden of armaments. He said that the competition in armaments was a fruitful cause of wars, and unproductive output in this connexion contributed to economic unsettlement. It was true that it created work, but it was also the greatest possible contributor to national waste. We had not got peace by the League of Nations, by the Treaty, or by any other arrangement. We could only get peace by releasing ourselves from narrow alliances, by bringing ourselves into a frame of mind for peace, and by establishing such effective machinery for securing peace that war would be impossible. Plain dealing and not the subtleties of diplomatists was the surest way of arriving at the point which we desired to reach.

Sir Donald Maclean, in the absence of Mr. Asquith, supported the motion. He said that in the last year—three years after the Armistice—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Sweden, Holland, and Belgium were spending no less than 1,252,000,000*l.* on armaments. It was a melancholy reflection that 4*s.* out of every £ of Income Tax went to the cost of armaments. He did not see in the Washington Conference a rival to the League of Nations.

Mr. Chamberlain interpreted the debate as giving a clear and unanimous message of good wishes for the success of the Conference, and as impressing upon the people how vast were the issues which hung on its deliberations. The Government attached such importance to the Conference that, although the absence of the Prime Minister presented many difficulties, they had unanimously requested him to be the principal delegate of Great Britain. Both the Prime Minister and the Government profoundly regretted that circumstances made it impossible for him to carry out his intention, but he still hoped that it would be possible before long to do so, and to take the headship of the British delegation. Replying to a request that he would define the policy of the Government, he said that their policy was to seek peace.

Lord Robert Cecil associated himself with the statement of the American Ambassador that the Conference was no more antagonistic to, or inconsistent with, the League of Nations than it was with the Monroe doctrine. The analogy was happily chosen, for both institutions existed for the maintenance of peace. The Conference was by far the best hope they had yet had for an immediate reduction of the burden of armaments, and on its success or failure the hopes of the happiness and safety of mankind depended. He could not bring himself to contemplate such an awful catastrophe as the failure of the Conference, and he hoped that the Conference would not launch upon too general or too elaborate and ambitious a programme. After further discussion the House unanimously approved the motion.

Much stir was excited in the sporting world by a judgment of the House of Lords delivered on October 25, holding that under Section 2 of the Gaming Act of 1835 the loser of a bet on a horse race who had paid his loss by cheque might recover the amount from the winner in an action at law. It was not disputed that if the loser paid in cash or notes he could not recover the money. This decision produced so great a disorganisation in the racing world that a short Bill was immediately framed by Lord Muir-Mackenzie to repeal Section 2 of the Gaming Act of 1835. The Bill was introduced in the House of Lords on November 1, and the second reading was taken next day. Lord Muir-Mackenzie said that he had had conversations with members of the legal profession and judges in the highest position, and they did not repudiate his description of the present situation as ridiculous. One obstacle to the Bill was that it referred to gaming, a subject to which many excellent persons took exception. The Bill could not proceed except by general consent, which he trusted would be forthcoming.

The Lord Chancellor said that the decision of the House of Lords had produced a very inconvenient train of consequences. While it was true that there were not many persons who would seek to avail themselves of the decision, there were some who would feel under an obligation to bring forward claims, and

sometimes on a very large scale. If the executor of a deceased person, who had lost 200,000*l.* and had discharged his liability by cheque, felt himself called on to bring an action to recover, what would be the position of the individual bookmaker? He had no doubt that the latter would wish to act a dignified part and in a proper spirit, but he would be confronted with the fact that, unless he took advantage of the technicalities of the law he would be bankrupt. He would therefore be bound to take action against other persons to whom he had discharged his liability by cheque.

The Lord Chancellor expressed his alarm at the resultant congestion which would arise in the Law Courts, and said he would greatly welcome a decision of Parliament to apply the remedy contained in the Bill. He could not see how any person who was deeply concerned in the prevention of gambling could object to the measure. The Bill was then read a second time.

On November 1 the retirement was announced of Sir Basil Thomson from the position of Director of the special branch at New Scotland Yard. In this capacity it had been his duty, during the war, to deal with the German spy system. His retirement followed immediately upon a reorganisation scheme under which he ceased to be responsible directly to the Cabinet, but was placed under the Commissioner of Police, Sir William Horwood. On the following day it was announced that General Sir Joseph Byrne had been appointed his successor. The eminence of Sir Basil Thomson, and the success with which he had carried out his highly responsible duties during the war, caused a wide-felt regret to be expressed on the announcement of his resignation, and the matter was immediately taken up in the House of Commons where it gave rise to considerable excitement. Questions were asked as to whether Sir Basil Thomson had voluntarily resigned or had been dismissed, and the answer was given that he had resigned. A general belief prevailed, however, that the resignation had been forced upon him as a political move instigated by those who were opposed to his measures for keeping under observation the revolutionary element in the country. When, therefore, the Home Secretary failed to give a direct answer to the question as to whether the resignation had been voluntary or not, a demand was immediately raised for a discussion, and Admiral Sir Reginald Hall moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the matter.

In bringing forward his motion Sir Reginald Hall asked the Home Secretary why pressure had been brought to bear to make a valuable officer resign when dangers were ahead. The proof of the efficiency of his work was to be found in the jubilation of the extremists at his dismissal. He remarked upon the hearty support which the Labour Party were giving to the Government in this matter.

The Home Secretary agreed that the matter should be discussed at length in the House. He denied that any appointment had yet been made to the post vacated by Sir Basil Thomson. The post had been offered to Sir Joseph Byrne, but Sir Joseph had replied that in view of the public feeling on the matter he could not undertake the duties offered to him. Mr. Shortt explained that when Sir Basil Thomson was appointed he was an Assistant-Commissioner, and this arrangement continued until a change occurred in the office of Chief Commissioner. From the first Sir Basil Thomson had not worked well with General Horwood. He had, however, agreed to meet the Chief Commissioner once a week and keep him fully informed of the work of the special branch, but this did not continue long. Mr. Shortt stated that he then felt that the Chief Commissioner ought to have more control of the special branch. Sir Basil Thomson had made it clear that if such a decision were taken he would resign. The decision was taken, and Sir Basil Thomson was invited to take leave on full pay for a certain time, but was pressed to stay on for a week to clear things up. He said, however, that he preferred to go at once.

Following a general discussion Mr. Chamberlain intervened and told the House that if it was thought that the Government were not competent to decide, or were not to be trusted to decide, who was to be responsible for the administration of law and order, then the House should withdraw its confidence from the Government and place somebody else in their position. If they were not to be trusted to decide what was the proper organisation in a department like the Criminal Investigation Department, or the proper man to conduct that department, then the House ought to replace the present Government. On the motion going to a division 41 members voted in favour of it and 144 against.

A further explanation of the retirement of Sir Basil Thomson was given by the Home Secretary on November 8. It appeared that some of the replies which he had already given in the House of Commons were in conflict with the facts, and Mr. Shortt now disclaimed any intention of seeking to misinform the House, and frankly admitted that upon two points he was wrong. Sir Joseph Byrne had, as a matter of fact, gone to the office in order to obtain some insight into the work of the department. Mr. Shortt said that he was unaware of this circumstance during the previous debate on November 3, and that he had been misinformed regarding a communication which had appeared in the Press.

On the motion for the second reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a statement on the financial position of the country. When speaking during the debate on the unemployed relief measures Sir Robert Horne had drawn a somewhat gloomy picture, but he was now able to declare that there would be no deficit

on the Budget. It was true that the estimated surpluses amounting to 177,000,000*l.* had disappeared, and that the Government would have to borrow 60,000,000*l.* at the end of the year to meet sinking fund charges, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed relief that there was nothing worse than this to tell the House. Looking forward to next year, however, he saw little ground for encouragement. He forecast that there would be a less satisfactory result from income tax (the yield of which had been unexpectedly good in the present year), that the Excess Profits Duty would produce still less, and that the miscellaneous receipts would gradually disappear. The duty before Parliament, he declared, would be to strive with all its energy to prevent any form of expense.

There was additional expenditure next year which had not been sufficiently remembered. Our debt to America was still owing, and the interest had been postponed during three years. That interest would have to be paid next year and would amount to 50,000,000*l.* a year. Having mentioned this fact the Chancellor deprecated any discussion on inter-allied indebtedness, saying that it did not conduce to the friendliest of feeling between the two countries. He insisted that we must meet our obligations, however hard and difficult the circumstances might be at the time.

While admitting that the picture which he had presented was not a cheerful one, the Chancellor said that considering the vicissitudes through which we had come it might have been very much more gloomy. Looking forward he saw signs of a revival in trade; there was increasing interest in the export credits scheme; applications were numerous, and it was obvious that more business could be done in the immediate future. Inquiries in regard to Government guarantee of loans showed that many people were prepared to take risks which they had not been prepared to take before.

Coming to an examination of the Budget, the Chancellor said that the ordinary revenue was estimated at 1,058,000,000*l.*, and the ordinary expenditure at 974,000,000*l.* There was an estimated extraordinary revenue of 158,000,000*l.*, and an estimated extraordinary expenditure of 65,000,000*l.* These balances made up an estimated balance of 177,000,000*l.* This, however, was not a free surplus; a sum of 80,000,000*l.* was required for sinking fund charges. When this sum was deducted from the surplus it left a sum of 97,000,000*l.*, but this again was not a free surplus; there must be put against that sum certain amounts to be found for contingencies. Included in these he named the cost of the coal stoppage and certain other obligations, notably those under the railway agreement.

What had happened was that the surplus of 97,000,000*l.* had completely disappeared; not only so, but taking into account the grants made by the House of Commons in respect

to unemployment, the sum was exceeded by 20,000,000*l.* This excess was counter-balanced with savings in expenditure amounting to a similar sum. The expenditure of the year, therefore, would be met by what was estimated, and the 97,000,000*l.* estimated surplus. The 80,000,000*l.* estimated for the purpose of discharging sinking fund charges had also disappeared.

The Chancellor pointed out that owing to the fact that less money would be necessary to meet the depreciation in bonds lodged in payment of Excess Profits Duty, he did not think the full amount of 80,000,000*l.* would be required. He now estimated that it would be necessary to borrow 60,000,000*l.* at the end of the year.

Turning to the revenue, the Chancellor expressed his surprise and gratification that it had proved to be unexpectedly good. Expenditure on luxuries showed that the resources of wealth in the hands of the people had been greater than had been suspected. The yield of income tax had exceeded expectation; on the other hand there had been a reduction in the revenue from stamp duties, and there had been fewer miscellaneous receipts. He predicted that the latter would be, if not quite so good, at any rate very little less than the figure estimated, provided that the amount received from Germany and wrongly described as reparation was received. The amount was the cost of our Army of Occupation. It had been agreed at the Conference in Paris that this amount, which would be between 30,000,000*l.* and 40,000,000*l.*, should be paid to us, but the Agreement had not yet been ratified. The most gloomy item was the revenue from Excess Profits Duty, and a large diminution of the amount estimated had to be anticipated.

The subsequent debate was marked by a speech from Mrs. Wintringham, the newly-elected woman M.P., who put forward the woman's view of economy.

Parliament was prorogued on November 10, the King's Speech being read by the Lord Chancellor. The Speech reviewed the field of foreign affairs with regret for the continuance of hostilities in Anatolia, and with earnest hope for the success of the Washington Conference. The King prayed that the visit of the Prince of Wales to India might strengthen the ties of affection between the Royal House and the Indian Dominions. In addressing the members of the House of Commons, His Majesty laid stress upon the financial situation of the country. He gave the assurance, however, that his Ministers realised the necessity for a further restriction of national expenditure. "Our taxation, heavy and burdensome to industry and revenue, cannot be maintained on the scale of the last three years." With regard to Ireland, the King gave an earnest exhortation to patience and moderation; "it is my firm belief, as it is my earnest prayer, that with

forbearance and goodwill, and with an honest resolve to tread the paths of oblivion and forgiveness, an enduring peace will finally be achieved."

The Guildhall Banquet was held on November 9, and the Prime Minister made his usual survey of public affairs. He confined his speech to three topics: the existing trade depression, which was slowly but surely passing away; the Washington Conference, which he declared to be the hope of the world; and the Irish Conference, in regard to which he expressed his conviction that there was a better prospect than there had been for years of the people of Ireland quitting the path of blood and coming into free partnership in the British Empire as equals. Mr. Lloyd George began by remarking that, although we were now technically at peace with the world, the world was far from being at peace with itself, but he refrained from taking a wide survey of world politics and international relationship, declaring that these were more trying times than Ministers of State in every land had ever before been confronted with. He placed all his hopes for the salvation of the world upon the Washington Conference. It was a rainbow across the sky and it had come none too soon. Competition in armaments largely contributed to the late war, but the lesson had not been learned. The world was beginning again to prepare for war and fresh subjects were constantly springing up to justify war. Armaments were three times more expensive than before the war and a hundred times more destructive. The burden in peace would be crushing, and what would happen in war defied contemplation. Suspicions, fears, and even quarrels would arise among the nations, and he warned his audience that if there was a weapon at hand ready to strike it would one day be used. Disarmament, he declared, was the only hope of safety.

The Prime Minister departed from traditional custom by touching on domestic affairs at the Lord Mayor's Banquet. He confessed that our anxieties at home were great, and that the present trade depression was grave, but the war had produced great trade depression throughout the world. He believed that the worst was past and that the depression was slowly passing away. The great glut of products which followed the boom of 1920 was being liquidated. The export credit scheme and the trade facilities scheme of the Government would promote revival, but he added that work alone would produce a restoration of trade, and happily in every land the world was at last settling down again to work. He affirmed that the foundations of our credit were solid because we had never rushed into the foolish policy of inflation of currency, and when prosperity came we could walk without fear of hidden trap-doors.

Turning to the Irish problem, he warned his hearers that he could not reveal the secrets of the Conference, but declared that there was a better prospect of success than at any time for years past. The most critical stage of the Conference was now



being reached. The three parties to the Conference—Great Britain, the majority of the Irish people, and the population of the North-East—each had their own point of view, their susceptibilities, and their prejudices. Success in the Conference depended on the extent to which they could reconcile and accommodate these differences of temperament, tradition, and interest, and for that purpose all parties must be prepared to give and take. If the Conference did not lead to peace it would be another great opportunity lost. The burden would be great, and it would be a weakness and a discredit for the Empire that it could not settle its own troubles.

At the beginning of November there was published a supplementary estimate for the Civil Services of a further sum required of 8,022,000*l.* The whole of this was to be devoted to dealing with the existing unemployment, and together with other sums made a total of 12,000,000*l.* which was to be spent for this purpose.

The Labour Mayors of London who, as already related, had succeeded in obtaining an interview with Mr. Lloyd George at Gairloch, still persevered in their endeavours to press their views upon the Prime Minister. Disregarding a telegram to the effect that it was impossible for the Prime Minister to receive them, a deputation both of the Labour Mayors themselves and of other representatives of London Local Authorities, visited Downing Street on November 10 with the view of discussing with Mr. Lloyd George the unemployment proposals of the Government. When the door of No. 10 was opened the deputation pushed their way into the hall, and, refusing to go to the Ministry of Health, insisted on a message being sent to the Prime Minister who was at the time in the House of Commons. After they had waited some time one of his private secretaries came over and discussed the matter with the Mayors of Deptford and Bethnal Green. Their arguments were repeated to Mr. Lloyd George by telephone, and he intimated that the matter would be discussed by the Cabinet that evening. On hearing this the deputation left. Shortly afterwards a Conference of Local Authorities was held at Deptford Town Hall, at which it was decided to request the Prime Minister further to consider the question of grants in aid of relief works for the unemployed, and the wages to be paid to unskilled workers.

In reply to this request the Prime Minister wrote pointing out that the proposals of the Government had been approved after debate by an overwhelming majority of Parliament. In reply to the claim that the relief of unemployment should be a national and not a local charge, and that therefore the grant for non-revenue-producing relief works should be not 65 per cent. of the loan service charges for a period of years, but 100 per cent., he stated that the relief of destitution in England was by law a local charge, and that this was one of the cardinal points of local government. The whole system of local govern-

ment would break down if people who were responsible for local expenditure were not also made responsible for raising and spending the necessary money. The works undertaken by local authorities as relief works were of a character to benefit the locality in which they were undertaken, and it would be unfair to put the whole charge of local improvements on the general taxpayer. In reply to the contention that the wage to be paid for labour on relief works should be the full district rate to unskilled labour, the Prime Minister emphasised the fact that the work to be undertaken by local authorities was relief work often of a casual and unprofitable nature. If the full wage was paid for relief work in these abnormal circumstances either less men would be employed or else an additional burden would be thrown on the ratepayers. Many of the ratepayers were themselves working on half-time, and it was not fair to demand that a skilled man on productive and necessary work should earn less than an unskilled worker on unproductive and less necessary work. The Government had no intention of interfering with the standard Union wage; they merely felt it their duty to provide work and a wage for a man who would otherwise get no wage at all.

In reply to the objection which had been raised to the condition that 75 per cent. of the men employed should be ex-service men, Mr. Lloyd George insisted that it was only elementary justice that where ex-service men were in need of relief they should have the prior claim; after them came the claims of those who were prevented from serving with the Naval and Military Forces. Mr. Lloyd George concluded by explaining that he gave this full survey of the reasons which had influenced the decision of the Government because he feared that he would be unable to grant an interview owing to the great pressure of work.

Meanwhile the Irish Conference in London continued its negotiations behind closed doors. It was stated that the discussions had been largely concerned with the future relations of the North and South of Ireland and the delimitation of their frontiers. The Sinn Fein delegates pressed for a more definite recognition of the Unity of Ireland than was given by the Council of Ireland in the Act of 1920. The leaders of Sinn Fein attached great importance to the admission of the principle of the fiscal autonomy and unity of Ireland. A Parliament for the whole of Ireland was their immediate objective, though the autonomy of Ulster was to be preserved.

A new phase of these negotiations was brought about at the beginning of November. Sir James Craig, Premier of Northern Ireland, arrived in London and had two long interviews with Mr. Lloyd George. At these interviews Sir James Craig was informed of what had happened in the Conference between representatives of the British Cabinet and of Sinn Fein, and he undertook that his Government should take into consideration

the suggestions which had emerged from the Conference. Accordingly the Ulster Cabinet came to London and held a meeting at the Savoy Hotel on November 11 at which they considered the proposals which the Government had made to Sinn Fein, and drew up a detailed reply in writing. It was stated that this reply indicated "other and more practicable means for securing peace without infringing upon the rights of Ulster." It also expressed the view that there were certain fundamental principles involved in the proposals of the Government, which, under existing conditions, were impossible of attainment. The Ulster Cabinet considered, therefore, that no useful purpose would be served by a formal consultation between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Northern Ireland until such suggestions were withdrawn from the subjects to be discussed. Although the purport of this reply was not altogether understood at the time it was believed to indicate that Ulster was not prepared to accept the All-Ireland Parliament, at all events in the form which it assumed in the proposals, and that there was opposition also to the redetermination of Parliamentary areas. The demand of Ulster was for a Parliament in Belfast equal in status to the Parliament in Dublin, and for equal representation on the body which was responsible for the control of the All-Ireland services. Ulster was not opposed to some immediate enlargement of the duties of the All-Ireland Council, but took a firm stand on the power of veto. One of the principal objections of the Ulster Government was to the proposal to confer financial powers on an All-Irish Parliament in which the representatives of Ulster would be in a minority.

The attitude of Sir James Craig with regard to the negotiations of the British Government with Sinn Fein was supported by a number of demonstration meetings held in Belfast on November 16. Resolutions were passed repudiating any proposals intended to put Ireland under the domination of an All-Ireland Parliament. Sir C. McCullagh, an Ulster M.P., declared that Ulster could have no confidence in paper guarantees, but would rely "on her strong right arm. No statesman had a right to sell Ulster into slavery. Ulster was not for sale." Thus a split was threatened in the ranks of the Unionist Party between those who were prepared to follow the lead of Mr. Chamberlain and the Government, and those who stood out in an uncompromising manner for the claims of Ulster.

This issue was put to the test at a great Conference of the National Unionist Association held at Liverpool on November 17. At this Conference a deputation from Ireland, headed by Lord Farnham, was first heard. The delegation had an enthusiastic reception, and Lord Farnham, who was Chairman of the Executive of the Irish Unionist Alliance, spoke with an earnestness which aroused the enthusiasm of the

delegates. He recounted the wrongs suffered by the Royalists of Southern Ireland, who, he declared, lived under a reign of terror, especially during the period of the so-called truce. The Conference then passed to a debate on the efforts of the Government to solve the Irish problem, and Colonel Gretton moved that the Conference should place on record its condemnation of the long-continued ascendancy of crime and rebellion in Ireland, and should resolve that no settlement of the Irish question would be acceptable which did not absolutely respect the position acquired by Ulster. In the main his speech was a repetition of that which he had delivered in the House of Commons. In reply to a statement that if the Conference adopted his resolution the Party would be split and broken, he said that the time had definitely come for the Conservative and Unionist Party to say honestly what it meant and where it stood.

The resolution was seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Archer-Shee, who denounced the campaign of assassination in Ireland. Lord Midleton then declared that he was as strongly in favour of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland as he had always been, but it was impossible to get away from the fact that the majority of the Irish people had taken a different view. The commercial classes in the south of Ireland were in favour of a settlement.

An amendment to the resolution was then moved by Sir Archibald Salvidge, expressing the hope that a solution of the Irish difficulties might be found in the Conference now in progress. The real issue, he declared, was whether the leaders elected by the Party, and taking their place in the Coalition by consent of the Party, were to be trusted. He said that he refused to take part in a condemnation of the leaders of his Party, and he intended to divide the Conference on a vote of confidence in their leaders.

Mr. Grattan Doyle, who seconded, appealed to Colonel Gretton to withdraw his amendment. The next speaker was Lord Chaplin who was received with a great ovation. He attributed the present position to the surrender policy of Liberal Governments in the past, and suggested that it would be well to await the publication of the whole of the correspondence between the Government and the Irish negotiators before making any definite decision.

This was also the advice of Lord Derby, who said that he stood in his feeling toward Ulster where he stood in 1914. He was not going to take assurances either from the Government or from anyone else as to what was going on. He was not going to be stampeded into making a decision until he knew the whole position. He was not going to be stampeded even then; he was going to wait until he had made up his mind what was right and what was wrong. He appealed for unity, and begged his audience not to make a decision

on a matter of which they knew absolutely nothing. At the end of the debate the amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority, and the support of the Unionist Party was thus secured to its leaders. Of the 1,800 delegates representing Conservative and Unionist Associations of the United Kingdom, fewer than seventy sided with the dissentients.

In the evening Mr. Austen Chamberlain addressed the representatives of the National Unionist Association, and justified the policy of the Government in seeking a peaceful settlement with Sinn Fein by negotiation in preference to renewed warfare. He said that if they wanted peace in any negotiation there must be a measure of patience. He asked for a little time and the whole story should then be told, and they should judge whether their leaders had betrayed their trust. He had no quarrel with the "die-hards;" they were men of sincere conviction and strong faith. All he asked was that they should wait until they had material on which to judge. The limits within which peace could be made were known to all. No British Government could barter away the allegiance of British subjects to the Crown, and no British Government could barter away portions of our great Empire. No British Government could deprive itself of the ports, harbours, and seaways necessary for the life of the nation and for the communications of the earth. No Government containing Unionist representatives, or of which the Prime Minister was a member, would coerce Ulster. He hoped that with patience and goodwill a way might yet be found to peace within these bounds. If it must be war it should be war. If peace could not be had with honour and without broken pledges there could be no peace. Civil war was the most horrible form of war. Before the country entered upon a struggle which would require them to place at the disposal of the Government resources that they had not yet had to raise, they must know that he had tried to make peace.

On November 20 and following days fatal rioting took place in Belfast. An organised attack was made on shipyard workers going to their employment, and it was alleged that Sinn Fein snipers concealed at various points opened fire upon the men who were totally unprepared for the attack. One man was shot dead and another was wounded. Rioting was renewed during the night and seven more persons were killed and three injured, but every outbreak was quickly suppressed by armoured cars and soldiers. On the 22nd a tramcar containing workmen was proceeding towards the city when a bomb was thrown at it, and part of the side of the car was blown away. A number of men were injured, three of whom died the same evening. Another bomb attack on the same day resulted in injuries to no fewer than twelve workpeople. A crowd of shipyard workers

was watching a fire when a bomb was thrown into their midst. On the same day thirty-three political prisoners escaped from Kilkenny Gaol; and Galway Gaol, where there was also a number of political prisoners, was set on fire. Here, however, the attempt of the prisoners to escape was foiled.

November 23 was another day of rioting in Belfast. Scarcely had daylight appeared than shooting began, and gunmen from concealed positions fired on shipyard and other workers going to their employment. Throughout the day armoured cars patrolled the district, but firing was resumed as soon as they had passed. On the 24th another bomb outrage took place resulting in the death of two men and injuries to half a dozen others. A tramcar crowded with shipyard workers was proceeding along Royal Avenue when a young man threw a bomb into it. The bomb exploded with disastrous effect, shattering the glass and bringing the vehicle to an immediate standstill. The young man was arrested and narrowly escaped being lynched by the crowd. Some further shooting also occurred, but by November 25 the military and police forces in Belfast had been strengthened, and the rioting at length came to an end.

Meanwhile the private negotiations of the Government with Sinn Fein on the one hand, and with Ulster on the other hand, continued to be carried on, but no reports were published as to the progress made. On November 25 Sir Gordon Hewart, who had been associated with Lord Birkenhead in the last phases of the negotiations with Sinn Fein, made a speech insisting on the unqualified allegiance to the Crown in Ireland as in every other part of the Empire. Allegiance, said the Attorney-General, was an ultimate principle which no Minister of the Crown, and no loyal subject, could for one moment contemplate as open for question or qualification. The Lord Chancellor himself, speaking at Tunbridge Wells, also vindicated the policy of the Government in seeking an Irish settlement by conference, and while declaring against any coercion of Ulster, expressed the hope that safeguarded as she was by the Act of 1920 she would consent to co-operate in an assembly representing Ireland as a whole.

The first official light thrown on the progress of the negotiations was given in a speech made by Sir James Craig to the Parliament of Northern Ireland at Belfast on November 29. The speech consisted, in the main, of a record of the progress of the negotiations between Ulster and the British Government. He said that it was a matter not of politics but of statesmanship, and he was extremely anxious that nothing should be said or done which would cause them to be blamed for any breakdown of the negotiations between the British Authorities and Sinn Fein. It was to that end, he affirmed, that the Ulster Cabinet had acquiesced in the request of the British Government not to press for the publication of the correspondence at that moment. At the same time he uttered a warning that, if he observed the

necessity for doing so, he would not ask for permission, no matter what the consequences might be. Ulster, he said, was neither to be intimidated nor coerced. The only way that Ulster could be secured was by being won. He adjured Sinn Feiners to follow the example of Ulster and start out on a similar path, the end of which was happiness, prosperity, and peace throughout the land. Let the Sinn Feiners show fairness to all classes and creeds, let them form a just and upright Government, throwing to one side all the abominable machinery of crime and outrage, and asking forgiveness for the dastardly deeds they had done in the past.

Sir James Craig said that the North of Ireland was prepared to enter into friendly rivalry with Sinn Fein in matters of trade and business, and was also prepared to enter into competition with them as to whether the North or the South was the better governed part of the country. He renewed the offer already made that through the machinery of the Council of Ireland his Government was prepared to meet the Sinn Feiners to discuss those matters which were of vital interest to the whole prosperity of their common land.

In his account of the negotiations in London, Sir James Craig said that on his arrival in London he had received an urgent message from Mr. Lloyd George asking him to meet him and talk matters over. When he met the Prime Minister, and the proposals of the Government in rough outline were placed before him, he had made up his mind upon them in a moment, and told Mr. Lloyd George that the thing was utterly impossible. Great pressure was brought to bear upon him, but he felt that it would be unfair to put the proposals before his colleagues until they were definitely set forth in writing. This was afterwards done, and the answer which was handed to the British Government, although he could not state what it was, was one which would have met with the universal approval of all the members of the Northern Parliament and all the people in Ulster. He complained that since that time there had been a Press campaign, without parallel in the history of Great Britain, directed against the people of Ulster. He said that it would be improper for him to mention what the proposals were which had been made to them, but an essential feature in them was the scheme for an All-Ireland Parliament. He did not propose at that time to go into their objections to it. If proposals were put before them for some kind of settlement which would help England it would engage all their attention and indefatigable energy, but how could they help England and the Empire to place a loyal population in the North under the heel of Sinn Fein? It would be dishonest to sit down at a conference table while such a proposal was before them. It was far better to make their conditions perfectly plain and comprehensible by the British Government.

Sir James Craig expressed astonishment that their attitude had appeared to take the Government by surprise. How could they be asked by anyone to clasp hands with people who, at the same time that they were pretending to come to a settlement in London, were flinging bombs and shooting from behind chimney pots into the street? He suggested that Sinn Fein should take the advice of General Smuts and "leave Ulster alone." Sir James Craig then read to his House of Commons the statement which had been agreed upon with the British Prime Minister. It was a bare announcement that by the following Tuesday either negotiations would have broken down or the British Prime Minister would send him new proposals for consideration by his Cabinet. In the meantime the rights of Ulster would be in no way sacrificed or compromised. After some debate on this speech the House adjourned.

Further outrages were reported in Belfast on November 30. A bomb exploded mortally wounding one woman and slightly injuring two men. Another man was held up and shot dead while going to his work in the morning, and a youth was shot by six men in a public-house. In all these cases the assailants made good their escape.

On December 2 an attempt was made by some Sinn Fein prisoners to escape from Derry Gaol. The attempt failed, but when the prisoners were put back into their cells it was discovered that two constables on night duty in the prison had been murdered by means of chloroform. As a result of this discovery a temporary warder and fourteen Sinn Fein prisoners were committed for trial at the Belfast Assizes.

At the beginning of December the British members of the Irish Conference formulated a second scheme for the settlement of Ireland, no agreement having been reached as regards that which had previously been discussed. These new proposals of the Government were delivered to the Irish delegation in London on December 1. They were immediately considered by the Cabinet of Dail Eireann in Dublin and their reply was handed to Mr. Lloyd George on December 4. The following day was a very busy one for all those engaged in the negotiations. The Prime Minister was received in audience by the King; meetings of the British Negotiating Committee and of the Cabinet were held; the Sinn Fein delegates met the British Negotiating Committee in the afternoon and again late at night. It was understood that the two main difficulties to be surmounted were the form of the oath of allegiance, and the permanence of the arrangement embodied in the proposals of the Government. The greater of these difficulties was the oath. The Cabinet of Dail Eireann were believed to object to taking an oath of personal loyalty to the King, but raised no difficulty about an oath recognising the King's headship of the community of nations. At length agreement was



reached and signed early in the morning of December 6 and published the same day. The following were the chief provisions of the agreement:—

Ireland was in future to be known as the Irish Free State, and to have the same constitutional status in the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. The oath to be taken by members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State was to be in the following form:—

“I, ———, do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established, and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to, and membership of, the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.”

The Irish Free State was to assume liability for the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom and towards the payment of war pensions in a fair and equitable proportion. Until the Irish Free State undertook her own coastal defence the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland should be undertaken by the Imperial Forces. This provision would not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of revenue or fishery vessels. These provisions were to be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish Governments at the end of five years with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share of her own coastal defence. The Government of the Irish Free State were to afford to the Imperial Forces, in time of peace, harbour, aviation, and oil fuel storage facilities at Berehaven, Queenstown, Belfast Lough, Lough Swilly, Haulbowline, and Rathmullen, and in time of war or of strained relations with a foreign Power, such harbour and other facilities as the British Government might require for the purposes of defence. If the Government of the Irish Free State established a Military Defence Force, it was not to exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bore to that of Great Britain. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State were to be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary dues. The Government of the Irish Free State were to pay fair compensation to judges, officials, members of police forces, and other public servants who were discharged by them or who retired in consequence of the change of Government. This provision was not to apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force, or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the last two years; in these cases the British Government were to assume responsibility.

As regards Northern Ireland, no election of members for Northern Ireland to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free

State was to be held unless a resolution to that effect was presented. The powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State were not to extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, were to continue in force for Northern Ireland. A Commission of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one by the Government of Northern Ireland, and one by the British Government who was to be chairman, was to determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as might be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland. If no such address were presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland were to continue to exercise the powers conferred upon them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State were to have, in matters outside the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, the same powers as in the rest of Ireland. To carry out the last article the Governments of Northern and Southern Ireland were empowered to meet for the discussion of safeguards relating to patronage, the collection of revenue, import and export duties and minorities, and of the settlement of financial relations and the relation of Defence Forces in the two areas. Neither of the two Parliaments was to make any law which would, directly or indirectly, endow any religion or restrict the free exercise of it. The agreement was to be submitted forthwith by the Imperial Government for the approval of Parliament, and by the Irish signatories to a meeting of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland. If approved it was to be ratified by the necessary legislation.

The news of this agreement brought immense relief to the anxiety in Ireland. Business became brighter, and the tone of the Dublin Stock Exchange reacted immediately to the good news. From many foreign countries telegrams of congratulation were sent to Mr. Lloyd George, and the King himself addressed a telegram to the Prime Minister, in which he said that he was overjoyed to hear the splendid news. He congratulated Mr. Lloyd George with all his heart on the successful termination of these difficult and protracted negotiations, which was due to the patience and conciliatory spirit which Mr. Lloyd George had shown throughout. The King expressed his great happiness to have contributed in some small way, by his speech at Belfast, to this great achievement.

On the same day speeches were delivered by Lord Birkenhead and Mr. Austen Chamberlain on the agreement. Lord Birkenhead said that the situation had been very critical, for, although it was not admitted that we were at war with Ireland, we were in fact engaged in a war which was more difficult than an international struggle. With one reservation Ireland would be placed in the same position as Canada, Australia, New

Zealand, and South Africa. The fidelity of the Irish Free State would be declared in no equivocal way. The North of Ireland would be well advised if she contributed her sobriety and business experience to a Parliament which would not otherwise be represented by such characteristics. There was a contingency that Ulster might not be prepared to send representatives to an All-Ireland Parliament. Ulster desired that its members should attend the Imperial Parliament, and the scheme gave them a complete option in the matter. If within a month of the passing of the contemplated Act Ulster desired to retain her existing powers, she would retain them. If Ulster decided to stand side by side with Great Britain it would be necessary to bring about such a rectification of frontiers as would prevent friction. Lord Birkenhead said that the terms signed had fully satisfied the representatives of the British Admiralty and those of the country at Westminster. Dail Eireann would, at an early date, be called together and advised to adopt a scheme. Should Dail Eireann refuse this country had still gained by convincing its representatives of their sincerity. The peace terms between Ireland and England would be laid before Parliament early in the New Year.

3' Lord Birkenhead spoke again later in the day, pointing out that we had had at our doors, threatening our life at its very heart, a population which had been profoundly dissatisfied. As long ago as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the Earl of Essex was carrying on the same kind of subjugation as we had been carrying on right up to the truce. Cromwell's policy was thorough, but Cromwell had failed, and so aroused one of the worst hatreds in history. When this settlement had been accepted there would meet at Downing Street a new partner of Empire. Her spokesman, the Irish Prime Minister, would not only meet on equal terms with the Prime Ministers of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia, but would meet on equal terms with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, having an equal vote with him in determining the fortunes of the greater whole.

The terms of the settlement were immediately communicated to Sir James Craig, who presided over a specially convened meeting of the Ulster Unionist Party on December 8. The proceedings of this Conference were not published, and it was understood that the question of the financial arrangement under the scheme was the principal matter upon which Ulster desired explanations and assurances. Both in Ulster and in the remainder of Ireland serious differences of opinion soon became manifest. As regards the attitude of Sinn Fein, a split immediately took place owing to the strong objection of many members of Dail Eireann to endorse the action of their representatives. The dissentients were headed by Mr. de Valera himself, who promptly issued a statement in which he expressed the view that the terms of the agreement were in violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of the Irish people as

expressed freely in successive elections during the past three years. He announced that he would be unable to recommend acceptance of the Treaty, either to Dail Eireann or to the country, and further that he was supported in this attitude by the Ministers of Home Affairs and Defence. Members of the Cabinet, though divided in opinion, would carry on the public services as usual. Mr. de Valera said that there was a definite constitutional way of resolving their political differences; let them not depart from it, and let the conduct of the Cabinet in this matter be an example to the whole nation.

It was understood that the chief ground of objection to ratification on the part of some of the Sinn Fein leaders was the form of the oath of allegiance, which was held to be subversive of Irish national aspirations. Nevertheless the general feeling throughout all parts of Ireland appeared to show a striking unanimity among the people in favour of the Peace Treaty.

On December 12 Mr. de Valera issued a statement which left no room for doubt as to the attitude which he would adopt when the Treaty came before Dail Eireann for ratification. In this statement he denied that the honour of Ireland was involved in the ratification of the agreement. The plenipotentiaries had only been sent on the distinct understanding that any agreement they might make would be subject to ratification by Dail Eireann and the country. A similar condition prevailed on the British side. In short Mr. de Valera manifested his intention of fighting to the last against ratification.

Both Houses of Parliament met on December 14, and forthwith began the discussion of the Irish Peace Treaty. In the House of Commons the Prime Minister devoted his speech to a general review of the Treaty. The main portion of the scheme, he said, was concerned with raising Ireland to the status of a Dominion of the British Empire. What did Dominion status mean? He referred to the views which had been expressed by the Dominion Prime Ministers as to the danger of defining too rigidly what the relations were. It had never been defined and yet it worked perfectly. All they could say was that whatever measure of freedom Dominion status gave to Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa would be extended to Ireland. There would be the guarantee contained in the fact that any attempt at encroaching on the rights of Ireland would be felt by every Dominion as jeopardising its own position. That, he declared, was a guarantee of infinite value to Ireland. In practice Dominion status meant complete control over their internal affairs without interference from any other part of the Empire. They were to be the rulers of their own hearth so far as finance, administration, and legislation relating to domestic affairs were concerned, and the representative of the Sovereign would act on the advice of the Dominion Ministers.

Dealing with external affairs, the Prime Minister said that

Ireland would share both the rights and the responsibilities of the Empire; she would take her part with other States in discussing the policy of the Empire.

Turning to the position of Ulster the Prime Minister declared that the pledge that Ulster would not be coerced had been kept, but he added: "If you say that in your judgment it is in the interest of Ireland, of the Empire, and in the interest of the minority of the South of Ireland that Ulster should come in, surely that was an argument we were entitled to use and entitled to press." Ulster had the right of choice, but it was desirable that if Ulster was to remain a separate unit there should be a readjustment of boundaries. There was no doubt that the majority of the people of two counties preferred to be in the South. That meant that if Ulster was to be a separate Dominion they could only coerce these people. He did not believe in Ulster being coerced, but he did not believe either in Ulster coercing others. There would be a Boundary Commission on which there would be a nominee from the North, one from the Irish Free State, and a chairman appointed by the Government.

Replying to Mr. Asquith, who inquired whether the operation of the Commission was going to be by counties or specific areas, the Prime Minister said they had avoided giving a specific direction of that kind. The arbitrators would adjust boundaries, taking into account the wishes of the inhabitants and geographical and economic conditions. The permanent arrangement must be formulated by the Irish representatives themselves. In this matter they were going to follow the example set in the framing of every constitution throughout the Empire, and the Imperial Parliament would take such steps as might be necessary to legalise their decision.

Captain Craig followed with a protest against the Treaty, which he described as the legalisation of treason. He predicted that when Sinn Fein proposed to constitute Ireland a Republic within a few years, its leaders were, by the oath they took, absolved from treason.

It was in the House of Lords, however, that the case for Ulster was stated and resentment at the settlement expressed with the greatest fervour. Lord Morley and Lord Dunraven spoke in favour of the Treaty; Lord Crewe hoped that the people of Ulster would make the best of things and see if it was not possible to carry out the terms of the Agreement in a manner that would do no real harm to their interests, and Lord Curzon claimed that the Treaty brought peace with honour. He appealed for a united Ireland, and hoped that he would live to see such a consummation.

A speech of bitter denunciation was then delivered by Lord Carson, who said that he saw nothing in the Treaty except that England, beaten to her knees by the guns of the assassin, had now expressed her willingness to scuttle out of

Ireland and leave to the tender mercies of the assassin everybody who had supported her. He wondered whether this was the result of the war. Was this country no longer strong enough to put down crime in Ireland? Was it that through the war they had felt it necessary to abandon the Unionist policy and to give up Ireland which they had tried so long to retain as a constituent part of the United Kingdom?

Was it, he asked, for the leaders of the Unionist Party to have brought forward such proposals? If they went on like that they would destroy the faith of democracy in its rulers and its institutions, and would make public life and politics stink in the nostrils of the country. Of all the memories in his experience the most loathsome was that of those who would sell their friends for the purpose of conciliating their enemies. "The people of Ulster," he continued, "are expected to be the complacent puppets of the Government, and without demur to take off their hats to the Foreign Secretary and the rest who had done everything which they had previously said would ruin the United Kingdom. Like everybody else the Government had betrayed Ulster." The constant preaching at Ulster was nauseating. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, having agreed to the terms, appealed to the comradeship of Sir James Craig to submit to the domination of Sinn Féin. That, said Lord Carson, was like shooting a man in the back and then telling him to die as quietly as he could. He referred to men with whom he had been associated for thirty-five years, but whose friendship he hoped he would lose from that night.

Lord Carson insisted that it was an innovation which the House ought to consider before entering into a Treaty between different parts of one kingdom. The next time there was a dispute in the coal-fields they would find the Government coming down with a Treaty between England and the coal mine owners of Yorkshire and Derbyshire and elsewhere. He declared with passion that there was never a greater outrage attempted in constitutional history than was being attempted by the Coalition Government. The description on the face of the document was false. Before it was signed they never asked Ulster, nor was she a signatory to it. It was a lie and was put there purposely. He denounced the Press, the whole vitriolic power of which, he said, inspired by Downing Street, had been carrying on week after week a campaign of falsehood and misrepresentation against Ulster. Why all this attack on Ulster, he asked; what had Ulster done? She had stuck too well to this country, and people thought that because she was loyal they could kick her when they liked. What had happened to change the attitude of the Unionist leaders since 1914? As to the financial proposals under the Treaty, he said, "Ulster is not for sale, her loyalty does not depend on taxes. Ulster values her heritage as part of the United Kingdom, and she will not be terrorised by talk about her having to pay more

income tax." It was an extraordinary idea of British justice, he added, that because they would not join the enemies of the country, and because they would not go under the murder gang in Dublin, therefore they must pay higher taxation. Referring to the provision in the Treaty for the raising of an army, Lord Carson asked what this was required for, if not to invade Ulster. Was it to invade America or the Isle of Man? He urged Ulster to trust to her own right arm.

The debate on the Irish Agreement was continued in both Houses of Parliament on December 15. In the House of Commons Mr. Asquith welcomed the agreement, though expressing the view that it would be a fatal mistake to suppose that all trouble would come to an end with the acceptance of the Treaty. The time for the waving of hats had not yet arrived.

Colonel Gretton, the leader of the Unionist "die-hards," proposed their amendment, and stated his case with moderation. He protested against the use which had been made of the King's name, and criticised the oath which, he said, was no oath of allegiance to the Throne. What, he inquired, was going to be the cost of the carrying out of the Agreement to the British taxpayer? Mr. Rupert Gwynne seconded the amendment. Mr. J. Jones protested against the plenipotentiaries from Ireland being described as murderers, but the Speaker confessed that he did not really hear what was said. Mr. Gwynne protested against the glorification and laudation of Mr. Michael Collins.

Mr. Churchill then reviewed the progress of negotiations from their inception, and declared that the Government had insisted upon allegiance to the Crown, membership of the Empire, securities for the Navy, and complete option for Ulster. Every one of these conditions was embodied in the Treaty. After paying a tribute to the loyalty of Ulster, he said it was no longer open to anyone to say that Ulster was barring the way to the rest of Ireland. If Ulster did not join with the South the worst that could happen to her was that she would share our fortunes for good or ill, taking the rough with the smooth—no more and no less.

A great ovation was given to Mr. Bonar Law who then joined in the debate after an absence from Parliament for many months. He stated at once that he was in favour of the Agreement. He noted with regret that there appeared to be a bitter feeling growing up in Ulster that she had been betrayed. He attributed this, not so much to what was contained in the Agreement, as to what had happened in the Press before the Agreement was published. It had been constantly said that Ulster must make concessions, but what was asked of Ulster? It was the surrender of everything for which she had fought. There was no harm in trying to persuade Ulster, but there was no greater defect of statesmanship that to propose something which, in

the nature of the facts, was impossible. If Ulster decided to remain with Great Britain she had a right to share our burdens, and she had a right to say that whatever happened she would not be worse treated than any other section of the United Kingdom. Dealing with the fear of invasion felt by Ulster, Mr. Bonar Law said that if this country would not change the Government, if it refused to put down invasion by British forces, then the Empire was at an end. There was serious objection taken to the rectification of boundaries, and he deplored the fact that the Agreement had been signed and sealed without consulting Ulster; but if the Boundary Commission was carried out in the spirit of the Agreement—which did not contemplate the possibility of throwing out counties but merely adjusting boundaries—Ulster would be making a great mistake if she refused to have anything to do with the Agreement on that ground. He would be surprised if, after an interval, Sir James Craig and his friends did not see some way of avoiding breaking the Agreement on account of that article. The only thing that mattered in Ireland was goodwill. If the Southern Parliament and people were hostile, it did not make much difference whether it was called a Republic or a Dominion.

In the House of Lords the debate proceeded on similar lines. Lord Sydenham criticised the Treaty from the military and naval point of view, declaring that these interests would, in the near future, be imperilled. Lord Farnham protested bitterly against the betrayal of the Unionists in the South and West of Ireland. He predicted that the scheme would lead, not to peace, but to civil war. The most important speech, however, was that of the Lord Chancellor, who replied to Lord Carson on the charge of inconsistency, admitting that the Government had changed its views because they realised that they were living in a changed world. Replying to the charge that the Government had not supported the soldiers in putting down rebellion, he said that he could remember no single occasion on which any soldier in Ireland had asked for a single thing which had not been granted. He denied that we had undergone humiliation. Was there any other alternative than that we should resume the war?

The vote on the Agreement was taken in both Houses at the end of the debates on December 16, and in both Houses there was a large majority in favour of ratification. In the Commons 401 members voted for the Treaty and 58 against, giving a majority of 343. In the Lords 166 members voted for it and 47 against, a majority of 119. On December 19 the Lord Chancellor read the King's Speech proroguing Parliament until January 31, 1922.

Dail Eireann also began its debates on December 14. Discussion of the peace terms was at once obstructed by controversy concerning the powers vested by the Dail in the men who negotiated the settlement. Mr. Collins made it clear



that the delegation did not question the right of the Dail to reject or accept the settlement, but this did not satisfy Mr. de Valera, who pressed the point that he should have seen the full text of the Treaty before the signatures were given. In order that the matter might be fully discussed, the Dail decided to sit in private session, but a motion to authorise this procedure was not carried until a definite assurance had been given by Ministers that the ratification of the Treaty should be publicly discussed and decided. The private session continued for several days, and the public debate in Dail Eireann did not begin until December 19. Mr. Griffith then moved the ratification of the Treaty, and expressed the belief that 95 per cent. of the Irish people believed that it went far enough. He read a letter from Mr. Lloyd George to clear up several points in the Treaty which had been questioned, and deprecated the idea of fighting for a mere name such as that of Republic.

Mr. de Valera next urged the Dail to reject the Treaty. He claimed that the Republican ideal must be upheld, and said that the Treaty made British authority master in Ireland. The Treaty document was the most ignoble that could be signed. He said that it would not bring Irish peace, but would certainly lead to war and a period of internal strife.

Mr. Barton then gave an account of the circumstances under which the Treaty had been signed in Downing Street. Mr. Lloyd George had objected to any further reference to Dail Eireann, and had claimed that, as plenipotentiaries, they must either reject or accept the terms, and rejection meant war. The delegates were given until 10 o'clock to make up their minds; three of them were for the Treaty and two against, and those two were not prepared to take on themselves the responsibility for war.

On the following day a motion in the name of Mr. de Valera was placed on the Order Paper of Dail Eireann. The motion was to the effect that the Agreement signed in London did not reconcile Irish national aspirations and the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Commonwealth, and that it could not establish a lasting peace between the peoples of the two Islands. The motion then went on to refer to alternative proposals which, however, were not published at the time. In the course of the debate, however, it transpired that the real issue was one between two forms of oath. Mr. de Valera would not subscribe to the oath in the Treaty, but drew up an alternative form to which he was prepared to give his adhesion.

The debate continued for several days. Mr. Gavan Duffy, one of the five delegates who had been to London, supported the account given by Mr. Barton of the circumstances under which the Treaty was signed. He declared that Mr. Lloyd George had issued to them an ultimatum which meant that there must be peace or war. The only way to avert immediate

war was to bring him the signatures of all the plenipotentiaries with the undertaking that they would recommend the Treaty to the Dail. "We lost the Republic of Ireland," said Mr. Duffy, "in order to save the people of Ireland." Although he did not like the Agreement he gave reasons why it should be ratified. Mr. Duggan, another of the delegates, repudiated the idea that they had either been bluffed or intimidated. On December 22, when there seemed little prospect of the debate being brought to the stage of a decision before Christmas, the Dail determined to postpone the discussion until after the New Year. Thirty-nine speakers had hitherto expounded their views, and at least another forty had notified their wish, if not their demand, to be heard. Mr. Collins accordingly moved that the debate should be adjourned until January 3. His motion found a seconder in Countess Markievicz, and after a lively half-hour's discussion was carried, 77 deputies voting for it and 44 against. The matter was thus postponed to the year 1922. The speeches in the Dail were so evenly divided on the two sides of the question that it was not easy to forecast how the ultimate vote would result. Reports from all over Ireland indicated, however, a strong desire for ratification of the Treaty, and it was hoped that the delay in coming to a decision might give time for the general feeling in Ireland to impress itself on the members of the Dail and secure a vote for ratification.

Unemployment continued to be rife throughout December, and at the beginning of the month the number of persons in the United Kingdom wholly unemployed was approximately 1,832,400. On the 8th a special emergency Conference was called representing the Trades Union Congress, the Labour Party, and the Parliamentary Labour Party, to consider the problem. About 300 delegates were present, and after a discussion the Conference demanded that unemployment should be made a national charge, and that the Government should reverse its policy in relation to Russia and Central Europe. On the 15th a Labour deputation was received by Mr. Lloyd George, and pointed out to him that France and Germany had practically no unemployment. Mr. Lloyd George, in reply, said that France was mortgaging her present and future to repair her devastated areas, and that although this activity produced a good deal of employment, it must not be supposed that she was suffering nothing. Germany was manufacturing credit with paper money, and the inflation led to a sudden demand for commodities as everybody wished to get rid of marks before their value sank any lower. The difficulty was to discover the best method of exacting reparations. France could not settle down while she was piling up a debt for rebuilding her devastated areas without compensation from Germany. The problem of Russia was not an easy one. She owed us 561 millions sterling. It was a delusion, he said, that Russia was a field in which rapid development was immediately

possible. The important thing was to restore the confidence of those who used to deal with Russia, and this was not easy while Russia maintained a doubtful attitude as to her debts and had no assets to offer against credits.

The question of German reparations was also discussed by Sir Robert Horne at Manchester on December 5. He undertook that no agreement should be made without due consultation and discussion both with France and our other Allies. Germany said she could not pay the sums due in January and February and she asked for delay. The Allies must answer in unison. Our unemployment and trade depression was due in part to the number of derelict countries in Europe. The collapse of Germany would be a catastrophe, and inquiries had to be made as to whether she was really able to pay or not. Germany was doing several things which made it difficult for her to meet her obligations. She was subsidising bread, running the railways at a loss, and selling coal at half the price paid for coal elsewhere. Those subsidies were causing a deficit in the revenue of the State and enabling employers to pay lower wages. If we insisted upon our just rights in relation to German reparation, Germany would have to get rid of those subsidies. Germany would also have to make her taxation yield revenue to meet her expenditure. Within some period to be fixed she must cease to print paper marks in order to meet her deficit.

The question of the German reparations was discussed during the week before Christmas by Mr. Lloyd George with French delegates, including M. Briand, who had come to London for the purpose. Great reticence was maintained as to the course of the discussions, but M. Briand, before returning to Paris on December 22, declared that he was completely satisfied with the result of his visit. Agreement had been reached on nearly all outstanding subjects, though definite decisions had not been come to, since this was within the sphere of the Supreme Council. The practical result of the interchange of views, however, took effect in a decision to hold a Supreme Council at Cannes in the south of France early in January. At this meeting a plan was to be put forward on which the French and British representatives had been able to agree.

Towards the end of the year the necessity for Government economy became increasingly urgent. On December 7 Lord Inchcape, one of the members of the so-called Super-Axe Committee, delivered an important speech, in which he said that we were greatly impoverished by the war, and if we wished to regain our solvency we must curtail our expenditure not in one direction but in all. He said that we had entered into domestic commitments which, if not modified, would involve heavy payments in all directions and land us in bankruptcy. We could not repudiate our debts; we had to meet the interest on our obligations; the multiplication of Ministries was landing

the nation in enormous expenditure, and the country was getting filled up with functionaries who were fattening on the people. Education was now costing the country over 100 millions a year as compared with one-fourth of that amount before the war. Teachers' salaries had far more than doubled based on the high standard of two years ago, and the pensions lately granted would, if maintained, soon involve an expenditure of 10 millions a year. If industrial undertakings continued to be depleted by excessive taxation, it meant that less money would be available for the expansion of industry, that there would be less employment in the country, and a reduced standard of living all round. We had got beyond the limit of taxation, we could not increase our revenue, and our only salvation was to reduce our expenditure. That we should do so he had not the slightest doubt. The common sense of the country would come to our rescue.

In the middle of the month the interim report of the Super-Axe Committee was delivered to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The terms of this report were not published before the end of the year, but they concerned the chief spending departments of the Government—the Admiralty, the War Office, the Air Ministry, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Labour. Rumour stated that the recommendations of the Committee were of a very drastic nature, but the Cabinet was fully occupied for the time being with the question of German reparations, and the financial position of the country was left over to be discussed at the beginning of the New Year. The interim report was circulated among members of the Cabinet a few days before Christmas.

The end of the year thus left over many important problems to be determined at the beginning of 1922. There was the question of Ireland and the proposed new Irish Free State, the foundation of which depended on the decision to be taken by Dail Eireann. There was the question of German reparations to be decided by the Supreme Council meeting in the south of France. There was the question of unemployment and trade depression, both of which still continued to be severe, but on neither of which did it seem possible to effect much further improvement by Government action. And, finally, there was the question of the financial position of the country, in some ways the most important of any. It was clearly impossible to increase revenue or taxation, and by some method or other it was therefore necessary that expenditure should be reduced. The extreme urgency of these various problems could not but raise a feeling of profound anxiety in the minds of statesmen, but the anxiety was tempered with hope, and a general impression prevailed that the darkest period consequent on the war had now been safely passed.

# FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

IN making a general review of the work of the League of Nations in 1921, it will perhaps be best to consider the achievements of the League under the following general aspects :—

First, the history of its institutions as such ; second, the work which it has accomplished in connexion with political disputes between its members ; third, its work for international law and justice ; and fourth, the work of its technical and other Commissions and its execution of the administrative and Governmental tasks with which, under the Treaties of Peace, it has been charged.

The Council of the League held four meetings in 1921, as against eleven held in 1920. The drop in number was the result of a definite change of policy. The Members of the Council found that the continual journeys required by the large number of meetings which they had held in 1920 involved much loss of time without corresponding results. They therefore decided to endeavour to hold fewer meetings and to make each one last longer. In consequence, their four meetings in 1921 were long meetings. One of them lasted more than six weeks : two others a fortnight each. This was a development which may prove of real importance in the subsequent evolution of the Council as an International Cabinet, and which will, no doubt, facilitate the participation in its labours of statesmen of the first rank.

At the meeting of the Assembly there were acute discussions as to the composition of the Council, proposals being made both for the increase of its Permanent and of its Non-Permanent Members. In spite of these discussions, the Council remained the same, no agreement being reached as to any increase in numbers in either category of its Members. As a compromise the term of its Non-Permanent Members was extended for a year.

In one respect the Members of the Council fully merited this extension of its term—*viz.*, by reason of the progress which they made in giving publicity to their proceedings, and particularly to their treatment of political disputes. There can be no doubt that if the Council continues to develop the use of publicity as it has done in 1921, it will render it a most formidable weapon

against any State which is guilty of wrongful aggression against its neighbours.

The Assembly made even greater progress with its development as an international political institution. While in 1920 the Assembly was an experiment, concerned with drawing up its own procedure, with creating its own methods of work, rather than with achieving practical results, in 1921 it undoubtedly made great progress with the development of what may be called its "institutional personality." It worked out into recognised practice the rules of procedure which the year before it had drawn up. It admitted three new States to Membership of the League, bringing the total of the Members up to fifty-one. It amended the Covenant of the League in certain important respects. It dealt successfully with a number of first-class and exceedingly difficult political questions. Further—and this historians will perhaps regard as its principal achievement—it definitely established the Permanent Court of International Justice.

With regard to the international Secretariat of the League and the Technical and other Commissions which it has established, it is only necessary to say that the economy and efficiency of the Secretariat was very thoroughly investigated by a special Commission of Inquiry, which reported to the Assembly in a favourable sense. The Commissions—Transit, Health, Finance, Economic, and others—began to work on uniform lines, and to develop a coherent and progressive policy.

During the year 1921 the League dealt with four disputes of considerable political importance, one at least of them being in the first rank of international questions.

The Aaland Islands dispute was one concerning certain islands which lie midway between Finland and Sweden, inhabited almost exclusively by people of the Swedish race, but which historically and geographically had always formed a part of Finland. Sweden claimed that, in virtue of self-determination, these people should be allowed to vote by plebiscite for union with Sweden. Finland claimed that the Islands had already been recognised as part of Finland, and that the matter did not even come within the purview of the League. The first question, therefore, to be settled was this question of law, whether or not the League had the right to take the matter up. This was settled against Finland in 1920, and the Council then appointed a Political Commission consisting of an eminent Swiss, Mons. Calonder, an eminent Belgian, and an eminent American, to inquire into the merits of the dispute, and to make a report to the Council, as to the solution which they thought just and equitable. Their report was presented to the Council in April, 1921, and was immediately published. It excited the liveliest comment, and considerable opposition in both the countries, particularly in Sweden, against whom the verdict on the main point at issue was given. But the parties

eventually accepted the recommendation of the Commission as it was amended by the Council at its meeting in June, though Sweden accepted under protest.

After a certain interval, the matter was brought up to the League again in connexion with the Treaty of Neutralisation for the Islands which the Political Commission had recommended. For the negotiation of this Treaty a special Conference of all the interested Powers was required, and such a Conference, including representatives of Germany, met at the seat of the League in October and drew up a Treaty which, while it imposed considerable responsibilities on the League for the maintenance of the neutral status which it provided for the Islands, was accepted by both parties as completely fair and just. It was indeed significant that the Swedish Press proclaimed the Treaty as a great and solid guarantee for the safety of Sweden, and that the Press both of Sweden and of Finland with one accord regarded the agreement as the starting point of a new era of understanding and friendship between the two countries.

The second dispute with which the Council of the League had to deal in 1921 was that between Poland and Lithuania over the city and the province of Vilna. It was a dispute, the discussion of which from the beginning had been embittered by an act of violence. In October, 1920, the parties made an agreement at Suwalki in virtue of which it seemed that an immediate pacific solution would be found. A few days later, just before the Council of the League was about to meet to discuss the matter, a Polish General, Zeligowski, supported by Polish troops, entered Vilna and occupied by force the entire territory in dispute. At the end of 1920 to meet this situation the Council had prepared a plan for a plebiscite to be carried out under the auspices of an international military force. The plan was almost ready for execution when the Council met in February, 1921, and abandoned it. They endeavoured at this same meeting to make the parties come to terms under the direct authority of the Council, but they failed. They therefore adopted yet another device and invited the parties to begin direct negotiations under the neutral Presidency of M. Hymans, the Belgian Member of the Council. While these negotiations were carried out the Council promised to maintain the military Commission which they had established the year before and which was responsible for securing the observance of a neutral zone between the armed forces of General Zeligowski and the Lithuanian State. After protracted negotiations, however, M. Hymans failed to induce the parties to come to an agreement. On his own initiative he drew up a draft solution which, in the light of the negotiations which he had conducted, would, in his view, constitute a fair and just settlement of the whole matter in dispute. At its meeting in September the Council unanimously adopted M. Hymans' plan as the "recommendation"

which it made for the solution of the conflict. But both parties rejected the proposal, and the difficulty remained unsolved. It can only be said that the League has succeeded in keeping the peace for more than a year in a very serious situation.

The third dispute with which the Council was called upon to deal was that between the Principal Allied Powers concerning the result of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia. The Treaty of Versailles provided that in the eastern part of the German provinces of Upper Silesia a plebiscite should be held and that a special Commission appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers should supervise the voting and make a report thereon. The Allies had the right to decide the frontier when they received the report of this Commission. After one-and-a-half years' delay the plebiscite was held. The result gave roughly a vote of 700,000 in favour of Germany and 400,000 in favour of Poland. The German Government demanded that the fate of the whole of the province should be decided by the majority of the votes cast in the plebiscite. This was a view which the British Government were inclined to share, but the French Government strongly supported the Polish view that the terms of the Treaty implied the division of the plebiscite area between the parties in accordance with the voting in the communes. The dispute became so acute between the principal Allies that in August, 1921, they found it impossible to come to an agreement, and requested the Council of the League to give an "advisory opinion" as to what solution would be just and equitable.

The Council of the League accepted the arduous task thus laid upon them, and they soon came to the decision that legally the German case for giving the province in its integrity to the party who obtained the majority of votes in the plebiscite could not be maintained; but that in order to safeguard the economic interests of the region, it was essential to set up a special economic regime which should disregard the political frontier they established. They recognised, in other words, that any *economic* division of the area in dispute would irreparably damage the economic interests of both parties, and particularly of the people in the area itself. They therefore recommended a political frontier which gave, as nearly as this was possible, exactly that number of citizens to each of the parties which had voted respectively for them; but they obviated the economic effect of this political frontier by laying down that its adoption should be conditional upon the acceptance by the parties of an economic agreement establishing complete freedom of trade, a unified railway system, a unified currency, absolute personal liberty to move from one side of the frontier to the other, and other economic safeguards.

Both parties accepted the decision, and direct negotiations between Germany and Poland concerning the economic agreement began under the most favourable auspices and are con-



tinuing with every hope of a peaceful co-operation between the parties.

The fourth dispute to be brought to the League during 1921 was that between Albania and Serbia concerning the delimitation of the frontiers of the new Albanian State. Albania was admitted to the League as a Member by the Assembly of 1920, but its frontiers had not then been fixed. The Serbians were in occupation of a large piece of territory which was well within the frontier of Albania agreed to in 1913. They asserted that the frontier of 1913 had no relevance to the situation of 1921. Throughout the summer of 1921 there were a considerable number of "incidents," and the Albanians made repeated appeals to the League to secure the settlement of its frontiers. Under League pressure the principal Allies undertook this task, and made a great endeavour to draw up the frontiers definitely before the meeting of the Assembly in September. In the Assembly the whole matter was discussed both in Committee and in Plenary Session, and as a result of energetic action by Lord Robert Cecil definite pledges were given by the principal Allied Powers that the frontiers would be settled and published without delay. The Assembly further requested the Council to set up a Commission of Inquiry to proceed to Albania at once to supervise the evacuation of all foreign troops from the territories allotted, under the new frontier, to Albania.

The Council accepted the recommendation of the Assembly and appointed early in October a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of a Luxemburger, a Norwegian, and a Finn. The Commission was on the point of proceeding to Albania when news was received that Serbian troops were advancing on Albanian soil and threatening the important towns of Durazzo and Tirana. The British Government immediately despatched a telegram to the Secretary-General of the League asking him to summon a meeting of the Council forthwith to consider the application of Article XVI. (that is to say, the Economic Blockade) to Serbia, unless its troops were at once withdrawn behind the frontiers the principal Allies had agreed to. As a result of this telegram the Council met within a week. But before it met the Serbian Government had already promised to withdraw, explaining that it had no alternative but to do so in view of the threatened application of the economic weapon of the League.

The task of the Council was therefore simple. The Serbian Government gave undertakings that it would immediately withdraw its troops behind the frontier and that it would give every facility to the Commission of Inquiry to take all the necessary measures to secure the establishment of peace without bloodshed within Albania and on its Borders. The Commission of Inquiry immediately undertook the tasks thus allotted to it, and by the end of 1921 it had reported the complete evacuation of all Albanian territory and the subsidence of all disorder within Albania itself.

One of the great achievements of the League in 1921 was the establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Constitution and statute of the Court was agreed to by the first Assembly in 1920. A large number of Members of the League signed the statute before the end of that year, and instead of the twenty-four ratifications that were required, over thirty were received before the Assembly met in 1921. This made possible the immediate election of the Judges, who were representative of all the different systems of Law throughout the world.

During 1921 progress was also made in another most important direction. To the statute of the Court there was added by the Assembly of 1920 an optional Protocol, enabling States which wished to do so to agree among themselves to submit to the decision of the Court all their "justiciable" disputes (that is to say, disputes capable of decision by judicial process). During 1921 eighteen States, Members of the League, signed this optional Protocol and thus agreed to the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court in all disputes which may arise between them.

Concerning International Law in general, the various technical organisations of the League—through the Transit Conference, the International Labour Conference, the White Slave Traffic Conference—drew up a number of Conventions which will do much to extend and to consolidate the body of the international Law of Peace by which the peaceful relations of States and of their subjects are regulated and controlled.

The purpose of the Technical Commissions is to use the machinery of the League for building up on a sure and inexpensive foundation a system of effective international co-operation in every sphere in which the general everyday interests of States and of their subjects conflict or coincide.

During 1920 the League had held a most successful Financial Conference in Brussels; as a result Economic and Financial Committees were established, which prepared the practical application of the resolutions to which the Conference had agreed. The most important of the practical schemes which they devised was one for securing by commercial credits the financial rehabilitation of the Austrian Republic. The scheme was approved by every financial expert of authority; the Austrian Government readily accepted every condition that was imposed; but its practical realisation was still delayed at the end of 1921 by the failure of the United States to raise the liens they held on Austrian assets in respect of relief loans they had made.

The Transit Conference above referred to sat for seven weeks, and prepared a number of important Conventions concerning transport by water and by land; it furthermore established a permanent Committee on transit subjects. The Conference on the Traffic in Women and Children met in July and drew up an agreed report, embodying recommendations for the improvement of the existing Conventions on the subject. These recommendations were transformed by the Assembly into

a new Convention, which twenty-five Members of the League had signed before the end of 1921.

In regard to health, a permanent Committee, consisting of the twelve foremost health authorities in the world, was established by the Council. This Committee met a number of times, established an invaluable international co-operation in the investigation and preparation of sera, and decided to carry out an inquiry into the sanitary conditions of the Eastern Mediterranean ports. The Epidemics Commission of the League, though it received far less financial support than had been hoped for, yet carried through a most effective campaign against typhus in Eastern Europe.

The government by the League of the Saar Valley and the Free City of Danzig provoked many minor disputes, but on the whole was conducted smoothly and with success. The situation in the Saar is far from satisfactory: but Danzig has proved that international government will work when it is given a chance.

On the whole the Governments of the Members of the League may fairly claim that in 1921 they made substantial progress with their great experiment. They did more than lay foundations; they built up precedent and procedure, they worked out an international law of peace, they created new and vastly important institutions, and they did much to increase the power and the prestige of the League.

## CHAPTER II.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

#### FRANCE.

BEFORE touching on the principal events which took place in France in the course of the year 1921, it is necessary to recall one or two of the outstanding facts of the year 1920.

The most important political event was the election on September 23 of M. Millerand as President of the Republic. M. Leygues succeeded him as Prime Minister, and, if the truth is to be told, his appointment somewhat surprised the majority of the nation. M. Leygues had had a fairly distinguished political career, but in the general opinion he was hardly one of the leading personalities of the moment.

But those who were acquainted with the growing attitude of M. Millerand towards the Constitution had a better comprehension of the situation. M. Millerand desired to see an increase in the power of the President of the Republic, and many people agreed with him.

France had realised during the Ministry of M. Millerand the benefit of having a capable leader who was free from the anxiety of being turned out of office at any moment. The

frequent changes of Ministry had shown that even in peace times an unstable Government was in a difficult situation. In a time of unrest and insecurity like the present, the situation of the Government might be wholly prejudicial to the interests of the country.

M. Millerand's acts during his Ministry both in his domestic and his foreign policy had met with the unanimous approval of the nation, and his popularity reached its height in September, 1920, when by 695 votes out of 892 he was elected President of the Republic. Among the members of Parliament opposed to his appointment there were many keen partisans of the leader whose eminent qualities had been put to the test during a period of over eight months. They did not wish to see M. Millerand occupying a merely representative position, which is all the French Constitution allows to the President. They wanted to see so able a man at the helm of the ship of State, with real and not apparent power. Hopes were therefore raised in some quarters that the Constitution would be amended to give more scope to the President. But these hopes were dashed to the ground when, on January 12, M. Leygues retired from office.

The Chamber of Deputies, by dismissing the Minister selected by M. Millerand, expressed its wish to give power to a strong man whose conduct was not to be modified by any influence. Lack of firmness was the principal fault with which M. Leygues was charged by the majority of the Parliament. As a matter of fact, the dismissal of the Premier was expected as an imminent event when Parliament re-opened on January 11.

On that day M. Raoul Péret, who was re-elected Chairman of the Chamber, delivered a most interesting speech dealing with the difficulties of the moment. M. Leygues' request for the postponement of the intended interpellations of several deputies until after the Inter-Allied Conference due on the 19th was refused by the House by 447 votes out of 563. The Cabinet was therefore compelled to retire. Next day the Senate met and re-elected M. Léon Bourgeois as its chairman.

M. Millerand confided to M. Raoul Péret, Chairman of the Chamber, the task of constituting a new Ministry. After having endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of various personalities specially designated by the voice of public opinion, M. Raoul Péret found he was unable to surmount the difficulties caused by private antagonisms. He was particularly unsuccessful in obtaining the support of M. Briand and M. Poincaré, whose views on certain points of foreign policy differed from his own.

Thereupon M. Aristide Briand was entrusted with the difficult task of forming a cabinet. M. Briand had already been Premier three times. Born in 1862 at Nantes, he was first elected deputy in 1902 for the Department of Loire, which re-elected him until 1914. He was Minister of Public Instruction in 1906, Minister of Justice in 1908, and Prime Minister in

1909. He was again Prime Minister in 1913 and, during the war, from 1915 to 1917. In 1919 he was re-elected deputy by the Department of Loire-Inférieure, the chief town of which is his native place.

Like most French politicians M. Briand had gradually changed his mind in the course of the last years before the war. From fervent socialism he turned towards moderate opinions; as they say in France, "he put water into his wine."

On January 16 M. Briand succeeded in constituting his Cabinet as follows:—

Presidency of the Cabinet Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs	- - - - -	M. Aristide Briand.
Minister of Justice	- - - - -	M. Bonnefoy.
Minister of Finance	- - - - -	M. Paul Doumer.
Minister of the Interior	- - - - -	M. Marraud.
Minister of War	- - - - -	M. Louis Barthou.
Minister of Marine	- - - - -	M. Guisth'au.
Minister of Public Instruction	- - - - -	M. Léon Berard.
Minister for the Liberated Districts and Reparations	- - - - -	M. Loucheur.
Minister of Agriculture	- - - - -	M. Lefebvre du Prey.
Minister for the Colonies	- - - - -	M. Albert Sarraut.
Minister of Commerce	- - - - -	M. Dior.
Minister of Labour	- - - - -	M. Daniel Vincent.
Minister of Pensions	- - - - -	M. Maginot.
Minister of Public Health	- - - - -	M. Leredu.
Minister of Public Works	- - - - -	M. Y. Le Trocquer.

In accordance with the suggestion made by the British Government that, owing to the French ministerial crisis, the Inter-Allied Conference should be postponed, the new Government agreed that the Conference should take place on January 24.

On January 17 nine Under-Secretaries of State were appointed as follows:—

Presidency of Cabinet Council	- - - - -	M. Tissier.
Interior	- - - - -	M. Maurice Cobrat.
Post and Telegraphs (Public Works)	- - - - -	M. Paul Laffont.
Stocks (Finances)	- - - - -	M. André Paisant.
Merchant Marine	- - - - -	M. Rio.
Technical Instruction	- - - - -	M. Gaston Vidal.
Liberated Districts	- - - - -	M. Lugol.
Food (Agriculture)	- - - - -	M. Puis.
Air Ministry	- - - - -	M. Laurent Eynac.

The new Cabinet appeared before Parliament on January 20, the Ministerial Declaration being read by M. Briand in the Chamber and by M. Marraud in the Senate. This long declaration, modelled on the usual patterns, expressed much that was encouraging, but was not as explicit as the remarkable speech which M. Briand delivered on the following day, and which dealt with the political programme of the new Government. In regard to foreign policy, M. Briand expressed his firm intention to make Germany pay, and he also promised to make every effort toward the revival of diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

The Chamber expressed its confidence in the new Cabinet by 462 votes out of 539.

On the 24th, the Paris Conference opened at the Foreign Office, with M. Briand in the chair. Eight days had been sufficient for him to make himself familiar with the grave problems of the moment, and France realised and valued the marvellous effort of the new Premier.

The leading personalities of the delegations at the Conference were: for France, MM. Briand, Barthou, and Berthelot; for Great Britain, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon; for Italy, Count Sforza, Count Bonin-Longare, and the Marquis della-Torretta; for Belgium, MM. Jaspar and Theunis; and for Japan, Viscount Ishii.

The Conference lasted five days, and was marked by a complete agreement among the Allies. The terms of the conditions of disarmament and reparations fixed by unanimous accord were forwarded to Germany.

On the day before the Conference ended (Jan. 28) there took place the solemn burial of the Unknown Soldier under the Arc de Triomphe. M. Barthou, the War Minister, delivered a most moving oration, and Mr. Lloyd George who was present threw into the grave Britain's floral tribute.

Amongst the significant events which occurred in January, the dissolution of the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labour) is not the least important. The breaking-up of this organisation was promulgated on the 13th by the Tribunal Correctionnel following on the revolutionary strikes which had occurred in April and May of 1920. The majority of the nation approved of this course. Many workmen themselves had protested against certain strike-orders, given by their leaders, as was alleged, for merely political or revolutionary purposes; and there is no doubt that the C.G.T. had lost the support of public opinion.

Before the close of January there was a distinct improvement in the value of the franc, which dropped from sixty to fifty-two for the pound sterling.

During the whole of February French opinion watched the attitude of Germany with no little expectancy.

On the 1st M. Millerand expressed his most ardent congratulations to M. Briand and his colleagues on the part they had taken in the Paris Conference. The results of the Conference were placed before the Chamber by M. Briand on February 3, and after discussing the question for seven days, the House expressed its confidence in the Cabinet by 387 votes out of 522.

On February 19, three more generals were promoted "Marshals of France," viz., General Fayolle, General Franchet d'Esperey, and General Lyautey. These, together with Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, and Marshal Pétain raised the number of French marshals to six.

During February Marshal Pilsudski, the head of the Polish State, paid a visit to France in the interests of Franco-Polish amity.

Franco-British friendship was also deepened as a result of Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the German delegation at the London Conference (see pp. 26 and 173). Indeed, never since the Armistice had the Entente Cordiale been so greatly appreciated in France. The results of the Conference were approved by the Chamber on March 17, after a two days' debate, by 490 votes out of 559. French troops joined British and Belgian battalions in the further occupation of German territory (see pp. 27 and 174). The Chamber had already authorised the Minister of War, on March 4, to incorporate the conscripts born in 1901.

The Government also cultivated Franco-American relations. On March 19 M. Viviani, a former Prime Minister, was sent to the United States, where he was received in special audience by President Harding.

Meanwhile questions of finance were before both Houses of Parliament. Early in April the Senate discussed expenditure on foreign affairs, finally agreeing to the proposals of the Government. The Senate also agreed to the Government's request for 120 million francs for the continuance of French propaganda in Syria. The Budget of 1921 was finally discussed by the Senate on April 16. One of the provisions of the Finance Law limited the number of Ministers in future to twelve, and of Under-Secretaries of State to four.

On April 12, by a unanimous vote of the Chamber, the dignity of Marshal of France was granted to the late General Gallieni, who defended Paris in 1914.

An event of national importance of a much earlier date was commemorated by Joan of Arc's day (May 8) instituted as a national holiday by the Law of July, 1920. On April 16 M. Marraud, Minister of the Interior, sent to the prefects a circular regarding this celebration, requesting them to take the necessary steps in order to solemnise the day with great display. He pointed out that the memory of Jeanne d'Arc should not be the exclusive possession of any one religious body, but should be the common property of the whole nation. These sentiments, echoed by a Cabinet Minister, reflected the Government's changed attitude towards the Catholic Church which culminated in the endeavour to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

As regards the Inter-allied decisions, the Senate on April 21 ratified the laying of a 50 per cent. tax on German imports as decided at the last London Conference. In the following week M. Briand started for London to attend the Inter-allied Conference. From London, on May 2, he instructed the War Minister by telephone to call back the 1919 class to the colours, in view of the possible decision of the Allies to occupy the Ruhr district, in accordance with the scheme drawn up by Marshal

Foch. But as on May 10 Germany acceded to the Allied terms, this possibility did not arise. Nevertheless the 1919 class were not liberated until June 21.

It is worthy of note that May Day passed off in France without any popular manifestations. All the more remarkable were the other celebrations during May. On the 4th and 5th France recalled the hundredth anniversary of the death of Napoleon; on the 8th Jeanne d'Arc's day was fitly observed; while on the 15th an important meeting of athletic societies was held at Lille which M. Millerand attended, thus giving his high approval to the general tendency towards the encouragement of sport in France.

The London Conference was followed by a debate in Parliament on the Government's foreign policy. For six days, from May 19 to 25, the Government was subjected to attacks, which the Prime Minister met successfully, carrying with him the Chamber, which gave him a vote of confidence of 390 votes out of 552.

On May 27, the Chamber passed a resolution authorising the free import of wheat, and on June 7 the Peace Treaty with Hungary was ratified.

During the last days of June Parliamentary circles were somewhat excited by the bankruptcy of the "Banque Industrielle de Chine," and the Government was once again strongly attacked by several deputies on account of its supposed relations with the bank.

On July 1, the *Journal Officiel* published the result of the census taken in March, according to which the total population was found to be 37,499,300, as against over 38,000,000 in 1911. The drop, of course, was chiefly due to the loss of 1,500,000 men in the war.

Owing to the great heat prevailing at the beginning of July, the Government decided not to hold the annual review of troops which was due to take place on the race-course of Longchamps, near Paris, on the morning of the National Day, July 14. But as usual the French Government received on that day the congratulations of foreign Governments. The United States happily timed for July 14 the arrival in Paris of their new Ambassador, Mr. Myron T. Herrick, a gentleman well-known among French people as a fervent admirer of their country. M. Briand met him at the Saint-Lazare station, and the Parisians gave him a hearty reception all along his route. The esteem in which Mr. Herrick was held was shown a few months later by the general indignation expressed at the odious attempt to assassinate him which occurred on October 19 at the American Embassy.

The end of July was marked by a great maritime display at Havre, which M. Millerand attended as well as the Minister of Marine. This meeting was organised by the "Maritime and Colonial League" with a view to help the recovery of the



French Navy and Merchant Fleet. A further step in the same direction was the creation in October of an Academy of Shipping constituted by leading personalities of the shipping world for the revival of the shipping trade and the improvement of freight conditions.

Early in August an event took place the significance of which need hardly be pointed out to those who remember the attitude of the French Government towards the Catholic Church during the last ten years before the war. On the 6th of that month Mgr. Bonaventure Ceretti handed to M. Millerand, at the Chateau of Rambouillet, his credentials as legate from the Pope to the Government of the French Republic. . . . "This reception," said the legate, "which in other times would have been merely a happy incident of no great consequence, to-day constitutes an event of historic importance, and it is especially to you and to your distinguished predecessor that should be attributed the merit of having prepared the way for its realisation."

M. Briand, on his own authority and without waiting for the formal approval of Parliament, sent M. Jonnart as extraordinary Ambassador to the Vatican. This action was brought up in the Senate on December 8, and led to a fierce debate, the question being treated by the Government as one of confidence. The Left bitterly attacked the Government, pointing out the dangers to which the "laicality" of the Republic would be exposed by the appointment of a French Ambassador to the Vatican. The chief spokesman of this view was M. Doumergue, a senator of the Left, but he was successfully opposed by some Alsatian senators who pointed out that this standpoint had been abandoned during the war, and a return to it was not in the best interests of the country. In the end the Senate on December 15 passed a vote of confidence in the Government, approving of the revival of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, M. Briand thus securing one of the greatest triumphs of his political career.

A few days after the arrival of Mgr. Ceretti as Ambassador from the Pope, France gave a hearty reception to the members of the American Legion who had crossed the Atlantic to pay a visit to the battlefields where so many of their comrades were laid to rest.

On September 11 there was celebrated at Meaux the seventh anniversary of the Victory of the Marne. M. Barthou, the Minister of War, attended the ceremony together with Marshal Joffre and General Maunoury, one of those who had contributed to the victory which saved Paris.

Meanwhile, a general strike had broken out in the north of France, as a consequence of a strike of textile workers owing to a threat to reduce wages when the cost of living was still as high as ever. The dispute was finally settled by the intervention of the Government.

On October 2 M. Clemenceau, the "Tiger," who had just returned from his tiger shooting in India, re-entered the political arena for the first time since his resignation, by delivering a speech at Sainte-Hermine in La Vendée on the occasion of the unveiling of his own monument. Replying to the many reproaches levelled at him since his return to private life, he said that it was his successors who had not upheld the rights of France under the Treaty of Versailles. "Yesterday," he declared, "we were victorious. May we not be put to-day in such a position that we shall wonder whether we are still victorious!" These words referred to the charge brought against M. Clemenceau of having sacrificed the rights of France to what is called "the Policy of Alliances." The conflict of these two principles has placed all the French Premiers since the Armistice on the horns of a dilemma. They have had to choose repeatedly between insisting on the rights of France in their integrity, especially the claim to reparation in full from Germany, and consenting to concessions required by their Allies. If they lean to the former alternative, they have to face a protest from the Left; if to the latter, they incur the censure of the Right and Centre. M. Briand in this respect has fared no better than his predecessors. On October 9 he delivered a speech at St. Nazaire which contained an eloquent statement of the results of the war and the aspirations of France, but gave no clear indication of the way to obtain the realisation of these aspirations. The tone of the Press showed that the country was somewhat disappointed.

Parliament re-opened on October 18, and then began a keen fight against the Government, carried on by the Right and Centre Parties reinforced by the old followers of Clemenceau. Eighteen deputies had sent in notice of interpellation on the Government's policy. M. Léon Daudet, the Royalist deputy, led the attack, criticising the Government for having given up the customs-line of the Rhine which constituted the most important security for the payment of Germany's war debt. M. Maurice Barrès levelled the same reproach at M. Briand. He insisted that France should have a "Rhine Policy," and his speech met with the approval of the majority of the Chamber. On the 25th M. André Tardieu, one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Versailles, in continuing the debate severely indicted the Left Party, the "Bloc des gauches," the leading party before the war, which is now endeavouring to regain its lost supremacy from the "Bloc National," constituted by the last elections of 1919. M. Herriot, the Mayor of Lyons, one of the most prominent members of the "Bloc des gauches," vigorously refuted the charges of M. Tardieu. On October 26 the Chamber finally passed a vote of confidence in the Government by 339 votes out of 517.

Early in October, the Minister of Justice issued instructions to all the Presidents of Tribunals of France that the seconds of a duel should be prosecuted as accomplices in the offence, thus

making the legislation in regard to duelling much more stringent. In the course of the same month M. Marraud, Minister of the Interior, gave notice of the introduction of a Bill for the greater decentralisation of the administration of France.

France having decided to take part in the Washington Conference, the opening of which had been fixed for November 12, Marshal Foch sailed for the United States on October 22 on board the new liner *Paris*, the largest French vessel afloat, which had been put into service by the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique on June 15 on the Havre-New York line; and on October 29, M. Briand left France for Washington, accompanied by M. Sarraut, Minister for the Colonies, M. Viviani, ex-Prime Minister, M. Philippe Berthelot, General Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the other members of the Delegation.

On the 21st, M. Briand delivered a sensational speech at Washington, in which he exposed the German danger. The delegates of the Allied countries approved of this statement, but the questions of naval disarmament and the Japanese Alliance monopolised the attention of the Conference to the exclusion of the vital questions of reparations and disarmament of Germany. As was expected, M. Briand had to face severe criticism when on December 8 he made a statement on the Washington Conference before the Senate.

During the absence of the Premier, M. Millerand attended at Montpellier, together with four Ministers, the celebration of the seventh centenary of the Faculty of Medicine, which took place on November 6.

A few days later, a great debate on the Budget took place in the Chamber. M. Doumer, Minister for Finance, announced a serious deficit. Several deputies took occasion to criticise the defective yield of the Income Tax. An ex-Minister, M. Louis Deschamps, made an attack on the Government monopolies, alleging that the State was a bad trader—an opinion general in France. The discussion of the Budget lasted until December 15, when the Chamber, in a night sitting, finally voted the whole of the credits asked for by the Government. A few days later, on the 24th, the question of the bankruptcy of the Banque Industrielle de Chine, which had happened in the last days of June, was brought up again in the Chamber. The Government met successfully a strong attack on its attitude towards this Bank, but, as a consequence of this attack, M. Philippe Berthelot, General Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whose brother was the Chairman of the Bank, retired from office. On the 27th, after a long debate, the Chamber expressed its confidence in the Government by 391 votes out of 604.

The year 1921 has been one of slow recovery for France. The output of mines and factories has been notably increased, but the trading conditions are still unsatisfactory. It is believed in many quarters that the law instituting the eight-hour day is

one of the chief reasons for the slowness in the revival of industry, and there is little doubt that the efforts which are being made by a few Socialists to extend this regulation to agriculture will be checked by Parliament. As regards the financial situation, it is noticeable that the Government have decided not to issue any new loans, as these have the disadvantage of drawing private capital away from industry. The Government hope to do more for re-establishing the public finances by encouraging the recovery of trade. But despite all this many Frenchmen believe that France needs reparations in order to restore her ruins, and that her revival depends on the payment of the German war debt. That is the reason why, in the last days of 1921, the country was looking towards Cannes, where a new Inter-allied Conference was due to take place.

#### ITALY.

The year 1921 opened with conflicts which took place in Fiume between the soldiers of D'Annunzio and the regular troops, resulting in a slight amount of bloodshed. An accord was finally reached which recognised the independence of the State of Fiume, and this calmed, if it did not satisfy, Italian public opinion. D'Annunzio, after liberating his troops from their oath and being himself liberated by the union of Fiume with Italy, took his departure after all his soldiers (January 18), yielding to superior force, but with the consciousness of having done his best.

At the Inter-allied Conference held at Paris on January 24, Italy and Great Britain found themselves in accord against the proposals of France for the total disarmament of Germany, which they thought would leave Germany totally defenceless against the Bolshevik menace and so imperil the peace of Europe.

On the restoration of Constantine to the throne of Greece, Italy recognised him as King, considering that no infringement of the Treaty of Sèvres had taken place. Count Sforza succeeded in obtaining the consent of France to his proposals with regard to economic zones in Asia Minor where military occupation was impossible (January 25).

On the reassembling of the Chamber the first question to be discussed was the proposal for raising the price of bread. This was strongly opposed by the Socialist Party, which continued its obstructionist methods. The precaution was taken of sending to the provinces, where the ferment among the extremists was greater, persons possessed of moral authority with them in order to win them back to obedience to the law.

On February 2 Count Sforza exchanged ratifications of the Treaty of Rapallo with the Serbo-Croatian Minister at the Foreign Office.

Socialist obstruction continued in the Chamber, but the

Government insisted on carrying through its proposal, which it considered necessary for enabling it to balance its Budget. The Chamber passed a vote of confidence in the Giolitti Ministry by a majority of 140 (February 3), and the discussion on the proposal to raise the price of bread then proceeded more calmly. The Chamber finally assented, but the Government pursued a wavering policy.

Disturbances took place at various localities, Florence, Trieste, Puglie, Pisa, etc., accompanied by conflicts between the rioters on one side and Fascisti and guards on the other. Several persons were killed or wounded. A general strike was proclaimed at Venezia Giulia and some other cities (March 1).

Signor Giolitti stated on the strength of information received from the Treasury, that the deficit, which a few months previously had been estimated at 14 milliards, had been reduced to about 4 milliards.

Count Sforza, admitting that on certain points there were profound differences between the Allies, declared that the Governments of England, France, and Italy ought to unite to secure the peace of the world. By means of the Italo-Turkish understanding, he had concluded an agreement with the President of the Ottoman Delegation for securing Italian co-operation in the spheres of trade, mining, and agriculture in the vast region stretching from the Gulf of Adramite to Adalia, and extending inland as far as Konia (March 12). The agreement included the formal Turkish ratification of the economic privileges conceded to Italy in the basin of Heraclea.

The Chamber adjourned with the intention of meeting again on April 19, and a General Election seemed highly probable. The Senate adjourned on April 6, and a General Election was fixed for May 15.

Following the example of England the Government of Italy, along with the Governments of Belgium, Portugal, Greece, and Siam, declared its intention of submitting to Parliament a Bill for levying a 50 per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all German imports (April 4).

On April 30 the Parliament of Cyrenaica was inaugurated at Bengasi with an introductory discourse from the Governor of Udire, as representative of the King.

The provisional Government of Fiume entrusted State authority to the extraordinary commissioner Bellasich, who was recognised by the Italian Government, and offered the requisite guarantees for the protection of Italian interests.

The General Elections in May on the whole passed off peacefully. The results were as follows: Socialists, 120, Communists, 12 (altogether more than twenty less than in the previous Chamber); "Rinnovamento," 40; Fascisti, 20; Popolari, 100. The rest of the 535 seats, with the exception of some ten gained by Slavs and Germans from the new provinces, were obtained by Liberal Democrats.

The unemployment crisis became acute in May, in consequence of the fall in the exchange, and the Government conferred with the large employers on the best way of mitigating the evil.

During May the agitation among State employees became very serious. In some departments strikes were declared, in others obstruction was resorted to. The Treasury drew up plans for meeting the situation.

The new Parliament (the 26th) met on June 11, and the King read his speech which was received with loud applause, dealing as it did with the most important questions affecting the national welfare. The Senate re-elected as its President Signor Tittoni, and the Chamber Signor De Nicola.

In response to a request from all parties in Fiume, the Government on June 13 decided to send to that city an extraordinary commissioner in the person of Commandante Foschini, to whom Signor Bellasich was to hand over his authority, in order to promote the economic revival of Fiume and the rapid resumption of its old commercial activity.

Owing to the small majority obtained by it in the Chamber—234 votes to 200—Signor Giolitti's Cabinet resigned (June 26). After some consultations, the King entrusted the formation of a new Cabinet to Signor De Nicola. The retirement of Count Sforza was deeply regretted abroad, owing to the activity which on numerous occasions he had displayed in the cause of peace, and to his popularity with the neighbouring Slavs. Signor Bonomi became President of the Council.

The Foreign Minister, Marchese Della Torretta, in a speech in the Chamber on August 1, dealt with several questions that had been raised, among the most important being that of the independence of Albania, of the sending of a mission to Russia for the repatriation of the Italian prisoners still there, and of a commercial agreement with the Worowski mission.

At the meeting of the Supreme Council at Paris which dealt finally with the question of Silesia (August 8), it was Italy which made the proposal—ultimately adopted—that the matter should be entrusted to the League of Nations. The partition ultimately made by the League followed almost exactly the line originally proposed by Count Sforza.

The British Government recognised that the frontiers of Albania should be as fixed at the Conference of Florence, but kept open the question of Saseno, thus leaving Italy's position and rights still undefined.

The great Dante celebrations commenced at Ravenna on September 11 with an imposing pilgrimage to the tomb of Dante.

While the excitement caused by the assassination of deputy Di Vagno for political reasons (September 25) was still at its height, another conflict took place at Modena between Fascisti and the public forces, with the result that on the next day five were killed and about twenty wounded. Energetic measures were

taken by the Government to recover the fort and seize arms of all description. General civil commissioners were appointed at Trento, Trieste, and Zara, and within four months the communal elections took place in the new Italian provinces.

On the proposal of the Italian Government, the Conference of Ambassadors presided over by Count Bonia Lougare decided on October 2 to invite the Cabinets of Vienna and Budapest to send plenipotentiaries to Rome in order to conclude, under the auspices of the Italian Foreign Minister, an agreement on the question of the Western Hungarian. The Conference sitting at Venice (October 12) was eventually successful in settling the Austro-Hungarian conflict.

On October 13 the King and the Queen, accompanied by Signor Bonomi, visited Trento and the Tridentine Venice, and were received everywhere with great enthusiasm.

The Brazilian Ambassador at Rome confirmed with the Italian plenipotentiary a convention regarding emigration to and labour in Brazil, with new clauses favouring immigration.

The Council of Ministers appointed definitively as delegates to the Conference at Washington Signor Schanzer as President, along with deputies Meda, Rolando, Ricci, and Albertini. The Marquis della Torretta undertook to join, provided that Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand also went.

The remains of the unknown warrior were on November 2 transferred from Aquileja to Rome, where they were to be buried before the Altar of the Country, amid manifestations of pious homage and scenes of great emotion all along the route. The Minister of War conferred on the unknown warrior the gold medal for valour.

The Minister of Finance, Signor Soleri, in a detailed statement on November 4, showed that, owing to the economies effected, there was every likelihood of the State Budget balancing.

The Congress of Fascisti at Rome closed on November 9 after transforming that body into a political party with a definite programme. The last day of its sittings was marked by conflicts with the "Arditi del Popolo," resulting in some deaths and many wounded.

Parliament reopened on November 24. Italy proposed new international legislation for aerial post, on the lines of that already in force between England and France, and this was adopted by all States. In the Chamber lively scenes took place between the Communists and the Fascisti, chiefly over questions of internal policy and economics. The general strike in Venezia Giulia (November 16) succeeded only partially, and the masses of the workers turned more and more against the extreme Communists.

M. Briand denied having used the phrases attributed to him in a speech at Washington. He said that there was no ill-feeling between Signor Schanzer and himself, alleging in proof the dinner given to him by the Italian delegation on his last evening

in Washington, an affair marked by the utmost cordiality. Mr. Hughes paid a tribute to the conciliatory part which had been played by Italy, and the leading American journals testified that Italy had exercised a powerful moral influence on the Conference, and had greatly enhanced her prestige.

After a lively debate in the Chamber on December 7, Signor Bonomi's Ministry received a vote of confidence by 251 votes to 105, with 66 abstentions. Eight days later the election of Misiano, who had been a deserter in the war, was annulled, after violent scenes. The Chamber rose on December 22, after concluding the discussion on temporary military training.

During the whole of 1921 Italy was kept in a state of agitation by the conflicts between the Fascisti and the extremists. Anarchist outrages were not wanting, conspicuous among them being the throwing of a bomb at the Diana Theatre, Milan (March 23) by which twenty people were killed and 100 injured. It is worth mentioning that in the conflicts between Germans and Poles in Upper Silesia, the Italian soldiers showed themselves the most resolute among the Entente troops, and many of them lost their lives.

## CHAPTER III.

### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

#### GERMANY.

THE year 1921, like its predecessors, has been for Germany one of gloom, redeemed only by a few bright spots. Political life has not yet recovered from the shock caused by the overthrow of a form of government deeply rooted in the history of the people, and is still a prey to wild party strife which makes the formation of a stable Government difficult, and the labours of Parliament sterile. The German people in consequence is suffering from a severe mental depression which the almost feverish commercial activity of the country cannot dispel, and which the pursuit of pleasure indulged in by certain classes can relieve only momentarily. There is, however, one item in the account of 1921 to which Germany can point with no small satisfaction. In spite of assaults both from within and from without, the democratic Republic has successfully maintained its ground, and has firmly established itself in the confidence of the people. Many difficulties remain to be overcome, but the progress that has been made is remarkable.

All the most important events in Germany in 1921 have been connected with questions arising out of the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, disarmament, reparations, trial of war criminals, and the plebiscite in Upper Silesia—questions which, from their harassing nature, have kept both Government and people in constant suspense and agitation.



On December 31, 1920, Marshal Foch had reported to the Allied Governments on the progress of disarmament in Germany since the Protocol of Spa. According to this report 41,000 cannons or, with the inclusion of the substitute pieces, 70,000; 163,000 machine-guns, including their substitute barrels; 2,800,000 flying machine motors, and 16,000 flying machines had been destroyed. On the same day the French Government, in a note to the German Government, claimed that the stipulations of the Treaty had not been fulfilled. This claim was based less on the incomplete surrender of arms than on the fact that in East Prussia and Bavaria the civic guards (*Einwohnerwehr*) were still maintained and that the fortifications on the Southern and Eastern frontiers of Germany had not been wholly destroyed. In its Reply the German Government pointed out the disarmament actually completed. The Reichswehr numbered on that day 10,000 men less than the 100,000 to which it was to be reduced. Forty thousand officers of the old Army had received their congé, and only 4,000 remained. The Reichswehr was in possession of no heavy artillery, no airmen, and no air formations. Conscription for the Reich had been abolished, and officers and men of the reserve of the former service discharged. Fortifications on the Western frontier, as well as the military railroad lines, had been destroyed. Only the fortifications on the Southern and Eastern frontiers were still in a fair state. Articles 180 and 167 of the Treaty of Versailles state that the system of fortifications on the Southern and Eastern frontiers of Germany, "shall be maintained in its existing state," and that the number and calibre of the guns on hand on the day of the coming into effect of the Treaty in the forts permitted must not be augmented. The German Government wished to interpret this provision in such a way as to allow the retention of the guns of these fortifications in their places. But the Commission of Control of the Allied Powers insisted that this number should be reduced to 1,200. It was found necessary to accede to this demand, and an actual fortification of these frontiers no longer exists.

The Protocol of Spa had threatened Germany, in case of failure to fulfil the tasks assigned to her, with new sanctions in the form of further occupation of German territory. But the threat was suspended, and the matter of disarmament was referred to the Conference of Ministers at Paris at the end of January. This Conference not only drew up a plan for Germany's reparation obligations, but also fixed eight dates for the fulfilment of all disarmament demands. The most important of these dates were for the delivery of the remaining war material (Feb. 28), the repeal of a new Reichswehr law, with the absolute abolition of conscription for the Reich and the single States (March 15), the surrender of all heavy and of two-thirds of the small firearms belonging to the organisations for self-protection (March 31), the disarmament of all ships in reserve (April 30), the complete disbandment of all organisations

of defence and the surrender of the remainder of their arms (Jan. 30), and lastly (July 31), the destruction of warships in the process of construction, with the exception of those transformed with the assent of the Allies into mercantile vessels.

A special difficulty was created by the attitude of the Bavarian Government, which declared that the existing organisation of the so-called "Orgesch" was absolutely indispensable to it, and maintained that this organisation was not affected by Article 177 of the Treaty of Versailles, on the ground of which the disbandment was demanded by the Allies. A violent agitation amongst the Bavarian population was the result. It was in part directed against the Berlin Government, and led many to think that a secession of Bavaria was imminent. This idea, however, was never seriously entertained; and when on May 5 the five Ministers of the Allied Powers pronounced the ultimatum of London, in which the unconditional and immediate fulfilment of the disarmament conditions of the end of January, as well as the immediate trial of the war criminals was demanded, Herr von Kahr, the Bavarian Prime Minister, yielded in the face of the threatened occupation of the Ruhr, and although holding to his former opinion in principle, offered no further resistance to the disarmament and disbandment of the "Orgesch."

The East Prussia militia had already been disbanded, and the other requirements of the Allies in regard to disarmament were fulfilled by the dates stipulated, so that on June 30 the Government was in a position to order the Head Commissioner for Disarmament to proceed with the liquidation of the Disarmament Commission itself. The Supreme Council, nevertheless, decided to retain the Military Control Commission presided over by General Nollet, and various complaints were lodged by this body even after disarmament was completed, for instance, as regards the use of Diesel motors, which it was alleged could easily be used again for submarines. The Commission demanded the partial stoppage of the three German works engaged on peace production, on the ground that they could easily be adapted to war production. As the fulfilment of this demand would have entailed the dismissal of a number of men, both the management and the workmen protested energetically. The final decision of the Commission had not yet been communicated to the German Government by the end of the year.

The story of the reparations negotiations during the year is told fully in another place, and need not be repeated here. It will be sufficient here to describe their effects in Germany. At the Conference of Ministers which commenced on January 24 at Paris, a plan was formulated by which Germany was to pay 226 milliard gold marks in forty-two fixed annuities from May 1, 1921 to May 1, 1963, and in addition forty-two varying annuities each equal to 12 per cent. of German exports. This plan was communicated to the German Government, along with the announcement that in case of non-fulfilment sanctions in the terms of the Spa Protocol would be applied.

This communication of the Paris Conference caused intense agitation in Germany. Speaking in the Reichstag the Foreign Minister, Herr Simons, characterised the Paris demands as impossible of fulfilment, as an infringement of the Treaty of Versailles, and as involving the economic enslavement of the German people. He declared in the name of the Government that the proposed plan could not be regarded as a basis for further negotiations. With the exception of the Communist Party, the leaders of the Parliamentary groups endorsed the declaration of the Government. The Governments of the German Provinces and States, and all the Diets then sitting, expressed approval of the attitude of the Central Cabinet. Throughout Germany meetings were held by all classes of the people, as well as demonstrations of guilds and associations of every character, particularly Labour organisations, protesting vehemently against the Paris demands and urging the Government to stand firm.

The Brussels Conference of the previous year was now continued, but no German experts attended, the reason being that their presence was regarded as indispensable at certain Berlin Conferences which were being held at the same time. Through the Chairman of the Paris Conference, the German Government were invited to send a representative on March 1 to London, to discuss the reparation question. The Government accepted the invitation, but upon the express condition that German counter-proposals should be discussed. Smarting from their experiences at Versailles and Spa, where the Germans had been forced to play a purely passive rôle, the German Government desired on this occasion to ensure in advance a proper exchange of views. A journey through South Germany taken by the Foreign Minister, Herr Simons, afforded ample evidence of the unanimity of opinion amongst the population that the Paris demands should be rejected. The Foreign Minister in a powerful speech at Stuttgart declared amid a storm of applause that these demands were wholly unacceptable. He also expressed the opinion that in fixing the reparations, too much attention had been given to finance, and too little to the question of production.

While the public was thus declaiming against new exactions, the actual drafting of counter-proposals was somewhat neglected, and thus it came about that hasty and, as it afterwards proved, defective and mistaken decisions were taken by the German delegates when actually on the way to London, under the leadership of Herr Simons himself. Their proposals proved to be a great disappointment to the Allies, and the Chairman of the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George, declared them to be based on an absolute failure to recognise the needs of the Allies. In a later sitting Mr. George informed the German delegates that their proposals would not meet with serious consideration, and he allowed them a fixed time in which to declare themselves in agreement with the substance of the decision of the Paris

Conference, threatening in case of failure with the occupation of Duisburg, Ruhrort, and Düsseldorf by the Allied troops, the raising of tribute from the sale price of German goods in the Allied countries, and the erection of a Customs frontier on the Rhine, under the supervision of the Allies.

Dr. Simons requested a further respite of one week, for consultation with the Berlin Government, in case of the refusal of these terms. This request was not granted, and the Chairman of the Conference declared that the sanctions would be enforced on the following day. The Conference then dispersed. The German delegates left the next day (Mar. 8), and the three Rhine cities were occupied by French, British, and Belgian troops. Simultaneously the President of the German Empire issued a proclamation, countersigned by the Chancellor, Herr Fehrenbach, to the effect that in contravention of the Treaty of Versailles their opponents had occupied further German territory, that resistance was impossible as the Germans were defenceless, but that, though right was trampled on by force, appeal might still be made to those who would lend an ear to the voice of justice.

The German delegates on their return from London were loudly acclaimed by the people, who, in unison with the Government and a great majority in the Reichstag, declared themselves in agreement with their attitude. Although the methods of the German delegation were severely criticised by Herr Breitscheid, member of the Reichstag, in the name of the Independent Social Democrats, and by other speakers, condemnation of the London demands was general. Particularly in regard to the sanctions, against which the Reichstag protested as a breach of the Treaty and as an outrage, indignation ran high. By a vote of 268 to 49 (the minority being made up of Communists and Independent Socialists) a motion put forward by the Government was carried to the effect that "the Reichstag approves of the Government's having preferred to refuse the Paris conditions in London rather than submit to impossible demands."

The Government protested to the League of Nations, but without effect. The military occupation of the three cities mentioned took place immediately, and was extended to other places as well, while the special Customs frontier on the Rhine was drawn on two dates, April 20 and May 10. On each occasion protests were made from the German side which received no more attention than those which had preceded them. On the other hand, the action of the Reparations Commission in fixing further dates for the payment of enormous sums by Germany was scarcely noticed, public attention being almost wholly centred on the approach of May 1, the date assigned for the first payment of reparations.

In the meantime the new President of the United States, Mr. Harding, had entered upon the duties of his office, and although formal peace with Germany had not yet been declared,

certain conversations of Herr Simons and America's unofficial representative in Berlin, Mr. Dresel, resulted in the formulating of a memorandum laying down the point of view of the German Government. A polite note of response from the American Government expressed satisfaction at the willingness of Germany to fulfil her obligations, and the hope that negotiations in regard to reparations would shortly be resumed. These conversations were merely a feeler put forth by the German Government to see whether an understanding could not be brought about by means of the mediation of America. After a failure on the part of the Pope to establish connexions with Washington, the German Government went so far as to request the President of the United States to accept the rôle of mediator and to promise to fulfil his any and every decision. The American Government refused, but suggested that Germany should make fresh proposals for further negotiations. In this case the American Government would "consider bringing the matter to the attention of the allied Governments in a manner acceptable to them in order that negotiations may speedily be resumed." Much valuable time was lost before the German Government formulated new proposals, and in basing all their hopes on America, they missed the possibility of renewing negotiations with the creditors themselves. At last on April 24 the new German proposals were handed to the temporary *chargé d'affaires* of America. These were, to pay 200 milliard gold marks in annuities, or 50 milliards at present value (the annual sums to be regulated according to Germany's capacity for payment), and 4 per cent. interest on the capital of 50 milliards, to contract an international loan, the interest on which was to be paid by Germany, deliveries to be made in kind for reconstruction purposes, and, further, immediate payment of one gold milliard in cash. On May 3, convinced that she could not count on the Allied acceptance, America refused this proposal. She stated that she "strongly urges the German Government at once to make directly to the Allied Governments clear, definite, and adequate proposals which would in all respects meet its just obligations."

After this signal failure the Cabinet of Herr Fehrenbach resigned. In the meantime the Reparations Commission had fixed the sum of Germany's debt at 132 milliard gold marks, besides having stated that by May 1, when the German debt became due, a further sum of 12 milliard gold marks for reconstruction of demolished industrial works was to be paid. As a kind of guarantee, the Commission demanded that the gold treasure of the Reichsbank and of certain other banking-houses should be transported to the occupied territory. Before these claims could be met, they were replaced by the ultimatum of the Allied Governments which gave the German Government till May 12, under threat of occupation of the Ruhr Valley, to declare that they had decided unreservedly to fulfil the obligations drawn up by the Commission, to accept all of its dictated guarantees,

to carry out immediately and without reserve the measures prescribed in regard to disarmament, and, finally, to proceed without delay to try the war criminals.

After many days spent in trying negotiations which at times made it seem that it would be impossible to form any German Government whatsoever, the Minister of Finance of the preceding Government, Dr. Wirth, managed to form a Coalition Cabinet willing to accept the ultimatum as it stood (May 10). Members of the Centre, Majority Socialist, and Democratic Parties constituted the greater part of this new Cabinet, in which three vacancies were left temporarily, the other appointments being as follows: Dr. Wirth (Centre), Imperial Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs; Herr Bauer (Socialist), Vice-Chancellor and Minister of the Imperial Treasury; Dr. Gradauer (Socialist), Interior; Herr Robert Schmidt (Socialist), Economic Policy; Dr. Braun (Socialist), Labour; Dr. Schiffer (Democrat), Justice; Dr. Gessler (Democrat), Army; Herr Gröner (Democrat), Communications; Herr Giesberts (Centre), Post; Dr. Hermes (Centre), Food. The three middle Parties of the Reichstag, who desired a genuine democracy, supported the new Cabinet. The German People's Party also was willing on certain conditions to join the Coalition and to sign the ultimatum. But its leader, Herr Stresemann, was restrained by exaggerated party considerations from joining the Government. The Chancellor summed up the situation in the words: "To save the German Empire and its Union, to save German territory from invasion, and to retain German freedom, the Government accepts the ultimatum." By 221 to 175 votes the attitude of the Government was approved in the Reichstag, the majority being composed of the Centre, the Social Democrats, Independent Social Democrats, about half of the Democrats, and certain members of the People's Party. Upon receipt of the news during the night following May 10 by the General in command of the occupying troops at Düsseldorf, preparations for the advance march were discontinued.

A certain lull in the storm over the reparations question took place during the following months. The first gold milliard had been paid on August 31, and only the 33½ per cent. fall in the value of the mark, which later depreciated to a still greater degree, indicated approaching peril. Although no further doubt was cast on Germany's will to pay, the Allies failed to repeal the Military Sanctions of March 9. The Trade Sanctions came to an end on September 30, but not without a burdensome Commission of Contract having been instituted in their place.

In order to further Germany's work of reconstruction in the North of France, the two Ministers, Herr Rathenau and Monsieur Loucheur, conferred several times at Wiesbaden in August and September, in regard to the delivery by Germany of the necessary material. Germany agreed to deliveries which were to be credited as payment, but which were not to exceed

the value of 7 milliard gold marks by May 1, 1926. During this period Germany was not to be credited on the reparations account yearly with more than 35 to 45 per cent., after 1926 with the full amount of the deliveries, but under no circumstances with more than 1 milliard. The remainder was to bear 5 per cent. interest, and after 1926 to be put down to the account of the reparation annuities. On October 4 the Reichstag Committee for Foreign Affairs accepted the proposed agreement by a large majority. Objection was raised by one member only, the German Nationalist, Herr Helfferich.

The growing recognition, caused by the cataclysmic fall in the value of the mark, that it would be impossible to fulfil the obligations undertaken or even to balance the accounts of the Reich and single States without violent encroachments on the national sources of wealth, decided certain German industrial and banking circles to place their private foreign credit at the disposal of the Reich. The reparation payments discharged in this manner were to be credited to industry for taxes, to amounts to be stated at a later date. This plan, designated by one of its inventors as "an heroic effort," and to which the Reichstag agreed, was well received at first. But certain tendencies which subsequently manifested themselves on the side of the Great Industrials militated against its realisation. The startling demand was put forward that certain important institutions of State, such as the country's railroad system, should cease to be the sole property of the State and should be managed on the lines of private ownership. It was argued that otherwise such institutions would never yield a substantial profit. These conditions gave rise to much dispute, and met with strong opposition in public opinion. The question of the industrial credit was finally turned over to a committee which was to work out the plan in detail.

As a consequence of the ever-increasing hopelessness of Germany's financial position, the whole problem of her ability to pay and of the reparations in particular was brought up anew. The question of deferring the next term of payment was mooted. In order to meet its debt, the German Government had attempted to negotiate a loan with a foreign banking-house of 25,000,000*l.*, and had been rebuffed with a pertinent reference to the reparation burden. Thereupon the Government declared to the Reparations Commission in December that the two following instalments, due on January 15 and February 15, of 500,000,000 gold marks and about 250,000,000 gold marks respectively, could only be paid in part, and a delay was requested. Thus at the end of the year the problem of reparations had again become acute.

Along with the questions of disarmament and reparation, the punishment of the German war criminals was a matter which kept Germany in continual anxiety and unrest. The Government did everything in its power to fulfil the obligations

which it had undertaken for the third time by accepting the ultimatum of May 5. Nine of these trials took place before the Supreme Court, from May 23 onwards. Several cases ended in an acquittal of the accused, but most were followed by imprisonment or incarceration in a fortress. An English delegation headed by the Solicitor-General, Sir Ernest Pollock, attended the first trials, in which cases brought on the demand of England were heard. The other trials were similarly attended by a French or Belgian delegation. The acquittal of General Stenger, who was accused by the French of having had French prisoners shot, caused the French Government to recall its legal mission and the French witnesses. M. Briand in a public speech characterised these trials as a parody of justice, a statement against which the German Minister of Justice protested. As there was no further material to deal with immediately, the trials came to an end for the time being. A commission has been appointed by the Supreme Council to examine the verdicts and to give a report on them.

The clause of the Treaty of Versailles demanding a plebiscite in Upper Silesia was next taken in hand. The German Government had already declared during the negotiations in London, and indeed at an earlier period, that the possession of Upper Silesia was indispensable to Germany if she was to fulfil her obligations in regard to reparations. After some negotiation the plebiscite was fixed for March 20, and resulted in 717,122 votes being cast for Germany against 483,514 for Poland. All the towns in the plebiscite territory and most of the villages gave German majorities. Of the "Kreise" (urban districts) only those of Pless and Rybnik in the south-east, Tarnowitz in the east, and Tost-Gleiwitz in the interior showed considerable Polish majorities, while in Lublinitz and Gross Strelitz the votes cast on either side were practically equal. All the "Kreise" of the industrial district in a narrower sense—Beuthen, Hindenburg, Kattowitz, and Königshütte—had German majorities, though in Beuthen and Kattowitz this was due entirely to the town vote, as the country parishes had given Polish majorities.

The result of the plebiscite was a great surprise for Poland and her friends. It was currently believed that the Supreme Council would on the ground of this result pronounce a decision unfavourable to the Polish claims; and this belief led to the outbreak of an insurrection aided by Polish arms and ammunition. The insurrection began on the date planned early in May, after the population had already been terrified by many acts of violence. The Inter-allied Commission, in which General Le Rond was the most influential personage, waited a long time before taking any step to oppose the campaign of robbery and devastation which Korfanty's bands had set on foot. The French troops of occupation remained inactive. The Germanophile section of the population made strong complaints, being firmly convinced that the French division of the Upper Silesian



Army of Occupation was favouring the insurrection. On the other hand Mr. Lloyd George's speech in Parliament, strongly disapproving of the insurrection, aroused hopes of a speedy improvement in the situation. But as the Entente appeared to have no troops available for despatch, a defence force was formed from the Upper Silesian parishes, which at first was largely increased by numerous volunteers from the districts across the Upper Silesian frontier. A note was sent by the Inter-allied Military Control Commission and the French Government, demanding the immediate prohibition of recruiting for German volunteers outside Upper Silesia, and this was promptly made public. The same demand was not made of Poland. The German defence force, headed by the invalided General Höfer, an Upper Silesian, several times resisted attacks of Korfanty's bands and repulsed them, in some cases in co-operation with British and Italian troops of occupation. An attempt on the part of the English troops to take steps against Polish bands on their own account was prevented by General Gratier, the French Commander-in-Chief of the Allied troops.

Twelve days after the outbreak of the insurrection Korfanty offered to take his bands behind a line of demarcation, on condition that the released territory would not be occupied by German forces, but by Allied troops. It was not, however, till July 1 that the British troops arrived in Upper Silesia and began to advance in company with those of the Allies towards the former frontier. Simultaneously with this advance the Inter-allied Commission pronounced a general amnesty for the illegal actions committed during the insurrection, with the exception of acts of revenge and cruelty. The German defence force was finally withdrawn and disbanded and quiet was restored.

As the Supreme Council was unable to come to an agreement on the partition of the Upper Silesian territory on the lines of the plebiscite, a solution was found by turning the question over to the Council of the League of Nations. Agreements between the Germans and Poles in Upper Silesia and appeals issued by both sides, as well as the despatch of six battalions of Allied troops and the disbandment of the local guards, contributed markedly to the pacification of the district. The greatest excitement was caused all over Germany and in the German part of Upper Silesia by the intimation that the Council of the League of Nations had handed over the matter for closer investigation to a Commission, consisting of four representatives—one each from Belgium, Brazil, Spain, and China. On the basis of the reports of this Commission and those of its experts, the Council awarded the greater part of the Upper Silesian industrial district to Poland. Although only 40 per cent. had voted for Poland in the plebiscite, by the decision of the Council of the League of Nations Poland obtained almost exactly half of the 1,950,000 inhabitants, *viz.*, 965,000, but not quite a third of the territory, *i.e.*, only 321,426 hectares (1,255 square miles) out

of 1,095,089 hectares (4265 square miles). This, however, comprised by far the more valuable portion of the district. Of 61 coal mines 49½ fall to Poland, the Prussian State losing 3 mines out of 4. Of a coal output of 31,750,000 tons, 24,600,000 tons fall to Poland. All iron mines with an output of 61,000 tons fall to Poland. Of 37 furnaces 22 go to Poland, 15 to Germany. Of a pig-iron output of 570,000 tons, 170,000 tons remain German, and 400,000 tons become Polish. Of 16 zinc and lead mines, which produced 233,000 tons in 1920, only 4 with an output of 44,000 tons remain German. The towns of Königshütte, Kattowitz, and Tarnowitz, which had voted by large majorities for Germany, were given to Poland.

In order to mitigate the hardships likely to arise from the partition of a district which was essentially an economic unit, it was decided, on the recommendation of the Council of the League of Nations, that German and Polish delegates, under a chairman appointed by the Council of the League, should draw up economic regulations as well as a statute for the protection of minorities, which were to have a duration of fifteen years. Special measures were threatened in case either of the two States should refuse to participate in the drawing up of such regulations, or to accept them subsequently.

After the official publication of this decision, Chancellor Wirth, considering that his task had been rendered impossible, resigned with the whole of his Cabinet. After vain attempts to reorganise the Cabinet on a broader basis by including members of the German People's Party, the President of the Republic again entrusted Herr Wirth with the formation of the Cabinet, a task which he soon accomplished (Oct. 26). Herr Wirth's colleagues in the Government were: Vice-Chancellor and Minister of the Treasury, Bauer, Minister of the Interior, Köster, Minister of Labour, Dr. Brauns, Minister of Food Supply and Agriculture, and at the same time Acting Minister of Finance, Dr. Hermes, Minister of Defence, Dr. Gessler, Minister of Transport and Communication, Gröner, Minister of the Postal Services, Giesberts, Minister of Economy, Schmidt, Minister of Justice, Dr. Radbruch. Of the members of the Cabinet the Chancellor, Dr. Brauns, Dr. Hermes, and Mr. Giesberts belong to the Centre, Messrs. Bauer, Schmidt, Köster, and Radbruch to the Social Democratic Party. The Democratic Party did not join the Coalition, but allowed Dr. Gessler and Dr. Gröner to continue their membership of the Cabinet as expert advisers.

In the sitting of the Reichstag of October 26, the Chancellor made a speech at the end of which he expressed the views of his Cabinet in the following declaration: "The German Government sees in the territorial and economic dictates of the Entente not only an injustice which the German people has no power to oppose, but also an infringement of the Treaty of Versailles, an upsetting of the decision arrived at in Geneva and accepted by

the chief Allied Powers. Against this injustice with the situation which it creates the German Government makes the most solemn protest in the name of international law, the shield of the oppressed. It is only on account of the threats expressed in the note, and the desire to avoid as far as possible the misery which would otherwise light upon the Upper Silesian industrial district that the German Government consents to nominate the delegates as required by the dictate of the Powers, without thereby abandoning its previous standpoint."

A vote of confidence in the new Government was passed by 230 votes to 132, the minority consisting of the two parties of the Right and the Communists. The Government informed the Allied Powers of the nomination of delegates in a note which almost verbally embodied the declaration pronounced by the Chancellor in the Reichstag. The former Minister of Justice, Herr Schiffer, was nominated as German delegate for the negotiations with Poland, with the former Secretary of State, Dr. Lewald as his deputy. The Commission met in November under the Swiss Federal Councillor Calonder as President, and it has apparently done fruitful though quiet work.

Dr. Wirth and Dr. Hermes, who successively held the post of Minister of Finance in July and October, gave a deplorable account of the finances of Germany. The first supplementary budget for 1921 ran to 48,500 million marks. Up to the introduction of the second supplementary budget in October the receipts had amounted to 61,200 million marks, while the expenditure had risen to 65,800 million marks, of which 55,100 millions were spent in executing provisions of the Treaty of Peace. This meant a deficit of 53,100 million marks in the ordinary budget. The revenue on account of the supplementary budget was declared in July at 10,500 million marks and the expenditure at 59,680 million marks, so that 49,180 million went to swell Germany's debt as an uncovered deficit. By October the deficit had risen to 57,000 million marks, and the total deficit was then 110,000 million marks. Included in this was a subvention of 37,900 millions to the administration of the ports and railways.

The burden of taxation entailed by the requirements of the Treaty is a variable factor because of the fluctuation of the exchange. The payment of a fixed annuity of 2 milliards of gold marks and of an export-duty of 26 per cent. amounting to 1·3 milliards of marks meant an outlay of 53 milliards of paper marks by the end of June, with an addition of 8·5 milliards for the expenses of the troops of occupation. The consolidated debt amounted to 78,350 million marks on May 31, the floating debt to 199,134 million marks, and other liabilities to 44,955 million marks. In July the permanent yearly requirements were estimated at 160,000 million marks. A third supplementary budget presented to the Reichstag in December declared for 1921 a deficit of 161,600 million marks, a sum

which the new taxes proposed in the Reichstag, and estimated to produce 42,000 million marks, were totally inadequate to cover.

Sharp criticism was levelled in Parliament and in the Press against the extreme slowness with which taxes long overdue were being collected, a regrettable state of affairs which was partly attributable to the overworked condition of revenue and taxation officials. The voting of the new taxation necessary was also proceeded with very slowly. The sensational drop in the value of the mark made the financial position still more deplorable, and produced at the end of the year an unprecedented rise in prices. It also led to a positive inundation of the large western towns with buyers from the countries with high exchange. This resulted in Germany being drained of goods without receiving a fair equivalent. The stimulus given to trade and industry, though it certainly reduced unemployment to a minimum, was no compensation, because the export of manufactures involved a continual decrease of German assets.

In spite of the rise of prices and the sufferings of a large class of the population, the stability of the State was not shaken. There was indeed a serious Communist rising in March in Central Germany, accompanied by violence, murder, and pillage, but the executive power soon mastered the rising with the ordinary forces at its disposal. Max Hölz, the leader of the insurrection, who had terrorised the population of the Saxon-Vogtland by robbery and arson, was captured and tried before a special court in Berlin, which sentenced him to imprisonment for life and loss of civic rights. The rest of those involved in the insurrection were also tried by special courts and condemned to imprisonment for varying periods. A large proportion of those who took a subordinate part in the insurrection were amnestied.

On the other hand, the supporters of a royalist and military system, including naturally very many of the 40,000 ex-officers of the old army as well as a not inconsiderable proportion of country landowners, higher officials and the middle classes in the towns, did not openly rise against the Republic. But their manifestations on national holidays of civil or military character during the summer proved that under the surface they harboured strong anti-Republican sentiments. Insults to the new black, red, and gold German flag and bitter attacks on the representatives of the Republic in the Press and in public speeches became more frequent. Two political murders which appeared to be a product of this spirit showed that the political temperature had risen dangerously. In June, Gareis, the leader of the local Independent Socialist Party, was murdered at Munich, and in August 25 occurred the treacherous murder of Erzberger, the former Minister of Finance, who had concluded the Armistice with the Allies in 1918 and had worked energetically in June, 1919, for the acceptance of the Peace of Versailles.

The murderer of Gareis could not be discovered, but it was widely taken for granted that the murder was a political act. Erzberger's murderers were identified in two young men, apparently Nationalist fanatics, one of whom was a clerk named Schulz, and the other a student of law named Tillessen, but it was not found possible to arrest them. It is, however, officially claimed that the authorities have, through various arrests, secured copious material concerning secret societies with tendencies dangerous to the State.

Both murders, especially that of Erzberger, created an extremely bitter feeling among the Republican Parties, particularly the working classes. Public demonstrations were held in favour of the Republic, and both Socialist Parties took steps to draw the attention of the Chancellor to the dangers of the situation, and to demand energetic measures against those who had organised the agitation and who were to be considered morally responsible for the recent crimes. These general demands were supplemented by a number of concrete suggestions for the improvement of administration and justice on democratic lines.

On August 29, the President issued a decree, based on Article 48 of the German constitution, authorising the suppression up to a period of fourteen days of periodicals publishing articles inciting to violence against representatives of the people or to disobedience against the law, or supporting or praising such action or casting contempt on the organs of Government, and the prohibition of meetings on similar grounds. The decree was applied in so dictatorial a manner that it provoked great opposition on all sides, and it was repealed on December 24 by a vote of the Reichstag after being in force barely four months. Generally speaking it had become more and more manifest that even the less Republican part of the population, whether Monarchist or Communist, desired to attain their ends by constitutional means rather than by new risings. A peculiar light was thrown on the Monarchist Party in Germany at the trial of Herr Traugott von Jagow, who had been Police President of Berlin, and of two accomplices, for having taken part in the Kapp insurrection in 1920. Von Jagow was condemned to five years' incarceration in a fortress, but the two others were acquitted, because they could not be proved to have been "leaders" and therefore were covered by the amnesty. All the defendants and witnesses, among whom General Ludendorff was conspicuous, showed great anxiety to make their participation in the undertaking appear as harmless as possible. Nobody would admit that he had undertaken anything against the constitution.

The year witnessed the demise of three personages belonging to old royal houses of Germany. On April 11, Auguste Victoria, the former German Empress, died at Doorn, Holland; on October 2, William II., the former King of Württemberg; and on October 18, Ludwig III., the last King of Bavaria. All three funerals

were attended by large crowds. At the funeral of King Ludwig, the former Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria issued a proclamation exhorting the Bavarian people to loyalty in terms so ambiguous as almost to sound like a formal assertion of his own claim upon the throne.

Prince Rupprecht in his proclamation sought to appeal to the spirit of particularism which had animated Bavaria almost since the creation of the Republic. Herr von Kahr, who had been particularly sharp in his opposition to the Reich, resigned on September 18, when he saw that the permanent committee of the Diet was trying to come to a compromise with the Reich, as it eventually succeeded in doing. A new Bavarian Cabinet was formed on October 21 by Count Hugo v. Lerchenfeld, who had hitherto been Chargé d'Affaires of the Reich at Darmstadt. The new Minister, while always laying great stress on his loyalty to the Reich, has been no less careful to emphasise his particularism, and to warn against a too great sacrifice of independence. But that the idea of Germany's unity is inextricably rooted in the consciousness of the people as a whole, has been made evident by the numerous manifestations held to celebrate, on January 18, the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the Reich.

The elections which took place for several Diets, though they nearly everywhere showed a certain decrease of Socialist and Democratic votes, yet mostly, as in Baden and Hesse, allowed the Government Coalition of Social Democrats, Centre, and Democrats to remain in power. Only in Prussia the Coalition was no longer able to maintain itself after the new elections. The Diet elected as President of the Cabinet Herr Stegerwald, a member of the Centre Party. But his efforts, which were continued from spring till autumn, to form a Government on a broader basis including the German People's Party, failed on account of the opposition of the Social Democrats. Herr Stegerwald accordingly resigned on November 1, giving way to a Cabinet formed of Social Democrats, Centre Party, German People's Party, and Democrats, and headed by the former Socialist Minister of Agriculture, Otto Braun. The Diet gave a vote of confidence to the new Government by 198 votes to 99, the minority being composed of German Nationals and Communists.

The elections for the Town Council of Greater Berlin, held in the middle of October, ended in a defeat of the Socialist Parties. In the course of the summer various attempts, in which Herr Scheidemann was prominent, were made to bring the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democrats closer together, but they did not lead to any result.

On September 18 the annual Conference of the Social Democrats began at Görlitz, and a resolution was carried in which the Party expressed its readiness to co-operate with other Parties on the basis of the following minimum programme:

Loyalty to the Republic, maintenance of the national right of self-government, democratisation and republicanisation of the administration, of the Reichswehr, and all organs of Government, further development of social legislation, a policy of international understanding, loyal fulfilment of the Peace Treaty within the limits of the nation's ability, and taxation of property to the utmost limit in order to raise the money required. The Independent Labour Party was sounded as to its willingness to co-operate with other Parties in forming a Government, but gave no definite reply. A cleavage took place in the Communist group after the insurrection in the spring. A number of their leaders, among whom were Levi, Clara Zetkin, Däumig, and Geyer, left the Party and formed a group of their own. To convince the Moscow Internationale of the justness of their own point of view, they forwarded to that body confidential material with regard to the insurrection in March. These secret papers fell into the hands of the Government, and were found to contain disclosures of a highly compromising nature, which showed that the Communist Party leaders had played most foully with the lives of their own comrades. In consequence of this, sympathy with Communism cooled down considerably even among the working classes.

In the occupied territories of the Rhineland, the edicts of the occupation authorities, especially the French, led to many conflicts between them and the German administration. The German commissioner, Herr v. Stark, who had several times protested against decrees of the Inter-allied Rhineland Commission, was threatened with expulsion by the President of the Commission, and to avoid this he resigned voluntarily. His successor, the Prince of Hatzfeld-Wildenburg, was only admitted after long negotiations, and on condition that he promised to abstain from all obstruction and to co-operate loyally with the Rhineland Commission. Complaints, however, of arbitrary decisions of the commission have continued to abound, especially in regard to the execution of justice and the administration of schools. Up to March 31, the cost of the occupation to Germany was 4 milliards of gold marks and 7 milliards of paper marks.

Some important agreements and Treaties with foreign States have been concluded during the year. On May 6 an Economic Agreement was concluded with the Russian Soviet Republic, and a German delegation under Professor Wiedenfeld was sent to Moscow. Peace with the United States was signed in Berlin on August 25, and was ratified by the German Reichstag on September 30 and by the American Senate on October 19. A Treaty with China, proclaiming a state of peace between the two countries, was made on May 20. A Treaty concluded with Switzerland on December 3, concerning a court of arbitration, marks a new departure in international law. A series of Economic Treaties with the Czechoslovak Republic, with Italy, and with Jugo-Slavia must be added, as well as a Treaty of

Preference with Portugal. An agreement with Great Britain concerning the partial restoration of German private property was concluded on January 12.

#### AUSTRIA.

Although Austria, in 1920, had put her political house in order by means of her new federal constitution, this did not prevent her finances from falling into hopeless confusion in 1921. At the beginning of that year the notes in circulation amounted to 29½ milliards of Kronen; by the end of the year they exceeded 160 milliards. During this interval the value of an English pound rose from 2,340 Kronen to 22,000, of a German mark from 9·1 to 28·8, of a Swiss franc from 100 to 1028, and of a dollar from 662 to 5273. And these figures do not represent absolutely the lowest points in the exchange, as in December there was a slight rally. The budget prospects became more and more alarming as the year wore on. The deficit had been originally estimated by the Minister of Finance at 12½ milliards; this figure had risen by February to 42·1 milliards, and during the autumn and winter assumed almost fantastic proportions. It is true that the depreciation of the Krone gave an artificial stimulus to certain branches of industry by facilitating export. But among the mass of the people distress increased to a painful extent, the middle class in particular being almost annihilated. As soon as the goods actually in stock were sold out, prices rose enormously, and the index figure for the cost of living in 1921 registered 942 per cent. as against 1914, and 762 per cent. as against 1920, and that for a bare subsistence. No wonder, therefore, that public attention was almost wholly absorbed by economic and financial questions, to the exclusion of purely political matters.

The only political events that aroused real interest in Austria were the attempts of the ex-Kaiser Karl to restore himself to the throne of Hungary; for it was generally felt that if these succeeded they would be followed by similar attempts on the throne of Austria. The movements of Karl during his first return to Hungary were followed with feverish anxiety in Austria, and on April 1 the National Assembly met in order to make an emphatic declaration in favour of the maintenance of the Republic, and against the attempt of Karl. All three parties condemned the attempt, and a resolution proposed by the pan-German deputy Dr. Dinghofer, to the effect that the Austrian people desired to assure the peaceful development of the Federal Republic against all menaces from within and without, was passed unanimously. The public did not calm down till the ex-Kaiser had returned to Switzerland. Similar excitement was caused by the second "putsch" in October, which shook Hungary to its foundations, but it subsided with the banishment of the ill-advised royal pair, and the dethroning of the House of



Hapsburg by a solemn decree of the Hungarian Parliament. Fortunately the Hungarian freebooters who had collected in the Burgenland did not cross the frontier, so that the determination of the Pan-Germans and the Social Democrats to resist with all their force any monarchist attempt was not put to the test.

All through 1921 Austria was engaged in a struggle with Hungary to secure the execution of that clause in the Treaty of St. Germain which assigned to Austria the Burgenland—the one clause favourable to her in the whole treaty. Hungary persistently refused to carry out her obligations and rectify her frontier in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty. At the end of 1920 the Budapest Government had declared its intention not to ratify the commercial treaty with Austria, the two countries being thus left without any proper understanding. But neither economic threats nor anything else could frighten Austria into renouncing her well-established rights. Unfortunately the struggle for the Burgenland revealed her weakness only too painfully. First of all, by the desire of the Ambassadors' Conference, direct negotiations took place between Austria and Hungary. These, however, proved as fruitless as the exchange of notes, because while Austria's representatives demanded the cession of the whole district promised to her in the Peace Treaty, the Hungarians were willing only to make some petty frontier rectifications. After a long delay the Ambassadors' Conference in Paris at length used its influence on behalf of Austria, and on August 28 Austrian gendarmes began their entry into the disputed territory, the use of the Federal militia having been forbidden. But the occupation was brought to a sudden stop by the appearance of Hungarian freebooters, who, being well equipped, overpowered the gendarmerie outposts and forced them to evacuate the Burgenland.

With bitter irony the Inter-allied Commission on October 3 issued the Ödenburg protocol, certifying the orderly cession of German West Hungary in spite of the deplorable incidents which had occurred. While the marauding bands were still busy, even at times crossing the Austrian border, the Vienna Government left no stone unturned to secure the fulfilment of the decisions of the Ambassadors' Conference, which on September 22 had presented Hungary with an ultimatum demanding the evacuation of the Burgenland within ten days. Czechoslovakia and Italy acted as mediators, and finally, on the suggestion of the Italian Foreign Minister, the Marchese della Torretta, a Conference was held in Venice, the results of which were embodied in a protocol. Austria was to occupy the Burgenland as far as Odenburg and its environs, while in Ödenburg and the adjoining communes there was to be a plebiscite, the genuineness and fairness of which the Austrian Government was ready to guarantee. As a matter of fact, however, the plebiscite as actually carried out was a farce. Hungary retained Ödenburg and its surroundings, while Austria had to be content

with acquiring the rest of the Burgenland, and with absorbing over a quarter of a million of her nationals.

In other quarters Austria's foreign relations were more or less directly influenced by her financial position. Thus in the Tyrol, which was still smarting from the severance of her southern portion and which had always cherished separatist tendencies even under the monarchy, the bitter feeling due to the economic distress led to an agitation for union with Germany. The population desired at the very least to emphasise the fact that it had no confidence in the future of Austria, and that it was the unalterable wish of the Tyrol to be united with the German Empire. A plebiscite on this question was planned for February. The Federal Government succeeded in calming the agitation at least for the time being; but on April 24 the popular vote in the Tyrol was actually taken, and it resulted in an almost unanimous declaration for union with Germany. At the end of May, Salzburg followed suit, and in Steiermark the plebiscite was fixed for July 3. The Federal Chancellor, Dr. Mayer, had already pointed out in the National Assembly what displeasure such a step would evoke in the victorious States, what preventive measures would be taken by the Great Powers, and what intimidation was actually being used. He referred to the diplomatic difficulties and to the obstacles which might be placed in the way of the promised credits, and he left nothing undone to check the threatened outbreak. A Cabinet crisis ensued, involving a change in the Ministry. Only with great difficulty was Steiermark induced to abandon the plebiscite, and similar efforts were required to dissuade Upper Austria from following the example of the Tyrol and Salzburg.

With Czechoslovakia, which has certain economic interests in common with Austria, and which shares Austria's antipathy to a restoration of the ex-Kaiser Karl, a secret arrangement (as has since transpired) called by the diplomatists a "protocol," was concluded as far back as January, 1920, by Dr. Renner who was then the Austrian Prime Minister. In the summer of 1921, a meeting took place of the two Presidents, Dr. Hainisch and Prof. Masaryk, in Hallstatt, which served as a prelude to a further meeting of the two Presidents in Zara. This was accompanied by conversations between the Austrian Prime Minister Schober, and the Czechoslovakian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Benes in Prague, which led eventually to a political agreement being concluded between Austria and Czechoslovakia in December. The two parties agreed to respect each other's frontiers, to remain neutral in case either was attacked, and to submit to arbitration all disputes which they could not settle between themselves. The Prague agreement, which later met with fierce opposition from the Pan-Germans, was essentially nothing more than the transformation of a secret agreement into a public one. It was a triumph for the diplomacy of Dr. Benes, because Austria was included in his system

of agreements without actually entering the Little Entente. Austria consented, because this was the necessary preliminary to the securing of economic concessions. A loan of 500,000,000 Czechoslovakian crowns was actually mentioned in Prague. Chancellor Schober made some tactical mistakes, but he at least expressly reserved to himself the freedom to invite the other neighbours of Austria, and especially Hungary, to make agreements similar to that concluded with Czechoslovakia.

Special mention must be made of the Conference of Portorosa, which was at last held after a delay of nearly a year. The idea of it was due to the American, Colonel Smith, who, as the representative of his country in Vienna, had realised that the economic separation and isolation of the various successory States not only dealt a fatal blow at the vital interests of Austria, but also inflicted the greatest injury on all collectively and each individually. It was, therefore, he held, essential that a rapprochement should be effected between them, with the removal of the senseless and in many cases annoying restrictions on commerce and intercourse; and the Great Powers should take the lead in bringing about an understanding. The Conference met in October and November, and justified the expectations of its originator, if not wholly, at least to a large extent. The succession States were brought into touch with one another, and many barriers were broken through, or even wholly removed. Something at least was done for the regulation of trade and commerce, and necessity, if not reason, gained the day over stupidity and obstinacy.

As already mentioned, the internal affairs of Austria during 1921 were marked by a change of Ministry. The Cabinet presided over by the Christian Socialist deputy, Dr. Michael Mayer, Professor at the University of Innsbruck, was obliged to retire in June, and the formation of a new Government was entrusted to the Vienna chief of police, Johann Schober, who had shown himself a competent official, and who enjoyed the esteem and confidence of all parties, though he had never identified himself with any, or in fact interfered in politics at all. Schober got together a few officials who were installed in the ministerial posts as experts. The two majority parties also, the Christian Socialists and the Pan-Germans, sent one representative each to the Ministry. The Schober Cabinet concentrated its attention on the most urgent practical questions, especially on the task of procuring for Austria the foreign credits for which she had been waiting so long. In October, there was a reconstruction of the Ministry, the most striking change being in the department of finance, where Dr. Grimm, a painstaking and timid official, was succeeded by Dr. Gürtler, a Christian Socialist University professor, assisted by Dr. Wilhelm Rosenberg, of the Directorate of the Anglo-Austrian bank, a personage who enjoyed great confidence in the world of finance and commerce. Dr. Gürtler acted with great vigour—perhaps

too great—and loved to spring surprises on the public. His ruthlessness created for him many enemies, especially as the expectations raised by his activity were soon grievously disappointed.

During the whole of the year Austria never gave up the hope that the victors who had called her into being would furnish her with financial assistance. The word “credit” was on every one’s lips. In March the Federal Chancellor, Dr. Mayer, undertook a mission to London in order to lay Austria’s case before the Supreme Council. “If the Powers do not come to our assistance,” he warned them, “Austria must suffer political extinction or perish miserably under the intolerable conditions at present prevailing.” The fate of Austria was placed in the hands of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, and Sir Drummond Fraser, along with Messrs. Avenol and Glückstadt, came as representatives of this body to Vienna, in order to study the position exhaustively and draw up proposals. These gentlemen expressed themselves in their memorandum as being “earnestly desirous” of seeing the required assistance given, but it was still not forthcoming, although Austria showed herself ready to do her share, even at the cost of imposing a considerable burden on the population. In the final report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations in the middle of June, one of the first recommendations was a suspension of the general right of foreclosing conceded by the Peace Treaty, as a necessary condition for financial assistance on a large scale. Meanwhile the deliberations of the Powers dragged on very slowly, and the year 1921 closed without the United States having given its consent to the suspension of the right of foreclosing. In these circumstances the tour made by the Financial Minister, Dr. Grimm, in August, during which he visited Paris, London and Geneva, naturally failed to produce the desired effect, as he obtained only promises of temporary advances, and even these stopped at promises.

The mission undertaken by Dr. Wilhelm Rosenberg was equally barren of practical results. The proposal to pledge the priceless Gobelins, part of Austria’s art treasures, a proposal which evoked loud protests from all friends of art, was not carried out; and so Austria’s hopes remained unrealised.

While thus waiting for some miraculous deliverance from without, Austria did not sit with folded arms, but made heroic efforts to extricate herself from her difficulties, though to combat at once the deficit, the depreciation of the exchange and the rise in the cost of living was a labour of Sisyphus. An Economy Commission was appointed in February. In order to increase the revenue of the Federation taxes were continually raised, and new sources were tapped without cessation, till the taxpayers complained, not without reason, that they were being reduced to slavery. One tariff increase succeeded another, and the monopoly prices of tobacco, salt, and saccharine rose enormously.

The expenditure side of the Budget also came in for drastic revision. Austria has about 265,000 federal civil servants, but these include the employees on the railways, and the members of the tiny militia. There is all the same a real excess of civil servants, which is easy enough to explain as a legacy from the past, but which none the less is a crushing burden on the State; the Civil Service expenditure for December alone amounted to about 18,000,000,000 Kronen. A reduction of staff was therefore considered advisable, and at the beginning of November a Bill was introduced with this object; but the difficulties were so great that little was accomplished. On the other hand, energetic steps were taken to diminish the burdens resulting from the State system of bonuses and doles. The system of rationing practised in the war had been continued with regard to some articles, and the State sold a certain quantity of bread, flour, and fat and of condensed milk for children and invalids much under cost price. Towards the end of the year the loss was at the rate of 250 milliards per year. In July, after repeated postponements, the sliding scale Bill for bread and flour prices was passed, dividing the population into classes according to income; this was the first step towards lowering the State subventions. Dr. Görtler was bent on abolishing the food subventions at one blow, as by this means he hoped not only to reduce expenditure but also to improve the exchange. But the outbreak which occurred on December 1, though fortunately it led to nothing worse than isolated cases of looting, was a warning not to proceed too quickly, especially as a rapid increase in the price of bread, flour, and fat was bound to react on other necessities. It was decided accordingly to remove the subvention gradually. Towards the end of the year, Dr. Görtler came round more and more to the financial programme drawn up by the Social Democrats on October 1. Their leader, Dr. Otto Bauer, became the guiding spirit in financial matters, although his party disclaimed all responsibility for the acts of the Government, and remained in opposition. Dr. Görtler was particularly severe upon the Stock Exchange and the speculation in the currency, which he characterised as high treason. Without any warning he suddenly raised the tax on Bourse operators to 100 gold Kronen a month. This gave rise to a curious strike on the Bourse in Vienna, which, however, was soon ended.

The year 1921 has passed without bringing any clear sign of a revival in Austria. Politically the people has been on the whole listless; there were few great debates in Parliament, and even the most important financial resolutions were rushed through the National Assembly at express speed. Intellectual and spiritual interests suffered equally with political under the economic dead-weight. But the people still live in hopes of better things.

## CHAPTER IV.

SOVIET RUSSIA — ESTHONIA — FINLAND — LATVIA — LITHUANIA —  
 POLAND — CZECHOSLOVAKIA — HUNGARY — RUMANIA — JUGO-  
 SLAVIA — TURKEY — GREECE — ALBANIA — BULGARIA — FIUME.

## SOVIET RUSSIA.

THE Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic includes, besides Soviet Russia proper, (1) six autonomous Soviet Republics, *viz.*, the Bashkir Republic, the Gorsk Republic, the Daghestan Republic, the Khirgiz Republic, the Tatar Republic, and the Turkestan Republic; (2) the autonomous districts of the Votiaks (a tribe living on the East of Viatka), of the Kalmucks, of Mariinsk (in the province of Tomsk), and of the Chuvashes (on the right bank of the Volga, in the provinces of Kazan and Simbirsk); and, finally (3) the Workers' Communes of the Korelians and of the Germans living on the Volga. In addition to this there are in what was formerly the Russian Empire seven independent Soviet Republics, *viz.*, Azerbaijan, Armenia, White Russia, Ukraina, Georgia, Bokhara, and Khiva, which are supposed to be sovereign States pursuing their internal and foreign policy independently, but in fact are closely controlled by Moscow.

The internal history of Russia during the year was marked by a change in the economic policy of the Soviet Government. The new course was already inaugurated at the end of 1920. On November 23 of that year a decree was issued by the Council of People's Commissaries concerning the granting of concessions to foreign capitalists with a view to promoting the restoration of Russian industry. In order to strengthen the agricultural productivity of the country an Agrarian Law was promulgated on December 14, 1920, according to which the peasants were obliged to cultivate a given area of land and to deliver to the State the produce over and above what is necessary to support themselves and their households. At the 8th All-Russian Congress of Soviets (December 21 to 28) Lenin defended these schemes which in spite of strong opposition were confirmed by this body. The Congress decided to reduce the Red Army to approximately half its existing strength, the reduction, as was stated in the decree of December 30, to be carried out not later than the middle of 1921. On December 12, 1921, Trotsky declared that the Red Army consists of 1,500,000, as against its previous strength of 5,300,000.

At the beginning of 1921 the Trade Union question, over which serious dissensions had arisen in 1920, came again to the fore. The Trade Unions, as is known, include a great number of non-party men and people of various political creeds. A divergency of opinion has always existed among the Soviet leaders as to the part to be played by these bodies with regard

to the industrial reconstruction of Russia. The extremists, with Trotski at their head, stood out for conscription and militarisation of labour, and the nationalisation of the Trade Unions. This caused great opposition in Trade Union circles, which, led by Shliapnikov and others, claimed the independence of the Unions. Lenin, who realised the strength of the opposition, adopted a compromising attitude, being supported by some leading members of the Trade Union movement, who in turn advocated a policy of carrying out slowly and gradually a fusion between the Unions and the economic departments of the State. In the middle of January, 1921, the Commission which had been appointed in November, 1920, with the object of settling this question, prepared a compromise report, the chief conclusions of which run as follows: "The speedy incorporation of the Trade Unions into the machinery of the State would be a great political mistake, because at the present stage of evolution it would . . . fail to draw non-party men into the service of the Soviet Government or retain them as organisations, into which workers of varying political and religious convictions might enter. The principal methods to be pursued by the Trade Unions should be not those of compulsion but of conviction."

Meanwhile preparations were made for the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party at which it was expected a settlement of the Trade Union question would be reached. The Congress met during the rebellion of Cronstadt which had broken out on February 23. ~~Strikes occurred in~~ Petrograd and Moscow, and were followed by riots of the population exasperated by the inefficiency of the food supplies. The Cronstadt sailors took the lead in this movement which developed into a serious revolt against the dictatorship of the Commissaries. The watchword of the sailors was "Freely elected Soviets." The authorities succeeded in suppressing the riots in Petrograd and Moscow, and the Cronstadt rising was ruthlessly stamped out by Trotski and Tukhatchevski, the Commander-in-Chief of the Red forces. The Cronstadt rebellion provoked an acute convulsion in the political life of Russia. The Soviet leaders realised the gravity of the situation. Under such circumstances Lenin vigorously put forward the arguments for his new economic policy which meant the capitulation before the petty bourgeois elements. In a speech delivered at the 10th Communist Congress he advocated the abandoning of the system of requisitioning of grain. The compulsory delivery of the produce was to be replaced by a moderate tax in kind to the State. This tax was estimated at about 240,000,000 of poods instead of 423,000,000 which had been requisitioned in 1920. The remainder of the produce would be left with the peasants for bartering against other commodities through the medium of the co-operatives.

The theses of Lenin's speech were embodied in the "Law

on the Tax in Kind," which was adopted on March 21. By an additional law (of March 29) the sale of the surplus of grain, potatoes, and hay was permitted (trade in articles not subject to rationing had already been allowed earlier in the year). Another departure from communistic principles was made by the publication of the Agrarian Law of March 21, which, in order to stabilise the position of the petty landowner, prohibited the redistribution of land before the lapse of nine years. The Soviet Government had come to realise that the feeding of the factory workers necessitated the granting of economic advantages to the peasantry. In regard to these measures the Soviet leaders were alive to the danger which may arise from a strengthened peasant class, but they took the risk of this in view of the great advantages they conferred. For these measures left power in the hands of the Communist Party, which controlled the governmental machine and the industrial system of the country.

The recognition of the private ownership of the land was accompanied by an attempt at a *rapprochement* with capitalism. Lenin declared in the *Pravda* (May 6) that "we cannot prevent the progress of capitalism, but we can try to develop it into Russian State capitalism." At the 4th All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which met on May 17, Rykov, the former Chairman of the Supreme Council of People's Economy, advocated the denationalisation of industry and the transference of nationalised factories to Trade Unions, Co-operatives, and private individuals. During the summer a series of decrees were issued which if fully applied would have meant a gradual transformation of Russia in the direction of capitalism. Thus on July 5 a decree was promulgated which granted the lease of factories to Co-operatives and private individuals; in most cases the former owners of the undertakings became the leaseholders. Trade was declared free shops were opened, and the dealings on the markets could proceed without being hampered by the authorities. Great efforts were made to revive foreign trade, and to this end negotiations which had already been opened in various countries in 1920 were continued. On March 16, 1921, a Trade Agreement between Great Britain and the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic was signed in London with the object of establishing commercial relations between these countries pending the conclusion of a general Peace Treaty. The Peace Treaty between Poland and Soviet Russia concluded on March 18 at Riga contained several provisions with regard to the resumption of trade relations pending the conclusion of a regular commercial treaty. On May 6 a Trade Agreement between Soviet Russia and Germany was signed at Berlin. While negotiations with other countries were somewhat protracted an appalling famine made its appearance in Soviet Russia.



The famine of this year was due not only to the drought, but also to a great extent to the ruin of agricultural production in Russia. The crops of 1920 had proved a failure. Nevertheless the Food Administration of the Soviet Government was optimistic in view of the larger supplies to be obtained from Siberia, which had recently been conquered, and from the Northern Caucasus. But very soon it became plain that these supplies were scanty. The Caucasus provided only a half of the fixed quota. West Siberia which formerly had been able to export considerable quantities of grain to East Siberia was short of supplies, while East Siberia found itself in great difficulty owing to the cessation of these supplies. Already in January the situation was alarming. On January 13 the great corn provinces of Central Russia—Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Simbirsk, etc.—were ordered to increase the export of grain in view of the failure of crops in Siberia and in the Caucasus. The new economic policy was dictated by the fear of famine. In June Lenin pointed out to the members of the Congress for Food Supply the danger to which bad crops might lead. The worst apprehensions were confirmed in July. The American Senator Francis brought a message in the name of the Russian people to the American people, asking them to come to the help of the starving Russian masses by sending them bread. The famine area included the provinces of Samara, Saratov, Simbirsk, Ural, the Tatar Republic, Astrakhan, Zarizyn, the German Commune on the Volga, the district of the Tchouvaches and parts of the provinces of Viatka, Pensa, and Orenburg. Even in the South-eastern regions of the Ukraine the crops were bad, while in many other districts of the Soviet Republic the harvest was a mediocre one. In the famine area only 7·5 million dessiatines had been sown in 1921, and the net harvest was 147 million poods. As the seed necessary for new tillage was 56·5 million poods, and the food required for the population of the famine districts, which numbered nearly 14,950,000—reckoning 10 poods per head, was 149·5 million poods—the deficit of bread corn was 58,524,000 poods. The Government appointed the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee to cope with the difficulties of the famine situation. This Committee was also joined by non-Bolshevik elements, *e.g.*, Cadets, Socialists, and non-party men who expressed their readiness to co-operate with the Government in order to fight the national catastrophe. In Russian *émigré* circles great hopes were attached to this co-operation of the socialistic and democratic elements with the Soviet Government. But dissensions soon broke out between the Committee and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The Relief Committee—also called the Committee of Social Workers—were anxious to send a delegation abroad, but the Government suspected in this desire political machinations, and on that ground dissolved the Committee on August

27. Some of its members were arrested. In the official declaration of the Government this step was explained by reference to the refusal of the members of the Committee to proceed to the famine district and to their intention to intrigue against the Government through the medium of a foreign delegation. At the same time a new conspiracy against the Soviet Government was detected in Petrograd, and, according to an official announcement in the *Izvestiia*, sixty-one persons were shot, among whom were the jurist Lasarevski and the poet Gumilev. This revival of terrorism after a comparatively long interval threw a gloomy light on the internal conditions of the country.

The appeals sent out by the Government, the workers, the patriarch Tikhon, Maxim Gorki, and others, and the reports of those who had visited the hunger-stricken areas found a sympathetic response throughout the world. On August 15 the American representative, Mr. Brown, acting on behalf of Mr. Hoover, concluded an agreement with Litvinov concerning the activities of the American Relief Administration. An International Conference of the Red Cross Societies held on August 15-17 in Geneva decided to entrust Dr. Nansen and Mr. Herbert Hoover with the supreme control of the relief work in Russia. On August 22, Nansen, accompanied by representatives of the Red Cross Societies and of the League of Nations, left for Moscow. At the same time the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers met to consider the question of relief work. The representatives of Japan and Italy pointed to a declaration made by Chicherin, the Commissary for Foreign Affairs, that the Russian Government would oppose any international control of the relief work. On November 6 a Conference met at Brussels, which was attended by representatives of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and the United States. The Conference adopted several resolutions, the most important of which laid it down that no credits should be granted to the Soviet Government unless it acknowledged its liability for the debts of the former Russian Governments.

Meanwhile the ravages of the famine were unabated. Nansen wired to the *Manchester Guardian* on December 19: "The conditions are even worse than I expected. Words cannot possibly describe the misery and horrors I have seen. People are dying in their houses and in the village streets in the pitiless cold of a Russian winter without food or fuel to feed them. Millions must unavoidably die." Since the beginning of the relief campaign until December 7, 2,650,000 poods and 20,000 casks of various commodities were imported from abroad into the famine area.

With regard to its policy in the East, Soviet Russia was eager to get a foothold in Persia, Afghanistan, and Asia Minor, and to establish friendly relations with these countries. The

Treaty with Persia was signed on February 26, that with Afghanistan on February 28, and that with the Angora Government on March 16. Russian influence is ever growing in Persia and Afghanistan, and the propaganda department of the Third International stretches out its tentacles as far as India. A Soviet delegation was sent out in 1920 to China for the purpose of entering into negotiations respecting the conclusion of a Trade Agreement. The Soviet Government has renounced the right of the capitulations in China and is anxious to live in friendly terms with that country, thus pursuing a policy directed against Japan. Since the overthrow of Koltchak there has existed a Soviet Siberia down to the Baikal Sea. East of the Baikal Sea there have been formed a Republic in Chita, a Republic in Werkhne-Udinsk, and the Republic of the Far East in Vladivostok. The remnants of Koltchak's troops rallied in those regions under Generals Semenov, Kappel, and Ungern Sternberg. But the Bolsheviki forces advanced towards Chita, which was conquered in October, 1920. In February, 1921, the Republic of the Far East was also occupied by the Soviet troops, but on May 31, anti-Bolshevik forces with the open <sup>or secret</sup> support of Japan captured Vladivostok and established there an anti-Bolshevik Government with a certain Merkulov at its head. In December, 1921, General Kappel commenced military operations against the Republic of the Far East, which in the meanwhile had removed its headquarters to Chita. The Government of the Far East has communicated to the High Command of the Japanese Army that it is in a state of war with the Vladivostok Government, and that it expects Japan to be neutral. There is still a Japanese division in Vladivostok, and according to Japanese press comments Japan cannot as yet evacuate the coast because the Government of Merkulov is too weak to resist the pressure of the Far East Republic.

Foreign trade has made considerable progress in Soviet Russia. A survey of the official data of January-September shows that 35.5 million poods were imported, as compared with 5.2 million poods during the same period in 1920, and 5.5 million poods exported as compared with 0.6 million poods in the previous year. The chief articles of import were food-stuffs, fuel, metals, and machinery, particularly agricultural implements. The main contractors were Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Esthonia. The port of Petrograd is gaining in significance. Russian goods (timber, hides, furs, bristles, asbestos, and graphite) were exported to Great Britain, Germany, and Latvia.

On November 3 paper money of a new standard was introduced by a decree of the Council of the People's Commissaries. The new notes range in value from 50 kopecks to 1,000 roubles, and the new rouble equals 10,000 of the old roubles. The new paper currency circulates with the old, which has not been

devaluated. By a decree of October 4 private contractors, owners of factories which are not nationalised and lessees of estate factories are allowed to buy abroad machinery, fuel, clothes, food-stuffs, etc., for the requirements of their undertakings, while the Co-operatives may also import goods for bartering. Private contractors are permitted to export abroad in exchange for imported goods commodities which have been provided free by the Government. These dealings are under strict control of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade.

On November 15 the State Bank was opened in Moscow, and Stock Exchanges have been established in Petrograd and Moscow. A Chamber of Commerce has also been opened in Petrograd. The 9th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which met on December 24, 1921, approved the various decrees of the Government adopted in the course of the year. According to a financial report to the Congress the revenues for 1921 equalled 200 million of gold roubles and the expenses amounted to 10 million of paper money (*Novy Mir*, No. 279).

After protracted negotiations Trade Agreements were concluded with Norway (in September) and with Italy (December 26). On December 7 a Treaty was signed in Vienna by the representatives of Austria and Soviet Russia for resuming political and commercial relations. All efforts of the Soviet Government to come to terms with Rumania have so far failed, the stumbling-block being the fact that Soviet Russia is not prepared to renounce Bessarabia. No progress has been made by Soviet diplomacy with regard to opening negotiations with France and the United States. The relations with Finland with which a Peace Treaty was concluded on December 31, 1920, were disturbed at the end of 1921 in connexion with a new rising in Carelia.

In the Ukraine conditions in 1921 were extremely chaotic. The country was occupied by Soviet troops which kept order in the large towns, but in the small towns and villages Ukrainian bands have continuously fought the Government detachments. On January 6, 1921, a Federative Treaty was concluded between Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine by which the particular rights of the latter were recognised, though its independence was reduced to very small dimensions. Yet the independence was there, and Soviet Ukraine concluded treaties with Poland (March 16), with Austria (December 7), and with Latvia (December 16); and it has diplomatic and commercial representatives abroad. But in fact the Ukrainian Soviet Republic does not play an independent rôle. Two efforts of Petloura, the head of the Ukrainian National Government, to fight the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine at the end of 1920 and in November, 1921, failed utterly.

Georgia was occupied on February 25 by the Bolsheviks after a carefully carried out propaganda. The Georgian Government left the country, and a Soviet regime was established.

Armenia and Azerbaijan became Soviet Republics at the end of 1920 and continued so during 1921. There was a marked tendency during the year towards a Federation of all the Soviet Republics of the Caucasus.

#### ESTHONIA.

Few changes **have occurred** in the position of Esthonia during the year. The carrying out of the agrarian reform has been continued; and the trade relations with Soviet Russia have gained in volume. Esthonia has become a transit station for trade between Russia and the Western States. The economic situation of the country is comparatively satisfactory. On January 26, Esthonia received *de jure* recognition by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Belgium, while on September 22, **Esthonia was admitted** to the League of Nations.

In the second half of December a Conference of representatives of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania took place in Reval. The Conference discussed the resolutions adopted at a former meeting held in Riga (see Latvia) with the participation of Soviet Russia, and also several questions with regard to the mutual relations of the Baltic States. It was decided to convoke a new Conference of these States previous to the meeting with the representatives of Soviet Russia, with a view to adopting a common scheme for a Trade Agreement with Russia. At the Reval Conference an economic *rapprochement* between Esthonia and Latvia was considered, and several other matters settled, as, for example, the question of the choice of citizenship of the subjects of these States.

#### FINLAND.

In accordance with the stipulations of the Peace Treaty of Dorpat, the Finnish troops were, on February 14, withdrawn from Repola and Poraiarvi, two parishes in the district of East Karelia which were to be incorporated in Russia. On the same day the Russian troops evacuated Petshenga, which was ceded to Finland. On April 9, the Coalition Government of Professor Erich resigned. The Socialists having failed to form a Cabinet, a new Coalition Cabinet of the Progressives and the Peasantry Party was constituted under the Presidency of Professor Vennola, and the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. R. Holsti, retained his portfolio in the new Cabinet. The parties of the Right and Left abstained from participating in the Cabinet, which represented the Young Finns. The new Cabinet promulgated an amnesty which was demanded by the Socialists. Nevertheless the antagonism between the bourgeois and Socialist elements in Finland remains very acute.

On October 10 the question of the Aaland Islands was decided by the League of Nations. According to this decision the Islands were allocated to Finland under the condition that

autonomous rights should be granted to the population of the Islands. Sweden was, of course, dissatisfied with this decision, and the relations between the two countries were bound to be influenced adversely. On the other side the relations with Soviet Russia have become worse during the year. On July 24 a Conference of the Border States took place at Helsingfors at which certain economic questions were discussed. It was also resolved to take united diplomatic steps against the Soviet Government on account of its infringements of the Peace Treaties concluded with the Border States. In October a popular rising took place in East Karelia against the Soviet Government, which had failed to introduce an autonomous constitution as promised in the Treaty of Dorpat, and by December the greater part of East Karelia was liberated from the Bolshevik forces. On November 27 Finland approached the League of Nations in order that steps might be taken to bring home to the Soviet Government the need for keeping the obligations of the Peace Treaty of Dorpat with regard to this district. This request was supported by the Governments of Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, and Rumania.

On July 13 Finland concluded a Commercial Treaty with France, and on October 29 a similar Treaty with Esthonia. The hopes which were entertained of Finland as an important transit station of trade between Russia and the Western States were not realised during 1921. The general crisis prevailing throughout the whole world has made itself felt in Finland too. Only towards the end of the year was a revival of trade visible. In September the exports exceeded the imports by a sum of 168,300,000 Finnish marks.

#### LATVIA.

The outstanding feature of the external history of Latvia during the year has been the *de jure* recognition by foreign Powers. On January 26 the Latvian Republic was recognised by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and Belgium. Shortly afterwards other European and non-European States, twenty-six in all, followed this example. On September 22 Latvia was admitted to the League of Nations.

As for the relations of Latvia with Soviet Russia, Soviet Ukraine, and the neighbouring States, the following events have to be recorded. On July 22 an agreement was signed by Latvia and Soviet Russia concerning the right of the choice of citizenship by the subjects of these countries. On August 3 a Peace Treaty was signed at Moscow between Latvia and Soviet Ukraine. The dispute about the frontiers between Latvia and Lithuania was finally settled on June 17, and a special convention was adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Latvia on the regulation of the frontiers of these States. The question of a political federation of the Baltic States is still being

much discussed, but no practical decisions have been adopted yet. There seems to be some disinclination towards including Poland in a federation of that kind. Meanwhile the idea of an economic *rapprochement* between the Baltic States has gained some ground. On October 24-31 an Economic Conference of representatives of Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Finland, and Soviet Russia took place at Riga. The Conference dealt with problems of transport, of commercial intercourse, of sanitary measures, of concessions, and so on. Several resolutions were adopted which will serve as the basis for new negotiations, to be resumed at the next Conference in February, 1922. A permanent Economic Office of representatives of these States has been established at Riga.

Among the legislative measures passed during the year, there may be mentioned the Law on Civil Marriage, and the introduction of the Metric System in Latvia as from January 1, 1924, both adopted on February 18. On June 17, Latvia joined the Postal Union, and the International Telegraphic Union later in the year.

The Ulmanis Cabinet which had been in power since November, 1918, resigned on June 3 because the extreme parties were dissatisfied with the agrarian reform carried through by the Cabinet. A new Cabinet was formed on June 15 under the Presidency of M. Meierowitz, who was Foreign Minister in the previous Cabinet, and who retained the portfolio of Foreign Minister in the new Cabinet.

The economic position of Latvia has been less favourable than that of the other Baltic States. This is due to the detrimental influence of the policy of the Minister of Finance and Commerce, M. Kalning. In his endeavour to stabilise the standard of the Latvian rouble, the Minister introduced a protective tariff which had an adverse effect on trade. The exports amounted in September to 112,000,000 roubles, whilst the imports amounted to 479,000,000 roubles. Most of the imported goods were destined for Russia.

#### LITHUANIA.

The frontiers of Lithuania are still undetermined, nor has the conflict with Poland concerning Vilna been settled. This conflict has been brought before the League of Nations, and the first proposals of M. Hymans, the mediator between the Poles and the Lithuanians, for the settlement of the Vilna dispute submitted to the representatives of the two countries at Brussels on May 21 were rejected by Lithuania. According to these proposals Lithuania was to be divided into two cantons, and the whole country put under a joint council of foreign affairs including Lithuanian and Polish members. Besides this a military convention was to be signed between the two countries. On September 12, on the initiative of the Polish General Babianski,

new proposals were submitted which were based on those of M. Hymans. In a memorandum presented to the League of Nations on December 24, the Lithuanian Government declared that these proposals could not be accepted. Meanwhile, the so-called Central Lithuanian Government controls Vilna and the surrounding district. General Zeligowski resigned his post on December 1, and was succeeded by M. Meysztowitch, who issued a proclamation in which the following passages occur: "Do not be anxious with regard to our frontiers. The General resigns, but his valiant troops remain. The courageous Polish Army remains as before, and all intrigues of our enemies will fail before its bayonets." On December 4 the Lithuanian Government solemnly protested against the elections to the so-called Diet of Vilna, and declared that it would never recognise this arbitrary act.

No solution was arrived at during the year concerning the Memel question. Only with Latvia was a settlement reached according to which Lithuania was given access to the Baltic Sea through Polangen (March 21).

Towards the end of the year the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Puryckis, resigned his post. He has been active in preparing the ground for the establishment of a Baltic Federation, and has carried to a successful end the preliminary steps for the realisation of such a scheme. The endeavours of Poland to create a Baltic Federation of five States, in which Poland would play a predominant part, have failed so far. To-day the question of a Federation of five Baltic States is losing ground, while on the other hand the prospects for a Federation to be formed of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania are increasing.

The economic relations between Lithuania and Latvia have improved during the year. The relations with Soviet Russia have been normal. To a considerable extent Russia has fulfilled its obligations under the Peace Treaty of Moscow.

The new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Professor Yurgutis, is continuing the policy of Dr. Puryckis, whose aim was to cultivate friendly relations with the Allied Powers. Lithuania was admitted to the League of Nations on September 22, and during the year the country received *de jure* recognition by Latvia, Esthonia, Argentina, Mexico, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Finland, and Brazil.

In the Constituent Assembly the majority consists of the Christian Peasantry Party, while the Social Democrats play a less significant part. The agrarian reform has been carried through in the interests of the peasants.

#### POLAND.

The year 1921 will be for ever memorable in the history of Poland for three events of great importance: (1) The final delimitation of the Polish-German frontier by the League of Nations' decision as to the partition of Upper Silesia; (2) the conclusion



of war with Russia and the ratification of the Treaty of Peace in Riga; and (3) the passing by the Warsaw Parliament of the Constitutional Charter of the Republic of Poland.

The year opened auspiciously amid the labours of the Riga Conference with the invitation to Paris of M. Millerand, President of the French Republic, to Marshal Pilsudski, the President of Poland. The journey was undertaken on February 1, the Marshal being accompanied by the Foreign Secretary, Prince Sapieha, and the War Secretary, General Sosnkowski, who elaborated with the French Government a military pact and a commercial convention which cemented the close alliance of the two countries.

Though the Government of M. Witos, which had been formed during the critical days of Bolshevik invasion, ceased, early in January, to be a Coalition by reason of the withdrawal of the Socialists and National Democrats, it carried on for another nine months as the Government of the Left Centre. Among other things it pushed on the work of framing the Constitution, and on January 27 Parliament took a good step forward in the matter by agreeing to a two-Chamber Legislature. The proposal, however, was carried only by 11 votes and in the teeth of the Opposition of the Left. The Constitution was finally adopted on March 17, a day before the signing of the Treaty of Peace with Russia, and three days before the Upper Silesian plebiscite.

The Treaty of Riga (March 18) established the Eastern frontier of Poland on the basis of a compromise between the historical claims of Poland and the ethnic claims of Russia.

The results of the plebiscite in Upper Silesia showed roughly that 500,000 votes were cast in favour of Poland and about 720,000 for Germany. It was generally expected in Poland that in accordance with the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, the province would be divided between Poland and Germany in some proportion approaching the ratio of 5 to 7. When, however, on May 3, the news was spread that the British and Italian members of the Inter-Allied Commission in Upper Silesia recommended that only two districts should be given to Poland (Pless and Rybnik), while the remainder, including the whole of the industrial triangle, should revert to Germany, an insurrection of the Polish population in Upper Silesia, led by Korfanty, the Polish Plebiscite Commissary, broke out. The insurgents occupied the part of Upper Silesia, including the industrial triangle, claimed by Poland. The Allies' decision was postponed. Meanwhile, the Germans organised a counter-insurrection, and the skirmishes of the two rival forces were combated with great energy by the Inter-Allied Commission, which received strong military reinforcements from Britain, France, and Italy. The Allied troops separated the Polish and the German forces, which were subsequently disarmed and disbanded.

In the midst of this upheaval the Warsaw Parliament expressed its disapproval of the conduct of Foreign Affairs, and the Foreign Minister, Prince Sapieha, resigned on his return from Bucharest, where a Treaty of Friendship between Poland and Rumania had been signed on May 21. Sapieha's resignation caused a partial Cabinet crisis solved by the appointment of M. Skirmunt as Foreign Secretary. The Opposition, composed of parties of the Right, now began an energetic campaign against the Government of M. Witos mainly upon economic and financial questions.

Early in August, soon after the ratification of the Riga Treaty, M. Karachan, the first Soviet Envoy, arrived in Warsaw.

On August 8 the Supreme Council assembled in Paris, and again attempted to grapple with the vexed question of Upper Silesia. But the views at the Council were so divergent that, as a way out of an impasse, it was decided to ask the League of Nations to deal with it. How the League dealt with the question is related in the chapter devoted to the work of the League (p. 154). But the appeal to the League in this matter was unpopular in Poland, and the Government of M. Witos was attacked by the parties of the Right until he was forced to resign.

The disappearance of the astute peasant Premier of Poland left the field open to the National Democrats who attempted unsuccessfully to form a Cabinet. At length the President of the Republic called upon a non-party man, M. Ponikowski, to form a business Government. On September 27 the new Cabinet entered on its duties and was in office when the year closed.

About the same time as the appearance of the new Cabinet, public opinion in Poland was again greatly agitated by the recommendation of the League of Nations that the Vilna dispute should be solved on the basis of a modified project elaborated by M. Hymans. The modifications were rejected by the Polish delegate M. Askenazy, and as the project failed to satisfy the Lithuanians also, it was equally rejected by them, and the attempts of the League at a solution came to a standstill.

The new Government had many difficulties to face. For one thing, the financial situation was one of great difficulty. An estimated Budget deficit of some 70,000 million Polish marks and an internal debt of some 22,000 million Polish marks called for prompt action in the direction of reorganising the country's resources. The Minister of Finance, M. Steczkowski, was sacrificed in spite of his great talents, and M. Michalski was called upon to set the financial house in order by being invested with full powers to veto any expenditure exceeding the country's capacity. He appeared before the House on October 4 and achieved a great Parliamentary success with the able exposition of his financial programme. He announced means of stabilising the Polish currency, radical economies in

all departments, increased taxation, the suppression of profiteering, and above all a substantial Emergency Tax on all kinds of fortunes (a kind of "capital levy"). This last was adopted by Parliament on December 15.

On September 30 the first census of the population of independent Poland revealed that the population (including that part of Upper Silesia which was allotted to Poland) numbers roughly 28,000,000, a diminution of some 2,000,000 on the census of 1911. This is accounted for partly by the ravages of war, and partly by the large numbers of refugees, who could not yet return from Russia.

On October 11 the Council of the League of Nations issued its award in the question of Upper Silesia. In spite of pessimistic anticipations of the Poles, the decision was regarded as exceeding their expectations, and it was generally recognised that Poland owes it to the high sense of justice possessed by the British delegate, Mr. Balfour. The decision compromised the conflicting claims of both parties, and the salient feature of the decision is the establishment of a Polish-German condominium of the industrial triangle for a transitional period of fifteen years.

A Commercial Treaty concluded with Czechoslovakia on October 29 marked a further stage in the progress of peaceful consolidation which was such a feature of the year, and was soon after followed by the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship with that country. A series of agreements with the Free City of Danzig established after many vicissitudes normal and friendly relations with "Poland's only outlet to the sea," and thus the close of the year found Poland considerably strengthened, both within and without, with only the question of Vilna left over for solution.

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

The Czechoslovak Republic, guided by President Masaryk and Dr. Benes, the present Premier and Foreign Minister, was able during the year 1921 to cope with the difficult situation in which the Central European States found themselves. The Government has had to continue in the liquidation of the unfortunate heritage of the war, and wipe out the deplorable destruction, both material and moral, which it caused.

The Land Reform Bill which was passed on April 16, 1919, was supplemented during this year by a series of administrative laws dealing with the distribution of the land, according to which the distribution of land proceeds as follows: Land is allotted to small holders, the owners of small industrial concerns, disabled soldiers, and legionaries and their dependents, to co-operate associations; for the erection of dwellings, workshops, and factories; and to municipalities, to public associations, and to scientific institutions. The Land Office has fixed the area of separate plots at six, ten or fifteen hectares, whichever may

be adequate according to the value and quality of the soil. Associations receive, as a maximum, enough land to enable each member to obtain one of these portions.

A census was taken on February 15, and the preliminary returns showed that the Czechoslovak Republic contains 1,933,776 houses with 13,595,730 inhabitants. Since the year 1910 there has been a decrease of 871 inhabitants. In Moravia and Silesia there has been an increase of 42,119, or 1·3 per cent., in Slovakia, 66,655, or 2·3 per cent., in Carpathian Ruthenia, 7,386, or 1·2 per cent., while in Bohemia there has been a decrease of 117,031, or 1·7 per cent.

A change in the Czechoslovak Government took place on September 27. The present Cabinet is composed as follows:—

Dr. Benes (no party)	- - - -	Premier and Foreign Affairs.
Dr. Cerny (no party)	- - - -	Interior.
Dr. Novak (no party)	- - - -	Finance.
M. Udrzal (Agrarian)	- - - -	National Defence.
M. Novak (National Democrat)	- - - -	Commerce.
Dr. Srobar (Slovak)	- - - -	Education.
M. Tucny (Socialist)	- - - -	Public Works.
M. Stanek (Agrarian)	- - - -	Agriculture.
M. Haberman (Social Democrat)	- - - -	Social Welfare.
M. Micura (Slovak)	- - - -	Slovakia.
Dr. Sramek (Popular Party)	- - - -	Railways.
M. Srba (Social Democrat)	- - - -	Posts and Supplies.
D. Dolansky (Popular Party)	- - - -	Justice.
Dr. Derer (Slovak Social Democrat)	- - - -	Unification.

The new Government was formed by reason of the fact that the late Government of official administrators and experts, at the head of which was Dr. Cerny, and which for over a year directed the destinies of the State, had fulfilled its task, and the political conditions were ripe for the constitution of a new Government composed of members of the existing political parties. The Socialists, Agrarians, National Democrats, and Catholics (Popular Party) agreed upon a common political programme, and the present Coalition Government was made possible.

The policy of the new Government was outlined in a speech made by Dr. Benes on October 18. The first duty of the Government, he said, would be to bring about the economic and financial consolidation, and, in particular, of introducing stricter methods of economy in the public services. The draft of the Budget for 1922 had been prepared in accordance with this principle. The Government would increase the yield from State monopolies and establishments, but would not call for any fresh taxes, or allow the issue of uncovered notes. The economic and financial stabilisation of the State would make it possible to carry out social reforms, especially old-age and disablement insurance, together with pensions for widows and orphans. The Government would make very considerable efforts to the rapid application of Agrarian reform, and would adjust the relations between the State and the Churches by an

agreement which would be of mutual benefit. The results of the census would enable them to deal with national and social problems by applying the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

The foreign policy of Czechoslovakia was directed during this year, as well as in the preceding years, by Dr. Eduard Benes, the present Premier, who during and since the war sprang into prominence as the chief collaborator of President Masaryk. The aim of Dr. Benes' foreign policy, as explained in a statement made by Dr. Benes in the Czechoslovak National Assembly on January 27, has been to create the stability so necessary in Central Europe. In accordance with this policy, Dr. Benes during the year furthered the establishment of relationships with the neighbouring and remoter States, such as Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, and Rumania, and in every possible way he encouraged the conclusion of commercial and economic agreements.

This policy led to the formation of the so-called Little Entente between Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Rumania, concluded on April 23, 1921, and to the agreement with Poland arrived at on November 9, 1921. This alliance between Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Poland, and Rumania is not only political in character, but has also a great economic importance in view of the fact that it constitutes an economic area which is almost self-supporting. As a matter of fact, the four States supplement each other admirably. While the Czechoslovak Republic is predominantly an industrial State which needs foreign markets for its products, both Jugo-Slavia and Rumania are, on the other hand, almost exclusively agricultural States exporting grain, cattle, and raw materials.

The Little Entente has already played a great part in frustrating ex-King Karl's two attempts at restoration in Hungary. The first was in March, the second in October of the year 1921. Immediately on hearing of Karl's return, the Czechoslovak, Jugo-Slav, and Rumanian representatives at Budapest demanded the immediate expulsion of Karl from Hungary, which demand was complied with by the Hungarian Government.

Czechoslovakia's relations with Austria were friendly. The Czechoslovaks have striven to help Austria in her economic stress to the best of their ability. In this connexion the meeting of President Masaryk with the Austrian President Herr Heinisch, which took place on November 15 and 16 at President Masaryk's residence at Lany, was of special significance. During this visit of the Austrian President and Chancellor, a commercial and political treaty was concluded between Czechoslovakia and Austria. Questions regarding the resumption of normal economic intercourse among the Central European States were dealt with by the Conference of the succession States held at Porto Rose and concluded on November 25. Czechoslovakia

from the very beginning was in favour of this economic Conference, for she fully realised that it was by this means that transport communications could be restored to normal conditions, and the exchange of goods facilitated.

The relations between Italy and Czechoslovakia have also been of a cordial character. As regards the relations with Germany, Czechoslovakia desires them to be established on good neighbourly terms. They are conditioned by the geographical proximity of the two States, and by the economic intercourse. Czechoslovakia's relations with Great Britain and France are of the best.

As for Czechoslovakia's financial position, Dr. Novak, the present Minister of Finance, stated on October 8 that the Government will continue the struggle against monetary inflation, and will demand economy in all the administrative departments. The circulation of foreign securities will be partly decontrolled to facilitate export trade, the State possessing a reserve of such securities derived from the export of sugar and malt. The collapse of the rate of exchange in neighbouring States produced only a passing disturbance in the financial affairs of Czechoslovakia. Dr. Novak is also confident that after considerable reductions in expenditure the deficit in the Budget for the next year, amounting to 800,000,000 crowns, will be almost entirely disposed of.

Dr. Novak stated further that the internal economic and financial position of Czechoslovakia is steadily improving, and foreign trade shows a good credit balance. Trade Agreements have been concluded with all the neighbouring States, with the exception of Hungary, and the result of these Trade Agreements has been a gradual decontrol of imports and exports. During the early transitory period this Government control was necessary both for financial and political reasons, and also for the protection of Czechoslovak industries. The gradual decontrol of foreign trade will lead to normal conditions, under which there will be an almost entirely unrestricted import and export trade. It will be necessary to retain only the customs duties which, as in other countries, will have to be adapted to the altered economic conditions, and the change which has taken place in the industrial situation.

#### HUNGARY.

The year 1921 was marked by foreign complications which have reacted upon the internal situation of the country, and prevented it from making any real progress. The Treaty of Trianon, which was finally ratified on July 26 of this year, has isolated Hungary. Endless negotiations are necessary to provide the country with the most urgent necessities, such as coal, timber, iron, clothing, etc., which the old Hungary possessed in abundance, but which it now has to beg, at the price

of humiliations, from its neighbours. Moreover, the partition of Hungary and the consequent absorption of millions of Magyars by Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Serbia renders an ever-watchful foreign policy necessary for the defence of the Hungarians under their rule. It is this situation which has driven the country into foreign adventures, even against her better judgment.

Among other things efforts were made (by Count Teleky) to renew the old friendship with England. The result of the policy was the granting of a monopoly for the d'Arcy Exploration Co., for the exploitation of the Hungarian oil wells, and a series of concessions to British capitalists. The contract with the d'Arcy Exploration Co. (belonging to the Persian Oil and Royal Dutch concern) was signed on December 2, 1920. By it the Company has to pay 100,000*l.* for the right of exploration and 10 per cent. of the output to the Hungarian State, while the Hungarian State has the right to buy shares, up to 250,000*l.* from the Company. The Cunard Line also obtained a kind of monopoly in January, 1921, for the transport of the Hungarian emigrants to America, and the majority of the shares of the Hungarian navigation companies have been bought up by the English Danube Navigation Co. founded on November 26, 1920, under the Chairmanship of Sir Frederic Louis. Thus English domination of the Danube seems to be assured; while through the Anglo-Hungarian Bank and some other financial and industrial undertakings, British capitalists have obtained a new foothold in the economic life of Hungary.

Italy concluded an arrangement with Serbia directed against Hungary, and even menaced the latter with energetic measures on the occasion of the final adjudication of Western Hungary to Austria, on 26 September, 1921, when the Entente ultimatum was forwarded demanding from Hungary the immediate evacuation of the Western districts.

After these disillusionments public opinion realised at last that Hungary was completely isolated, and that the policy of "orientations" having failed, it was absolutely necessary that a *modus vivendi* of some sort should be found with the succession States encircling Hungary. As this could only be done on an economic basis, the saner part of public opinion (tired of the agitation of irresponsible politicians, mostly belonging to the "Awakening Hungarians Society") loudly demanded the appointment of Dr. Gratz, former Hungarian Ambassador in Vienna, as the only Hungarian diplomatist capable of carrying on economic negotiations.

An opportunity for Dr. Gratz to enter the Ministry was afforded by the resignation of the Teleky Cabinet (on Dec. 3, 1920) after the ratification of the Trianon Peace Treaty by the Hungarian Parliament. The new Teleky Cabinet was formed on December 17, 1920, and was composed of the following Ministers: Premier, Count Teleky; Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gratz;

Finances, Hegedüs; Interior, Ferdinandy. The other seats were kept by the Ministers of the previous Cabinet.

Dr. Gratz had already succeeded in concluding a provisional commercial Treaty with Austria; but hardly had he grasped the reins of power, when he was forced to realise that relations with the succession States could not be fixed on a purely economic basis, both on account of their political exactions, and of the pressure of political parties at home. Even with Austria, which needs Hungarian agricultural products more than any other country, it was found impossible to turn the provisional Treaty into a definite one, because the Peace Treaty had left an apple of discord between the two countries—the question of Western Hungary, which, in spite of Gratz's goodwill, could not be settled with mutual satisfaction.

In connexion with these events, it should be mentioned that the Hungarian troops (both Government and voluntary) offered a fierce resistance to the Austrian forces which tried to take possession of Western Hungary, and succeeded in making them withdraw. It was in consequence of this that the Entente ultimatum above mentioned was sent to Hungary, after which Hungary had to yield. The Entente, however, consented to a plebiscite being taken on a small fraction (Sopron and the neighbouring villages) of the territory to be ceded to Austria, and on October 9, 1921, a final agreement was signed in Venice between Austria and Hungary regarding the execution of the plebiscite.

Dr. Gratz entered into negotiations with Czechoslovakia, although its Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Benes, had just then founded the "Little Entente," which was manifestly directed against Hungary. Hungarian public opinion demanded loudly that the interests of the Hungarian minorities under foreign rule should be defended at these economic negotiations. But none of the succession States would give satisfactory assurances on this head, while on their side they made political demands of Hungary, especially as regards the restoration of a Hapsburg ruler to the throne of St. Stephen.

Had Dr. Gratz only had to take into account the strong anti-Hapsburg feeling of the most powerful political party, the "Small Holders' Party" representing the agricultural population of Hungary, he could easily have given assurances on this matter. But a concession of this kind would have constituted a precedent for further interference in Hungary's internal affairs on the part of the succession States, and the majority of the military, the aristocracy, and the Roman Catholic clergy would never have consented to it.

In spite of this double difficulty Dr. Gratz did his best to carry on the negotiations, when the arrival of King Charles in Hungary on March 28, 1921, put an end to all possibilities of an understanding. This event, although the Government was not to blame for it, shattered Dr. Gratz's position, and he was



forced to resign, having shown himself too pro-Hapsburg for the taste of the "Small Holders' Party."

A further effect of King Charles's first visit and the international complications which ensued was that, a few days after Dr. Gratz's departure, the second Teleky Government had also to resign, and was succeeded on April 14 by Count Bethlen's Cabinet, in which Dr. Gratz was replaced by Count Bánffy.

The negotiations initiated by Dr. Gratz were resumed in June by his successor Count Bánffy, former manager of the Hungarian royal opera, a clever playwright, painter, and musician, but hardly equal to the tremendous task imposed upon him. Nevertheless the *pourparlers* proceeded, somewhat languishingly it is true, when the unfortunate events occurred in Western Hungary which prevented a conclusion of any sort being arrived at.

The Teleky Government was not much more successful in its home policy. Its constructive activity was exhausted by the Land Reform Law, voted much against the inner conviction of the Cabinet, under the pressure of the powerful "Small Holders' Party," after manifold concessions on the part of its leader, the Minister for Agriculture, Nagyatádi Szabo.

The Land Reform Law, as passed by the Teleky Government, is a transformation into a capitalistic measure of the Socialist Land Reform Law of 1918, passed under the Karolyi regime. This Socialist measure provided for the distribution among the small-holders and the landless peasants of the great landed properties of the aristocracy and the clergy without compensation, whereas the new law obliges the prospective owner or, if he has not sufficient funds, the State, to buy his portion from the old proprietors. Apart from the fact that neither the landless people nor the State have sufficient financial means to buy, and much less to develop such properties, even if the whole of the 1,617,757 acres contained in the large estates were to be divided among the small owners and the landless folk, it would be far from sufficient, as at least 5,000,000 acres are required to satisfy the claims of all of those who are entitled to obtain land according to the new law. But the Land Reform Bill does not even provide for the partition of all the great estates, and only in a very restricted measure for that of the middle-sized estates, so that vast numbers of the land-hungry peasant farmers (who have the right to acquire 10 to 15 acres) and the landless people (who are allowed to buy 3 acres each) must wait in vain.

For the rest, the legislative activity of the Parliament and Government was concentrated on the wholesale manufacturing of laws consolidating the present governmental system and rendering impossible any attempt at opposition. Such were, besides the *numerus clausus* educational law (allowing only 5 per cent. of Jews to receive higher instruction), the dissolution of all Free Mason societies and lodges, regulations against the

political activity of the Social-Democratic Party, the suppression of the right of assembly, the confiscation of the licences and premises of a number of cinema owners (almost without exception Jews), and their transference, without any compensation, to elements more likely to support the Governmental Party; and, last but not least, an extremely Draconian law for the defence of "social order" (a sort of Hungarian variation of the English "Dora"), culminating in the severe punishment of those even who would not denounce any activity directed against the present political regime. There are also similar penalties against those who say or write anything that might harm the good reputation of Hungary in foreign countries. This law was passed on April 5 after a keen fight between its author, the Lord Chief Justice Mr. Tomesányi, and the more liberal-minded members of Parliament, who are unfortunately in a hopeless minority. The chief danger of this law lies in the fact that through an intentional lack of precision, especially regarding what is to be considered as "information doing harm to the reputation of Hungary," it gives absolutely arbitrary powers to the Attorney-General, who can use it against anybody opposed to the Government.

As these laws and measures did nothing to remedy the hardships of Hungary or prevent its economic dissolution, the public at last impatiently demanded a positive constructive policy, and the Governmental Party, to allay the discontent, appointed as Chancellor of the Exchequer a Liberal, Mr. Hegedüs (Dec. 14, 1920). The financial reforms inaugurated by the new Minister consisted mainly in an heroic effort to improve the value of Hungarian currency on the international money market, by stopping the printing of bank notes and by imposing extraordinarily heavy taxation on the population, including a capital levy of 20 per cent. At first these measures were crowned with success, as within a few months the Hungarian exchange improved and the cost of living went down. M. Hegedüs committed the mistake of making the reform exclusively financial, without doing anything to promote trade and industrial production. Even so the beneficial results of his regime would have lasted much longer had not political events undermined his position. The first blow was the visit of King Charles resulting in both international and internal complications; the second was dealt by the revelations of Mr. Beniczky concerning the excesses, which confirmed the report of Colonel Wedgwood, and which were largely exploited by the enemies of the country; the third and most serious blow to Mr. Hegedüs' programme was dealt by the "Small Holders' Party," which refused to vote the capital levy on landed property as demanded by the "financial dictator" of Hungary. Finally came the events of Western Hungary, causing the relapse of the krone to its last year's value.

The consequences of this agitation reached their climax

during the last two months of 1921 in the renewed attempt of King Charles to seize the throne of Hungary. Charles IV., along with his wife Queen Zita, left Switzerland on an aeroplane on October 21 and arrived the same day at Dènesfalva (Western Hungary), where he met Count Andrassy, who "happened" to be there. From there they proceeded to Sopron, where the King and Queen were received with royal honours by General Lehar and Colonel Ostenburg, Commanders of the Hungarian forces in Western Hungary. From Sopron the King issued a proclamation in which he asserted his rights to the Hungarian throne. At the same time he nominated Mr. Rakowszky (former Speaker of the House of Commons) as Premier, and charged him with the formation of a Cabinet. Then with three military trains the King and his followers began their march towards Budapest. The local garrisons on the way joined the King's forces and advanced without encountering much resistance on the part of the forces of Admiral Horthy (Governor of Hungary) until they reached Budaors, on the outskirts of Budapest. Meanwhile the Government despatched Mr. Vass, Secretary of State for Public Instruction, to the King to ask him for the sake of his country's welfare to desist from his attempt. Mr. Vass, however, was not even admitted to the King's presence, and civil war became inevitable. The troops of the Government, mainly composed of University students, succeeded in arresting the forward march of the King's troops, until the arrival of the main forces made it possible to defeat them decisively. The King, his wife, Count Andrassy, Rakowszky, and Dr. Gratz, as well as Colonel Ostenburg, were arrested, but General Lehar succeeded in escaping. The royal couple were first interned in the castle of Prince Eszterházy and afterwards in the monastery of Tihany.

Meanwhile the political situation became exceedingly menacing, and in spite of the determination shown by the Government to prevent King Charles taking possession of the throne, the Czechs and the Serbs threatened to invade Hungary. It was only with great difficulty that the Entente succeeded in averting this new calamity, by declaring that England would take the responsibility of preventing the Hapsburgs from returning to Hungary, by interning Charles IV. and Queen Zita.

At the same time (Oct. 31) the Entente Powers sent an ultimatum to Hungary demanding the rescinding of all rights to Hungary's throne on the part of all members of the Hapsburg family. In consequence of this the law for dethroning the Hapsburgs was passed by the House of Commons on November 6, 1921. It was largely due to the strong anti-Hapsburg feelings of the "Small Holders' Party" that this law did not meet with as much resistance as was at first expected.

After the failure of the "putsch," the chief followers of the King, namely, Count Andrassy, Rakowszky, Dr. Gratz and Beniczky, were imprisoned, and were only released on parole

at the end of December. Their trial will probably take place in February, 1922.

Charles IV. and his wife left Hungary on December 3, on board the *Gloworm*, an English gunboat, and were interned on the Isle of Madeira.

As a consequence of the Karlist "putsch" the Bethlen Cabinet resigned on November 15, and a new Bethlen Cabinet was formed on December 3, by the substitution for the former Minister of Interior of Count Klebelsberg, for the former Chancellor of the Exchequer of Mr. Kállay, and for the Secretary of State for Agriculture, Mr. Nagyatádi Szabo, of his follower and friend Mayer. The new Bethlen Cabinet carried to a successful issue the plebiscite of Sopron, which took place on December 16, 1921, and in which Hungary won with an overwhelming majority, but apart from this has done nothing of consequence.

#### RUMANIA.

During the whole of the year 1921 the Coalition Government of the People's Party and the Conservative Democrats, presided over by General Averescu, was in power. Two great reforms were carried out during the war, one in the sphere of land-holding and the other in that of finance.

For the last fifty years the land question has been one of the most important issues, and on its sound solution depended the future of the whole political formation of Rumania. Since the revolts of the peasants in 1907, the land question has become acute, and its solution more pressing, and the outbreak of the Balkan War compelled all the political parties to come to a compromise on the subject. The Great War, and specially the Russian Revolution, hastened the distribution of the land among the peasants. The principle upon which the land reform is based, is that the State takes over at a price all the landed estates exceeding 300 hectares in extent, save only the vineyards, forests, orchards, and oilfields. The land is then divided among the peasants who are bound to pay the cost of it to the State in yearly allotments extended for a long period.

The financial reforms were also of capital importance. They included the taxation of capital and the introduction of excess profits duty. The taxation of land is also for the first time established on a just basis, and the great masses of the peasant farmers who hitherto nursed a grievance will now pay the taxes on a just scale proportionate to their income. Taxation on luxuries has also been introduced. The author of the financial reforms which are of a daring and unique character is Mr. N. Titulescu, the newly appointed Rumanian Minister in London. He is a distinguished lawyer (still under forty years), Professor at the Bucharest University, and a brilliant orator.

The foreign policy of Rumania has been in accord with the general principles of Allied policy. The Little Entente was

strengthened during the year 1921 and established on a more solid basis. It is an instrument of economic stabilisation and trade revival, as well as a preventive measure against any attempt to change the actual political situation in the former Hapsburg Monarchy. Rumania has also concluded Military Alliances with Czechoslovakia and Jugo-Slavia, both of a purely defensive character. The Alliance concluded in March, 1921, with Poland, though not yet ratified and not so popular, is also of a defensive character, and could be denounced in two years' time.

The marriages between the Rumanian, Greek, and Serbian Royal families are not of a political character, though they are bound to exercise some influence on politics.

The Averescu Ministry resigned on December 17, 1921, after having been in office for a year and ten months, and was succeeded by a Cabinet under the Presidency of M. Torke Jonescu.

#### THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES.

On January 2 the Coalition Cabinet of M. Pashitch, composed of Radicals and Democrats with the co-operation of the Bosniaks and Herzegovinians and Moslem Party, came into power. The stumbling-block in the House at this time seemed the rules of procedure drafted by the late Vesnitch Cabinet, to which all parties were hostile. The Republicans also created trouble for the Government; indeed, in order to emphasise their anti-monarchical position M. Raditch and his party held aloof from the Assembly altogether, and refused to co-operate with M. Pashitch.

About this time a pension of 300,000 francs a year was voted by the Government to ex-King Nicholas of Montenegro and Queen Milena. The ex-King died on March 1 (see Obituary, p. 115).

M. Kosta Stojanovitch, who held the portfolio of Finance, died soon after the appointment of the new Cabinet, and was succeeded by M. Kumanudi. M. Stojanovitch was a great economic scholar, a member of the Peace Delegation of the Versailles Conference, and a delegate to the Rapallo Treaty, and his loss was a severe one for the country.

Early in the year Jugo-Slavia received great numbers of Russian refugees, among them General Wrangel and the remnants of his army.

Communism at this time was beginning to raise its head in the country, and was severely combated by the Government. In the New Year a Bolshevist plot was discovered and promptly dealt with.

During February the Temperley-Bryce report on Montenegro was published, and this definitely established that the Montenegrins were almost unanimous in wanting to join the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

According to a census taken in 1921, the population of Belgrade was given as 110,319, including 5,000 foreigners. Of the total population 93,663 were Orthodox, 9,109 Roman Catholic, 1,053 Mohammedan, 4,701 Jews, and 50 of no religion.

At the end of March the whole of Central Europe was disturbed by the attempt of the ex-Emperor Karl to regain the Hungarian throne, and the Government of Jugo-Slavia intimated to the Magyar Government that the return of the Hapsburgs would not be tolerated.

In April, M. Protitch withdrew from the Radical Party, of which he had been the leader since the liberation. His somewhat *intransigent* character had been an obstacle in many Coalitions.

M. Drashkovitch, Minister of the Interior, after making sensational disclosures in the Parliament on the Communist plot of the previous winter, resigned his portfolio on the ground of ill-health. Unfortunately this Minister, who could ill be spared to the country, was the victim of the Communists; his life was attempted in May, and he was assassinated in the presence of his children on July 21, while recuperating in the country.

In June M. Pashitch was faced with the resignation of some of his Ministers, the most important withdrawals being those of Dr. Spaho and Dr. Karamehmedovitch, who complained of M. Pashitch breaking faith with them.

As this meant a reduction of the Government majority, the Premier did his best to persuade them to stay in the Cabinet. This they eventually promised to do, provided they received 60,000,000 dinars compensation for the Moslem losses under the Agrarian reform within a short period of time, and they had a Mohammedan head of their department in the Ministry of Religion, in addition to the settling of other small matters. These proposals were agreed to by M. Pashitch.

Early in June M. Dimitroff, the Bulgarian Minister, visited Belgrade, and the interview which he had with M. Pashitch was a good augury for a better future understanding between the two countries.

Another visitor about this time was M. Také Jonsescu, who received a very warm welcome from the Jugo-Slavs. His visit was in connexion with the signing of a military convention between Rumania and Jugo-Slavia with the object of strengthening the Little Entente.

In June 10,000,000 gold kronen were deposited in the vaults of the National Bank as the Jugo-Slav share of the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. In addition to this a Commission proceeded to Paris to receive 6,000,000 gold marks as an instalment of Serbia's war indemnity.

During the early part of the summer much anxiety was felt for the health of King Peter, and his death was rumoured on

more than one occasion. He rallied, however, and lived until August 16 (for an obituary notice of King Peter, see *Obituary*, p. 141).

On July 3 an attempt was made on the life of the Prince Regent, a Communist throwing a bomb at him as he was leaving the Parliament after taking the oath to the New Constitution. Fortunately he escaped injury, but about ten people were hurt as a result of the explosion. As a result of this act the Communist Party was thoroughly out of favour in the Skupstina, and the revelations of the plot on the Regent's life eventually led to the expulsion of three Communist members of Parliament.

The most important political event of the year was the adoption of the new Constitution for Jugo-Slavia. There was a good deal of difference of opinion in the country as to the nature of the proposed Constitution. Some were for a Constitution providing for a Federal State with Home Rule for Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Macedonia; others for a centralised State. The coming to power of the Pashitch Cabinet at the beginning of 1921 denoted the triumph of the second idea. Six months were occupied in the preparation and adoption of the new Constitution. A special Ministry for the Constitution was set up at once, and placed in charge of Dr. Lazar Markovitch, who was responsible for drafting the Government's projected Constitution and shepherding it through the National Assembly. The Constitution is wholly democratic in spirit. It proclaims the absolute equality of all citizens before the law, and abolishes titles of nobility and all privileges of birth. The intense democratic feeling in the country was against a Second Chamber, or Senate, and the Constitution provides for only one Chamber. The new State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is declared by the Constitution to be a constitutional, parliamentary, and hereditary monarchy in the dynasty of King Peter Karageorgevitch. The Constitution was finally adopted on June 28. But while it was accepted by the majority of the Chamber, in Croatia the movement for Croatian Home Rule is gaining in strength.

At the end of July the British Danube flotilla paid an official visit to Belgrade and was much fêted by the inhabitants.

About this time the Skupstina was summoned in order to pass a special measure to deal with the Communist menace. The whole country was aroused by the assassination of M. Drashkovitch on July 21; and a measure was passed, the Defence of the Realm Act, the provisions of which were very stringent, prescribing the death penalty in certain cases, and the Communist Party in Parliament was annulled.

During the summer the Albanian and Jugo-Slav frontiers were the scene of small raids and attacks (see *Albania*). But the trouble gradually died down after the appeal of the Albanians to the League of Nations in November, and the subsequent

withdrawal of Serbian troops from certain disputed areas; and the feeling now between the two countries is improving.

In the middle of October ex-King Karl made another attempt to regain the throne of Hungary, and his return was considered a *casus belli*, and the first and fourth armies were mobilised, together with those of the other countries of the Little Entente. Poland and Italy also showed a united front against the return of a Hapsburg, and the timely arrest of the ex-King put an end to these alarms.

By the beginning of November King Alexander, who when his father died was in Paris, ill with appendicitis, was back in Belgrade, and took the oath of accession to the throne in the Skupstina.

At the beginning of December there was a political crisis and M. Pashitch handed in his resignation to the King, but was prevailed upon to continue in office.

During the year the value of the dinar decreased from 145 to 345 dinars to the £. The pre-war exchange was 25 dinars. At the end of the year it stood at about 270.

The Budget for 1920-21 was 3,994,356,543 dinars, and the National Debt about 3,456,000,000 French francs.

A beginning was made with social legislation by the passing of a Workmen's Insurance Act in October.

#### TURKEY.

In reviewing the principal events during the year 1921 in the history of Turkey, it is necessary to distinguish between the Turkey of Constantinople and that of Angora. The latter is perhaps the more important and active factor in what was once the united Empire of the Sultans. The Angora or Nationalist Turkish State was "founded" in 1919 as the result of what is known as the "Erzeroum Pact" or political programme voted by a Congress of Turkish revolutionary Nationalists held in Erzeroum under the presidency of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, an ex-officer of the Sultan's Army and now the leader of this New Turkey and head of the Independent Turkish Government of Angora.

When the year opened Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the Angora Government were practically in open revolt against the Government of the Sultan, and after having concluded a semi-official alliance with Soviet Russia, were engaged in waging war against the Greek forces in Asia Minor. Early in January a mission under Izzet Pasha was despatched by the Government of the Sultan to Angora for the purpose of persuading Kemal Pasha to come to terms. But no sooner had Izzet Pasha and his mission safely arrived in Angora (January 16) than they declared their intention of remaining there unless the Allies consented to modify the Sèvres Treaty and satisfy the Nationalist demands, in particular the return of Smyrna, Thrace, and the islands



ceded to Greece after the Balkan wars, and the evacuation by the Allies of Constantinople and the Straits. In the meantime the official Turkish Government in Constantinople, practically a mere shadow, conceded all the demands of the Allies, whose forces were in occupation of the capital and the Straits. On January 22 an agreement was arrived at establishing a provisional Inter-Allied Control of the State expenditure and revenue of Turkey. This agreement was immediately followed by the resignation of the Minister of Finance, who was succeeded by Abdullah Bey, Minister of Public Works.

On January 30 Mustapha Kemal Pasha officially notified the Constantinople Grand Vizier that the Angora Nationalist Government was the only Government in Turkey.

Meanwhile relations between Moscow and Angora became closer daily and resulted in the resignation, on February 3, of the Angora Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha, one of the chief opponents of a Turkish-Bolshevist pact. The new Foreign Minister is Bekir Sami Bey, late special Envoy of the Angora Government to Moscow.

After a protracted controversy as to which faction, Constantinople or Angora, should represent Turkey at the London Conference to be called by the Allied Supreme Council to solve the Near-Eastern problem, Angora at last decided (February 8) to send a separate mission to London, which, officially forming part of a single or unified Turkish Delegation, should at the same time keep aloof from the Constantinople section. The two sections of the Turkish Delegation arrived in London simultaneously on February 18; the Constantinople faction headed by Ahmed Tewfik Pasha, accompanied by Reshid Pasha, Osman Nizami Pasha, and Djavid Pasha (who came later); and the Angora group with Bekir Sami Bey as leader. For a few days each section assumed an "independent" attitude, but a fusion of the two groups soon took place, and Bekir Sami Bey became the chief Turkish delegate. (For details of London Conference see under Greece.) It transpired later that Bekir Sami Bey in the course of his stay in London concluded two separate Treaties, one with France and the other with Italy. The latter Treaty, signed on behalf of Italy by Count Sforza, provided for an Italo-Turkish collaboration, with a right of priority for Italy in certain economic concessions to be granted by the Turkish State in the Sanjaks of Adalia, Ispaha, Burdur, and partly in those of Afium-Karahissar and Kutahia, the Italian Government in return binding itself to use its influence with the Allies on behalf of Turkish demands, particularly in connexion with the restitution of Smyrna and Thrace. Italy also pledged herself to withdraw all her troops from Turkish territory.

In the meantime the internal situation in the new independent State of Georgia became critical, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha used this as an excuse for interfering there. On March 10 Turkish troops occupied the Georgian (late Russian) port and

town of Batoum, only to be attacked and expelled a few days later by the Georgian Army, which had suddenly turned Bolshevik. On March 16 a Treaty was concluded between Soviet Russia, represented by Chicherin, Russian People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, and Djelal Korkmazov, member of the All-Russian Soviet Executive, and Nationalist Turkey, represented by Youssouf Kemal Bey, Commissary of National Economy in the Angora Government, Dr. Riza Nour Bey, Commissary of Education, and Ali Fouad Pasha, Turkish Ambassador to Moscow, according to which each contracting party pledged itself not to recognise any treaty or agreement imposed on the other party by force. The Russians in addition undertook not to recognise any treaty or other agreement concluded by the Constantinople Turkish Government. The second clause of this pact provided for the abandonment by the Angora Government of its rights to Batoum in favour of Georgia. Other clauses provided for the setting up of an independent province of Nachatchivan under the protectorate of Azerbaijan, the regulation of Turko-Russian frontiers, and the convocation of a special Congress to decide on the internationalisation of the Black Sea and the Straits of Constantinople, the abolition of the system of capitulations, the repatriation of prisoners of war, etc.

The Franco-Turkish agreement concluded by Bekir Sami Bey had not yet been ratified by the Angora Government by the end of March, and on the last day of that month fighting broke out between French and Turkish forces in Cilicia. The Angora Government, as the result of its successful stand against the Greeks in Asia Minor and its attitude of inflexible hostility to the Allies, continued to increase the numbers of its adherents among the Turks, and even Prince Damad Omar Effendi, son-in-law of the Sultan and son of the Heir-Apparent, succumbed to the glamour of Angora, and escaped from Constantinople to Asia Minor in order to join the Nationalists. On arriving at İneboli, however, he was informed that Mustapha Kemal Pasha did not require his services. Military operations between the Turks and the French continued in Cilicia, and as the result of a battle on the Bagdad railway, 38 miles to the north of Alexandretta, the French were forced to retire. Simultaneously debates on the Franco-Turkish Treaty concluded in March in London by Bekir Sami Bey were resumed in the Angora National Assembly. The moderate elements led by Bekir Sami Bey and supported by the Conservatives favoured a ratification, while the extremists under Remzi Pasha and Mukhtar Bey, prompted by Moscow, opposed it. As a result of the opposition to the Treaty Bekir Sami Bey resigned, and a Cabinet crisis ensued. On March 22 a new Angora Cabinet was formed, in which the extremists gained the upper hand. The Cabinet included Fevzi Pasha—Grand Vizier and Minister (or "Commissary") of War; Youssouf Kemal Bey—Foreign Affairs; Ala-Bey—Interior; Fehmi-Bey—Sheikh-ul-Islam; Hassan-Bey—

Finance; Jellad-Bey—Supplies; Rewfik-Bey—Public Health; Rewfik Shefket Bey—Justice; Omer Lufi Bey—Public Works; Hamdullah Bey—Education.

Early in June the Italian representative at Adalia informed the Turkish Governor of the withdrawal of Italian forces in accordance with the Italo-Turkish Treaty. About the same time M. Franklin-Bouillon, President of the Foreign Relations Committee of the French Senate, arrived in Constantinople nominally "in a private capacity" but really on a diplomatic mission, and shortly afterwards he proceeded to Angora. In the meantime military operations between the Greeks and Turks in Anatolia continued with varying success (see under Greece). Following M. Franklin-Bouillon's visit to Angora, Bekir Sami Bey came to Paris to pursue the negotiations for a definite Franco-Turkish Pact. As the Russian desire to be given a free hand in propagating Communism among the population of Anatolia did not meet with enthusiasm in Angora, relations between the latter and Moscow became strained, a not insignificant rôle in this estrangement being played by Enver Pasha, a personal enemy of Kemal Pasha's, and now more or less permanently established in Moscow.

During the month of June the Angora Government after protracted negotiations released the first batch of British prisoners held by the Nationalists. Early in July Mustapha Kemal Pasha requested General Harrington for a personal interview, to which the latter acceded. The interview, however, did not take place "in view of the new and most absurd conditions put forward by the Nationalists." The friendly relations between Turkey and Italy which appeared to have been established by the Italo-Turkish agreement concluded in London were marred by the hostile attitude of the Turks on the occasion of the departure of Italian troops from Adalia, and Kemal's refusal to receive the Italian representative sent to Angora. On July 22 Bekir Sami Bey handed to M. Briand a definite scheme for a new Franco-Turkish Agreement. In the meantime, on July 30, the Angora National Assembly ratified by 202 votes against 1 the Turco-Russian Treaty concluded in March. At the same time a Kemalist news agency announced that the Nationalist Government had disowned Bekir Sami Bey, and had not authorised him and his companion, Arif Bey, to conduct any negotiations with foreign Governments.

About the beginning of September a plot subsidised from Angora was discovered by the British authorities in Constantinople aimed against the Allied forces. On September 14 M. Franklin-Bouillon, the French unofficial emissary, once more proceeded via Constantinople to Angora to resume negotiations for a Franco-Kemalist agreement, which was eventually signed on October 20, by M. Franklin-Bouillon and the Kemalist representatives, and ratified by the French Government on October 30. The agreement, which is to begin to operate from

January 4, 1922, has for its primary object the re-establishment of peace on the frontiers of Syria and Cilicia, the reduction of French effectives in the Levant, the restitution of the section of the Bagdad railway between the Euphrates and the Tigris to the Turks, with equal rights for both contracting parties to transport their troops. Other clauses provided for a special regime in the Alexandretta region, protecting the rights of the Turkish population, for the recognition of Turkish as one of the official languages in Cilicia, and the protection of the rights of minorities. Reports were published in Turkey to the effect that according to certain secret clauses of the Franco-Turkish Treaty France undertook to support the Turkish claims to Thrace and Smyrna, obtaining in her turn preferential commercial treatment and the recognition of the French schools in Turkey. The immediate effect of the Treaty and the pending withdrawal of French troops from Cilicia was a mass exodus of Greeks and Armenians fleeing in fear of Turkish reprisals.

The Angora Government continued its development on "constitutional" lines, a Bill being introduced (Nov. 1) into the National Assembly making the Cabinet fully responsible to Parliament. At the same time a special commission of twenty-five members was appointed to examine the Turkish Constitution of 1908 and suggest necessary modifications.

The year concluded with a renewed declaration by Mustapha Kemal Pasha that his Government is the one and only Government of Turkey, and his intention to return to Constantinople where the power of the Sultan will be limited "in accordance with the principles of popular government."

#### GREECE.

The end of 1920 with the tragic death of King Alexander, the fall of M. Venezelos and the dramatic return of King Constantine to the throne brought Greece once more to the fore in international politics. Although "unrecognised" by the great Allied Powers, King Constantine resumed his interrupted reign amidst frantic acclamations of the population, a wave of anti-Venezelist reprisals, and dark war-clouds in Anatolia where the Turkish Nationalist leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, was daily increasing his following and proclaiming a Holy War to stir up the entire Moslem world.

On January 4 King Constantine inaugurated his reinstatement in his constitutional rights and duties by opening the newly elected Chamber of Deputies. In his speech from the Throne the King expressed his intention of continuing the campaign in Asia Minor, and declared the Chamber to be a National Assembly. One of the features of the opening ceremony was the absence of all Liberal or Venezelist members. The anti-Venezelist campaign, in spite of all statements to the contrary, did not appear to have died down. On January 5 Athens

was the scene of another wanton act of political vendetta—the murder of Colonel Fatseas, a prominent Venezelist officer.

The intention declared in the royal speech at the opening of the Chamber of resuming the war against Kemal was supported by an official report issued on January 10 of a renewal of the Greek offensive to the north-east of Smyrna and in the Brussa area, and the same day the Greeks occupied Belejik. On the following day the Greek Liberal organ *Patris* published a letter from Nice, where M. Venezelos was residing at the time, confirming the Greek statesman's final decision to retire from politics. This decision was naturally not displeasing to the supporters of King Constantine, who a little later found another cause for jubilation when the King of Italy received the newly appointed Greek Minister to Rome (Jan. 13). Thus Italy was the first among foreign Allied and neutral Powers to recognise King Constantine. But the enthusiasm was soon damped by the joint representations made on the 20th to the Greek Government by the British and French Ministers in Athens on the transformation of the Chamber into a National Assembly. This action by the two Allied Governments was declared to be based on the rights of the Powers in question as guarantors of the Hellenic Constitution, rights which they considered as still existent, since the Treaty of Sèvres, in which they were surrendered, had not yet been ratified by all the signatories. Early in February the Allied Supreme Council invited the Greek and Turkish Governments to attend a Conference to be held in the latter part of the month in London with the object of bringing about peace between the two countries. The invitation was coldly received in Athens, and was the cause of a split in the Rallis Cabinet on the score of wounded personal vanities. M. Gounaris, Minister of War, the real leader of the Constantinist faction, who, in deference to Allied public opinion, which had stigmatised him as a pro-German, had after the defeat of the Venezelists been compelled to renounce his claims to the Premiership in favour of the less compromised M. Rallis, after being also refused the Presidency of the Greek Delegation to the London Conference, resigned, bringing about a ministerial crisis. The Rallis Cabinet was succeeded by a new Government with M. Kalogeropoulos, of no outstanding political ability, but having the reputation of an Entente-phile, as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Gounaris resuming his post as Minister of War, M. Protopapadakis—Finance and Supplies, M. Th. Zaimis—Education, M. P. Mavromichalis—Agriculture and National Economy, M. Tsaldaris—Interior and Communications, M. Theotokis—Justice, M. Rallis, junior—Marine. Apparently M. Gounaris continued to press his claims to be chief Greek delegate at the London Conference, but according to the Greek Press, "on learning the unfavourable impression created in London by the reports of his intention to represent Greece," he agreed to the nomination of M. Kalogeropoulos. Meanwhile,

the promises held out to the Greek masses by the Constantinists in the course of their electoral campaign, for the early cessation of hostilities and of mobilisations, the reduction of taxation, and the regulation of the labour question on lines proposed by the Socialist Party, which supported the anti-Venezelist campaign, not having been redeemed, internal unrest among the urban proletariat began to manifest itself in a series of industrial strikes (gas, electric light, tramway and electric railway workers) in Athens, and threatened to develop into a general stoppage of work all over the country (Feb. 12). The Liberal Party which had up till then held itself aloof from politics decided, in view of the fact that the fate of Greece and of her new territorial acquisitions were in the balance in London, to renounce its attitude of passive opposition, and in all matters of national importance which possessed an international aspect, to join the "united national front." This, together with certain declarations made by M. Venezelos to the foreign Press in which he declared his whole-hearted support of the national aspirations, gave birth to rumours regarding a *rapprochement* between the ex-Premier and King Constantine. But the rumours were short-lived, for M. Venezelos, on February 16, denied their truth.

On February 18 the Greek delegation, headed by the Premier M. Kalogeropoulos, and including a number of economic and military experts, arrived in London. The Conference opened on the 21st, and the Supreme Council heard the Greek delegation. The Greek Premier declared that Greece was prepared and willing to clear Anatolia of the Turkish Nationalists.

After also hearing Turkish delegations both from Constantinople and Angora, the Supreme Council proposed the despatch of an international Commission of Inquiry to study on the spot the general situation in Smyrna and Thrace. M. Kalogeropoulos referred this proposal to Athens, where it was rejected by the National Assembly. As M. Kalogeropoulos appeared not to be invested with full powers to bind himself on behalf of the Greek Government, the Supreme Council demanded the despatch to London of a new Greek plenipotentiary. After protracted negotiations as to his being accepted as *persona grata* by the Allies, M. Gounaris arrived in London on March 9. Three days later the Supreme Council formulated proposals for the solution of the Greco-Turkish difficulty and for a modification of the Sèvres Treaty. It was proposed that the demilitarised zone of the Straits should be reduced to the following lines: on the European side—Gallipoli peninsula and the coast along the Sea of Marmora as far as Rodosto; on the Asiatic side—from a point opposite the isle of Tenedos to Kara-Bigha (west of Panderma), including the islands in the Sea of Marmora and the European and Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus; the expression "demilitarised" zone was to mean that whereas the Allies might send troops to this zone, both Greece and Turkey should be deprived of this right; the east coast of the Sea of Marmora was excluded from the demilitarised zone; the Allied troops

occupying Constantinople were to be withdrawn, after the Allies had satisfied themselves of the *bona-fide* peaceful intentions of the Turks ; Turkey was to have an equal voice on the International Committee established to control the Straits, receiving two votes instead of one ; and if Turkey's attitude on the whole proved satisfactory, she would, in all probability, be offered the Honorary Presidency of the Commission. Turkey was also to receive a place on a voting basis instead of in an advisory capacity on the Financial Commission ; Thrace was not to be internationalised, and as for the Smyrna area it was considered desirable to leave the Greek and Turkish inhabitants in their own districts ; the sovereignty of the Sultan over the Vilayet of Smyrna was to be restored, the city of Smyrna to be occupied by Greek troops, but elsewhere in the Vilayet order should be maintained by local gendarmeries under Allied officers ; a Christian Governor should be appointed, chosen by the League of Nations ; a revision of this status to be granted after five years if applied for to the League of Nations ; Turkey should be included in the League of Nations if she consents to ratify a modification of the Sèvres Treaty on the above lines.

The Greek and Turkish Delegations on receiving these proposals from the Supreme Council left London to submit them to their respective Governments. Simultaneously with the departure of the Greek Delegation from London a royal decree called up the 1913, 1914, and 1915 classes of Greek reservists, and King Constantine issued a proclamation declaring Greece's intention to continue the war against the Kemalists in order to ensure the pacification of the Orient. On March 23 a new Greek offensive was launched in Asia Minor. The Hellenic troops advancing in two separate lines in the neighbourhood of Ushak and Brussa, compelled the Turkish forces to retreat. The Greek offensive continued successfully, and on March 27 and 28 the Greeks occupied two important strategical points, Afium-Karahissar and Eskishehr.

On April 1 M. Gounaris, emboldened by the fact of his being "officially" recognised by the Allies in London, at last assumed the premiership on the resignation of M. Kalogeropoulos, who received the portfolio of Finance. Some time previously M. Kalogeropoulos had ceded the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to M. Baltazzis, who remained Foreign Minister under M. Gounaris. Immediately upon the reconstruction of the Cabinet King Constantine left for the front accompanied by the Princes Andrew and Nicholas. A further mobilisation of officers of the 1910-13 classes was ordered. The Turks showed stubborn resistance to the east of Eskishehr, and on April 4 it was reported that the Greeks had suffered a severe check. By this time the renewed outbreak of hostilities on a large scale in Anatolia convinced the Allies that no replies to the proposals of the Supreme Council were to be expected from the Greek and Turkish Governments.

The internal situation in Greece, notwithstanding all official assurances to the contrary, continued to be serious, particularly in Macedonia, Salonica, and Crete, and consequently on April 12 martial law was proclaimed and a censorship of the Press re-introduced. During the month of May the military situation in Anatolia remained indefinite, the Greeks suspending their offensive in order to prepare for a renewal of operations on a larger scale. On May 18 the Allied High Commissioners issued a proclamation regarding the neutrality of Constantinople and the Straits. By the beginning of June the preparations for the new Greek offensive were near completion, and on the 11th King Constantine once more left for Smyrna accompanied by the Diadoch, the Princes Nicholas and Andrew, the Premier, M. Gounaris, the Minister of War, M. Theotokis, and General Dousmanis, Chief of the General Staff. On June 20 the Allies despatched a note to Greece renewing their offer of intervention between the two warring parties. The Greek Government, after having submitted its decision to King Constantine in Smyrna for approval, replied by a note dated June 25 in which it in effect refused the proffered negotiations. Preparations for the new offensive were continued. The Greeks in the meantime evacuated Ismidt, thus considerably weakening the defensive of the Kemalists. In the early part of July the Greeks made some progress in their offensive, occupying Nicaea and advancing from Broussa to Yenisher, reoccupying by July 15 Afium-Karahissar, evacuated in the spring retreat, and three days later Kutahia, an important key-position. The battle of Kutahia ended in a rout of the Kemalist forces with a great haul of booty and prisoners for the Greeks, the fall of Eskishehr, and the general retreat of the Turks.

About the middle of August the Greeks renewed the offensive in the direction of Angora and Koniah. The Greek troops crossed the River Sakaria where they met with strong resistance from the Turks, and by the middle of September the Turks were able to check the Greek onslaught. On September 4 it was officially announced that owing to ill-health King Constantine was obliged to move from Eskishehr to Broussa. This was the first veiled intimation of a reverse suffered by the Greek forces, and it was followed, five days later, by the further announcement that the General Staff had decided for the time being "to suspend the efforts of the Greek armies," a decision which was followed by the complete withdrawal of Greek troops to the west of the Sakaria river. A statement to the effect that the Greek Government had requested Lord Robert Cecil to invite the mediation of the League of Nations between Greece and Turkey was officially repudiated, but at the same time Greek Government circles did not deny that Greece had informed Great Britain of the conditions on which she was prepared to make peace with Angora (Sept. 20). M. Gounaris actually contemplated visiting London in connexion with the possibility of Great Britain consenting to act as mediator.



On October 3 M. Stratos, one of the chiefs of the Opposition and leader of the National Reformist Party, had an audience of the King, and demanded the convocation of the National Assembly so that the latter should take a responsible decision regarding the general political situation and the desirability of requesting foreign mediation in the Turkish-Greek conflict. The National Assembly was hurriedly convened on October 16, and after hearing a statement by the Premier, granted M. Gounaris a vote of confidence and endorsed his decision to visit London and Paris. After meeting with a cold reception in Paris, MM. Gounaris and Baltazzis (the Foreign Minister) arrived in London on October 27 and saw the Marquess Curzon at the British Foreign Office. At the suggestion of the British Foreign Secretary a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy to be held at a future date was proposed to discuss the Near Eastern questions. As M. Gounaris' mission to London had failed to bring about any definite results the Greek Premier and Foreign Minister left London for Rome, where lately a less hostile attitude to Greece had been noticeable.

In the meantime internal party strife continued in Greece, and great excitement was caused in Athens by the election in Constantinople in December as Œcumenical Patriarch of Mgr. Metaxakis, the ex-Archbishop of Athens, deposed in 1920 in consequence of his Venezelist sympathies. On December 21 an attempt was made in Athens to assassinate Admiral Condouriotis, the ex-Regent and prominent Venezelist.

The year 1921 closed for Greece with the same indefinite conditions as at its opening. The war waged for over two years in Asia Minor was as far from a conclusion as ever; and the internal political and economic situation was once more critical. It is intelligible, therefore, that rumours of King Constantine's second (this time voluntary) abdication should have found currency in Greece.

#### ALBANIA.

Albania was admitted a member of the League of Nations on December 17, 1920. Yet, although the year 1921 thus opened propitiously, the admission to the League of Nations was not accompanied by the confirmation of her boundaries. The result was that throughout the year 1921 Albania suffered invasion at the hands both of the Jugo-Slavs and the Greeks, and when complaints were made to the League of Nations, the offending parties replied that they were keeping strictly outside the boundaries of the country. But Albania made brave efforts to maintain her case. In May, General Ali Riza Kologna was despatched to Belgrade with a view to coming to some amicable arrangement with the Jugo-Slavs. His mission was in vain, and Albania lodged a complaint at the League of Nations, requesting that the Jugo-Slav and Greek troops should evacuate

her territory. On June 25 the three parties concerned were invited to send delegates to the League, and the case of Albania was considered. But the Council of the League of Nations came to no decision in the matter, handing it over to the Conference of Ambassadors.

Meanwhile both France and England had sent representatives to Albania; the British Consul General, Mr. Eyres, arrived in Tirana in March; and the French Consul, Monsieur Béguin Billcoq, followed soon after, landing at Scutari.

The external difficulties in which the country found itself were reflected in the instability of the Governments that were formed at home. On February 4 elections were held to Parliament which was opened on April 21 attended by seventy-seven members. In July Elias Vrioni resigned, and immediately formed a new Cabinet which lasted until October 17, when the Pandeli Evangheli Cabinet was formed, and this lasted until December 7. Hassan Prishtina succeeded in collecting another Cabinet which, however, was so unpopular throughout the country that four days later it had to resign, and Idoménee Kosturi succeeded in setting up a Government. On December 22 the Chamber of Deputies met after a recess which had lasted since November 3, and failed to support the new Government, whereupon Djafer Ypi succeeded in forming yet another Cabinet, in which Ahmed Zogolli was Minister of the Interior; Fan Noli, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Nicolas Thashi, Minister of Finance; and Ismail Haki Tadzati, Minister of War. At the same time the Supreme Council of Albania was constituted anew, being composed of Omer Pasha Vrioni, Sotir Peci, Antoine Pistuli, and Refik Toptani.

Meanwhile the Jugo-Slav troops continued to occupy Albanian territory, and, as it was alleged, destroyed 150 villages. The Jugo-Slav Government also attempted to sow disaffection in Albania itself, by bribing Marka Gjoni, one of the Mirdite chiefs, to set up an independent republic of Mirdita. But this attempt was not supported by the inhabitants of the district who, aided by Albanian troops, drove Gjoni out of the country and forced him to take refuge in Jugo-Slav territory. In July and August the Jugo-Slavs again attacked Albania, and again Albania complained to the League of Nations. A second time the Council of the League, on September 2, occupied itself with the Albanian problem, but once again it took no action itself, but urged the Conference of Ambassadors to hasten its decision concerning the frontiers of Albania. While Albania's case was thus awaiting decision, the Jugo-Slav troops penetrated farther into the country towards Louria, Oroshi, and Bunja. On November 7 the British Government telegraphed to the Secretariat of the League of Nations to summon a Meeting of the Council in order to deal with the advance of the Serbian troops into Albania. Two days later, on November 9, the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris at last signed a protocol

which fixed the frontiers of Albania as they were in 1913, with three rectifications in favour of Jugo-Slavia. Albania thus lost Gora on its eastern frontier with 50,000 inhabitants. On November 12 Great Britain, France, and Italy officially announced the *de jure* recognition of the Albanian Government. Four days later at a Meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in Paris, Albania and Jugo-Slavia accepted the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors, though under protest; while Greece protested and did not accept the decision. On November 19 the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the League of Nations, and composed of a Luxemburger, a Norwegian, and a Finlander arrived in Albania.

Albania also made efforts to get into touch with its Italian neighbour early in the year. A Commission was sent to Rome in order to arrive at an economic understanding with Italy. It achieved nothing, however, and in October there were serious Anti-Italian demonstrations at Valona and Durrazzo, the object of which was to demand the evacuation by Italy of the Island of Saseno.

During the year the inhabitants of Himara consented to place themselves under the control of the Central Albanian Government. A teachers' Training College was opened in Elbassan, and a Secondary School at Scutari. The School of the Jesuit Fathers at Scutari adopted Albanian as the language of instruction. On November 28, on the occasion of the national Fête, a general political amnesty was declared under the terms of which the associates of Marka Gjoni returned to Albania.

#### BULGARIA.

During 1921 Bulgaria continued to feel acutely the effects of the war both in her external and internal affairs. A sharp reminder of her defeat was administered by the demand presented on February 7 by the Serbian Government for the delivery of the cattle stipulated by the Treaty of Neuilly. The Government submitted with a heavy heart, and the days between May 10 and 20 were ordained as a period of fasting on account of this exaction and similar deliveries to Greece and Rumania. Another sign of Serbian hostility was the arrival in Bulgaria during April of thousands of Bulgarian refugees from the district of Tsaribrod which had been handed over to Serbia after the war. On May 22, however, a meeting took place at Belgrade of M. Dimitroff, Bulgarian Minister of the Interior, and M. Pashitch of Jugo-Slavia, which paved the way for an improvement in Serbo-Bulgarian relations. A further step in the same direction was taken in November, when Bulgarian delegates were invited to the General Congress of the Russian Churches at Karlovsky, Jugo-Slavia, with the hope of effecting a reconciliation between Serbians and Bulgarians.

Another humiliating effect of the war was the demand made

by the International Reparations Commission in August for the discharge of the regular Bulgarian Army and its replacement by volunteers. The first group was actually discharged on August 23, but immediately afterwards general meetings of protest were held throughout the country against the disarmament, and the Government begged the Entente Powers to allow the retention of a minimum quota of the regular Army for the maintenance of order. Meanwhile the further disbanding of the regular Army was postponed.

As in military, so in financial matters, Bulgaria was made to feel that she was not her own mistress. On February 23 the Reparation Commission arrived at Sofia, and on June 23 it demanded a revision of the State Budget. By the end of June a catastrophic fall had taken place in the value of the Bulgarian lev, and at the beginning of September there was an acute bread crisis in Sofia and other cities.

Throughout the year M. Stambolisky remained Premier, but there was more than one ministerial crisis. On October 22 Minister Dimitroff was assassinated, and Sofia and the adjoining districts were placed under military rule. On November 9 the Cabinet was reconstructed, Messrs. P. Yaneff and Chr. Manoleff entering the Ministry. On October 11 commenced the State trial of the Radoslavoff Cabinet, which was responsible for the war.

On June 13 an anarchist plot was discovered and quashed at Stara-Zagora.

One of the most striking acts of the Ministry in internal affairs was an Order of Council on June 28 removing three letters from the Bulgarian alphabet. The order was very unpopular in certain quarters, and on July 10 a general meeting of Sofia citizens was held to protest against the new orthography. It was, however, rigorously enforced, and many papers, including the *Mir*, were stopped by the censor for violating the order.

Among other interesting events during the year may be mentioned the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Czechoslovakia in March, the establishment in Sofia of a branch of the French Chamber of Commerce in May, terrific explosions at the State armoury and powder depots near Sofia on May 31 and December 3, terrible floods at Sliven on June 6, and the State burial of James W. Bourchier, the noted correspondent of the *London Times*, on January 5.

#### FIUME.

The year 1921 was the first in the history of the State of Fiume, which came into existence on November 20, 1920, with the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo between Italy and Jugo-Slavia. It was a year of consolidation, despite efforts on the part of Italian Nationalists to upset the arrangement of Rapallo and to join Fiume to Italy. These efforts were of no avail. In

May elections were held for the Constituent Assembly, which met on October 5, and approved of the policy of the Cabinet of Signor Zanella. The Cabinet was still in power when the year closed.

One of the difficulties connected with the setting up of the new State was the fate of Porto Barros. It was not clear whether this port was or was not within the territory of Fiume. But the difficulties were overcome by an agreement, signed on June 5, between the Free City, Italy, and Jugo-Slavia, which grants equal rights in the unified port of Fiume to the three signatories of the agreement. The port is to be controlled by a consortium to which each State will appoint two members.

## CHAPTER V.

LESSER STATES OF WESTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE: BELGIUM  
— LUXEMBURG — NETHERLANDS — SWITZERLAND — SPAIN—  
PORTUGAL—DENMARK—SWEDEN—NORWAY.

### BELGIUM.

DURING 1921 Belgium continued to pursue the policy on which she had embarked at the Armistice, and which, as is now obvious, threatens to involve her in the general ruin of Europe. But before the end of the year two events took place which show the widespread resentment against that policy, and perhaps have paved the way for its reversal. One is the rout of the Francophile Party, which had led the country into mischievous adventures, and made her the mere satellite of France, a power whose interests and aims were totally opposed to her own. The other is the dissolution of the "Union Sacrée," which, virtually since August 4, 1914, and actually since 1916, had combined all the political parties in support of a national Coalition Government.

Of these two events the latter is, of course, a matter of purely local concern, affecting only the balance of the three traditional parties in the Belgian State. But the relations of Belgium to France have a wider bearing, and require to be traced somewhat more in detail.

The Belgian people, as is known, is composed of two sections differing in race and language—the Flemish and the Walloons. It is the latter section which, since the revolution of 1830, has always been in the ascendant in public affairs, while the other section has had to struggle hard for more than a century in order to obtain recognition of its rights and a semblance of equality. The circumstances of the war enabled the Flemish to gain some important successes which threw the French-speaking "jingo" into alarm. These latter saw in a French alliance the best means of securing their position against further encroachments, and by working on the public fear of a German war of revenge they managed to obtain the adherence of the

Government to this project. The objections, it is true, were very strong. France obstinately refused to abandon any of her tariff restrictions, which hit Belgian industry in every branch. She had adopted a whole series of measures intended to divert the traffic of Alsace-Lorraine from Antwerp. She had placed a number of obstacles in the way of Belgian policy in Luxemburg. Nevertheless appeals to passion and a liberal use of funds secured for this cause the support of a number of publicists and of the Comité de Politique National, the body which after the Armistice had plastered the walls of Brussels with coloured maps setting forth claims so extravagant that the officers of the Allied armies stared in amazement.

M. Jaspar, Minister of Foreign Affairs, fell into the error of taking the skilfully manipulated demands of a small group for the genuine voice of public opinion; and though personally he was in favour of friendship and even alliance with England, he signed the separate agreement with France. This agreement took the dangerous form of a military treaty, negotiated and signed by the heads of the General Staffs, and completely withdrawn from the control of Parliament or of the League of Nations. The first consequence of this situation was that Belgium played the rôle of a mere client of France at the international conferences held at Washington and in Europe. At all of these the word of Paris was law. At Cannes, it is true, the Belgian delegates at last found the sacrifices both of interest and pride which were demanded by their French colleagues more than they could endure, and their resentment led to a fierce dispute. But till then the process commenced at Versailles had gone steadily on, and in the course of 1921 Belgium's prestige as a European Power suffered one blow after another till it sank to vanishing point.

M. Jaspar was more successful in his negotiations with Luxemburg. The annexationist aims of the Belgian Nationalists had in 1919 and 1920 thrown the Luxemburgians into the arms of France. M. Jaspar, by firmly resisting the demands of the "jingoës," succeeded in recovering gradually a part of the lost ground, and in concluding an economic treaty which, while safeguarding the interests of Luxemburg, gave to Belgium the place which had been occupied by Germany before the war.

Another country with which Belgian foreign policy was closely concerned during the year was Holland; and affairs in this quarter, though not so badly mismanaged as in the case of England and France, were not so successfully arranged as with Luxemburg. An agreement with Holland had actually been negotiated by M. Paul Hymans, and this might have brought Belgium considerable advantages if properly handled. But M. Jaspar did not have the courage to resume the negotiations and lead them to a successful termination, and he abandoned a position of vital interest to Belgium in order to please a mere handful of agitators.

The insignificance of this party was shown at the elections held in November. In the previous election of 1919 the Nationalists had already suffered a severe reverse, securing only one seat throughout the whole country—a result all the more humiliating in view of the fact that the system of proportional representation is in vogue. And last November they lost this seat as well, receiving only about 6,000 votes out of a total of 2,500,000.

The results of this election were interesting in other ways. Some days before it occurred the Socialist Party had left the Government and broken up the *Union Sacrée*. This party was one of the most moderate of its kind in Europe; it had always shown itself ready to make concessions, and had frequently adopted in practice a policy opposed to its basic principles. Nevertheless, the two bourgeois parties, the Catholics and the Liberals, knit together by a common spirit of reaction and desire for class war, had organised a furious attack on it, and proclaimed that the elections would see the overthrow of socialism. They conducted a long campaign in which every method of corruption was employed, and the mistrust of Germany, still prevalent among the people, was effectively exploited. Nevertheless, the Socialist ranks in Parliament remained unshaken. They lost two seats in the Chamber (obtaining 68 instead of 70), but gained 20 in the Senate. The Liberals, who were expecting a great advance, lost one seat in the Chamber and a dozen in the Senate. The smaller parties were almost wiped out from the Chamber with the exception of the "Front Party" (the Flemish Party), which alone of these has any importance. The Catholics slightly strengthened their position in the Chamber, but lost their absolute majority in the Senate.

Thus the attack on the Socialists proved a failure, and the Ministry of M. Carton de Wiart, of which the best that could be said was that it was incompetent in a dignified manner, was overthrown. The King entrusted the formation of a Cabinet to M. Theunis, who had been Financial Minister in the preceding combination. M. Theunis, who is not in Parliament, immediately addressed himself to M. Vandervelde with an inquiry whether the Socialist Party would consent to resume its place in the Government. The labour leader refused, not so much from motives of principle as from tactical considerations. He considers—and with reason—that his party, by constituting the whole of the opposition, will be able to focus all elements of discontent, and so gain fresh support. Further—and this also on good grounds—he counts on a rupture sooner or later between the two bourgeois parties which are at present sharing power, since, judging from the record of their relations in the past, their present friendship must be very precarious.

Thus the history of Belgium during 1921 has been marked in external affairs by a Francophile policy extremely dangerous both to herself and the people of the world, and in internal affairs by a bourgeois coalition based on a purely negative

programme of anti-socialism, and by a hostility between the Flemish and Walloon sections which jeopardises her whole existence. If the political situation inclines one to pessimism, the economic outlook is not any more cheerful. Before the war Belgium's principal resources were, on the one hand, its manufactures which it exported to all its neighbours, particularly Germany, and on the other hand, its transshipment traffic at Antwerp. The "hinterland" of Antwerp has always been the Rhine district. Since the war the situation has greatly altered. The rate of exchange has completely closed the German market. Not only so, but it has given rise in the case of many articles to a competition which formerly did not exist. In certain branches of manufacture in which Belgium used to satisfy her own requirements, the Germans are now entering the market with prices so low that Belgian workmen cannot compete with any hope of success. On the other hand the purchase of raw materials in America, in England, and—for certain products of the Indies—in Holland, is hampered both by the prohibitive exchange value of the dollar, the pound, and the florin, and by the rapid fluctuations to which these foreign securities are subject on the Stock Exchange. The industrial crisis is far-reaching and calamitous. The recent measures taken by England to protect her trade, and the furious protectionist policy of the French Government have dealt fresh blows to Belgian industry, and it is safe to say that the Loucheur scheme of reparations in kind will be the finishing touch. Unemployment is spreading like a plague through the country, and owing to the high cost of living (the index number is about 420), it is becoming a formidable social menace. Causes and consequences are intertwined in a vicious circle, and the result, at once paradoxical and tragic, is that in a producing country like Belgium, coal, which in 1914 cost from 28 to 35 francs, now costs 190 and even 200 francs.

The position of Antwerp has been jeopardised by the war. All the German houses which had branches and offices there adopted the practice during the war of installing themselves at Rotterdam, and the policy of reprisals and the insecurity of the Government have contributed still further to divert from the great port of the Scheldt its most important clients. With the Rhineland in foreign occupation, and its trade paralysed, and with the rate of exchange preventing all purchases by Germany abroad, the transshipment traffic has not a quarter of its previous importance.

There is still Alsace-Lorraine. But the French Government, in order to benefit Dunkirk and its own ports, has imposed on goods shipped via Antwerp special levies called "surtaxes d'entrepôt," and fixed railway rates in such a way as to attract elsewhere the commerce of the new provinces. The malady of Antwerp, if it is not incurable, threatens at any rate to last for a considerable time.



## LUXEMBURG.

During the year 1921 the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, surrounded as it is by powerful neighbours—France, Belgium, and Germany—suffered from the trade depression which was general over Europe. Bad as was the position everywhere, it was made worse for Luxemburg by the erection on the part of its neighbours of Customs barriers. It is true that according to the Treaty of Versailles exports to Germany had become possible free of German Customs duty; nevertheless, the falling mark and cheap production in Germany made trade in this quarter practically impossible. It therefore became necessary to seek for new markets for the products of the metallurgical industry of the Grand Duchy, and Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, and South America were possibilities which yielded good returns. But the labour situation was difficult throughout the year. Towards the end of 1920 the Government had introduced as a conciliatory measure a system of Workmen's Councils in the large factories. Yet a serious strike occurred in March, 1921, and the concessions which had been made were eventually withdrawn. Throughout the year there was considerable unemployment in this small country, and the Government was occupied in the establishment of means of relief.

The outstanding event of the year 1921 was the signature on July 25 of the economic agreement with Belgium. Negotiations for such an agreement had been in progress for some time, despite the fact that the referendum which was held in 1919 showed an overwhelming majority in favour of an economic union with France. The agreement with Belgium is for a period of fifty years, and has been ratified by both Governments. Its main features are as follows:—

1. An economic union by which the Customs frontier between the two countries will be suppressed and by which the Customs and Excise regime in Belgium will be applicable to the two countries;

2. Provision for the payment of indemnities to agriculturists in the Grand Duchy in the event of the price of home-grown corn falling below a certain figure as a result of competition by Belgian farmers;

3. The grant of a loan of 175,000,000 francs to Luxemburg, of which the issue will be made in Belgium, and for which the Grand Ducal Government will not be called upon to pay more than 2 per cent. interest per annum; the difference between the rate of interest charged for the advance and the rate of issue to be met by the Belgian Government. Belgian notes and coinage will replace the Luxemburg currency, of which all notes of 10 francs or over will be withdrawn. Luxemburg notes of less than 10 francs will continue to circulate temporarily

in the Grand Duchy, but their total value may not exceed 25,000,000 francs ;

4. The Belgian Government undertakes to accord to the Luxemburg Government the same treatment as may be obtained for Belgium in regard to the holdings of German marks ;

5. The exploitation of the whole railway system in the Grand Duchy will form the basis of an arrangement between the two countries with a view to ensuring exploitation with the assistance of the Luxemburg "Prince-Henri" Company ;

If an arrangement is not arrived at within six months, the Guillaume-Luxemburg line will be provisionally exploited by the Belgian State Railways Administration ;

6. Consular representation will be entrusted to Belgian officials in those countries where there are no Consular agents of the Grand Duchy ;

7. A joint commission will be formed to protect the interests of the metallurgical industries in the two countries, with facilities for recourse to arbitration if necessary.

#### NETHERLANDS.

The year 1921 was anything but favourable for the Dutch Cabinet ; the majority of 52 (against a minority of 48) repeatedly proved not to be reliable. This is not surprising in view of the sharp contrast between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant elements, and between the Conservative and Democratic factions within these two groups. On several occasions the Government Parties showed their readiness to support the Cabinet in face of opposition from the Left, as was the case in the Djambi-affair (see under Dutch East Indies) ; but several Ministers suffered severe reverses, notably Dr. De Vries, the Finance Minister, on May 13, on the question of a reform in the land tax. Ever since its appointment the Cabinet had repeatedly to undergo forced changes ; but when Dr. De Vries was defeated, it evidently thought that it would be unable to withstand another ministerial crisis ; and contrary to general expectation, the Finance Minister did not resign. But a month later the entire Cabinet was obliged to offer its resignation to the Queen, as the Second Chamber by 46 votes to 39 rejected the proposed Army reform.

Only the Roman Catholics and the Liberal groups—the latter in the spring having been merged into one party, the Liberty League—were favourable to the Government plan. The two Protestant Parties proposed a stronger army than that contemplated ; the Radicals wished for a citizen army on the Swiss model, whereas the Socialists and Communists made disarmament their rallying-cry. The combination of these dissatisfied minorities defeated the Bill, though it should be added that

the desire of the Protestant Parties, to show the Roman Catholics their power in the Government Coalition also carried some weight. To counteract the increasing Roman Catholic influence in the country a strong Protestant movement arose. This was particularly directed against the intention of the Government so to amend the Constitution as to allow Roman Catholic processions everywhere. So far these were prohibited, save only in some predominantly Roman Catholic regions.

The solution of the Cabinet crisis could be achieved only by a reconstruction of the Cabinet. But it was apparently difficult to come to an agreement with the Government Parties: more than a month went by before the reconstruction of the Cabinet could be arranged. Eventually it was announced that the Minister of War and Marine *ad interim* had been replaced by Mr. J. J. C. van Dyk, while the opportunity was seized to replace the weak Minister of Finance by Jhr. Dr. D. J. de Geer, an influential member of the Christian Historic Party, who enjoyed the esteem of all parties. His programme, as set forth in the Speech from the Throne on the occasion of the opening of the States-General on September 20, aimed in the first place at balancing the Budget by means of a more economical management of the machinery of Government.

The Government, moreover, in order to placate its Protestant supporters, abandoned the repeal of the prohibition of Catholic processions.

When early in September the Prime Minister, Jhr. Dr. Ruys de Beerenbrouck, was interpellated by the Radical leader, Dr. Marchant, as to the manner in which the Cabinet crisis had been solved, he intimated that the reorganised Ministry had resumed its task chiefly because no other Government majority except the one in existence was possible. The Left was so much split up that it would have been very difficult to form a Government from among its members. Roman Catholics and Social Democrats, who approached each other closely in advocating the care by the State of the labouring population, might have had a majority, but the Dutch episcopate declared itself against such co-operation.

With regard to the Army question the new Government asked for an annual contingent of 19,500 men, to be drilled during five and a half months. During mobilisation this would yield a field army of about 243,000 men and 73,000 drilled troops of the reserve. The field army was to include four division-groups, equal to eight divisions or seventy-two battalions. The peace-organisation was intended to include eight regiments of field-artillery, one regiment of heavy-artillery, one regiment of coast-artillery, and one regiment of garrison-artillery. On mobilisation each division-group would dispose of four regiments of field-artillery, one regiment of howitzers and one regiment of long guns. For the amplification of artillery and of the stock of munitions a fund would be created. The number of

professional officers and non-commissioned officers would be considerably reduced.

The Roman Catholics supported the Bill; the Liberals opposed it as laying too heavy a financial burden upon the nation; so did some disgruntled members of the Right and the entire Radical and Socialist groups. The Bill, however, was passed by 50 against 48 votes on December 14, thanks only to the absence of two Socialists. Not more than forty-nine members of the Government majority voted for the Bill. It had therefore become evident that on a first-class political measure, the Cabinet could no longer rely on a majority.

The greater part of the months of November and December were devoted by the Second Chamber to a general revision of the Constitution, which had been decided upon at the end of 1918 at the general desire for democratic reforms. In the meantime, however, that demand had weakened considerably, Hence the First Chamber remains; but its members will henceforth be elected on a system of proportional representation for a term which has been reduced to four years, and they will resign together. The proposal for a Referendum was rejected. Female suffrage for the States-General, the Provincial States, and the Communal Councils was included in the Constitution. Biennial Budgets have been made possible. The succession to the throne was regulated so as to exclude princes who are entire foreigners to Holland, even though by virtue of the Constitution as previously valid they could have asserted their rights. The succession is limited to the male or female nearest in blood, in the line of descent of H.M. Queen Wilhelmina, to the last deceased King, but not beyond the third generation. Males will always have the precedence over females, when the degree of blood-relationship is the same. If a legal successor is lacking the Sovereign will have the right to propose one, by a Bill to which the States-General will have to give assent. If the King fails to exercise this right, and if, therefore, at the time of his decease there is no legal successor, the States-General, within four months, will be called together in double numbers by the Council of State, in order to appoint a King in joint session.

Owing to the decreased value of money the income of the Crown was doubled; and the payment of the members of the Second Chamber was raised from 3,000 to 5,000 guilders, the President of that Chamber receiving 10,000 guilders. Furthermore, the members of the Second Chamber and their widows and orphans will receive a pension.

The Sovereign may henceforward only declare war after having previously obtained the consent of the States-General. But before resorting to war, efforts must be made to settle conflicts by peaceful means. All treaties henceforth require the approval of the States-General. Moreover, a certain measure of self-government is provided for the East and West Indies.

The conception of "colonies and possessions" has been deleted from the Constitution.

For 1922 the Government estimated the expenditure at 854½ million guilders, and the revenue at 606½ million guilders. There is thus a deficit of 248 millions, of which 191½ millions are on the extraordinary Budget, which can be covered by loan, and 48 millions on the ordinary Budget. Of the latter 25 millions will be covered by revisions of the stamp duties and land taxes, and the remainder by strict Government economy. The Finance Minister calculated that already 35 per cent. of the national income is taxed by the Government, the Provinces, and the Communes, and he was of opinion that the limit of taxation had thereby been reached.

With regard to Holland's foreign relations, the year 1921 brought little change. The visit of a British squadron to Rotterdam and Amsterdam (September 5-16) furnished an occasion for expressing warm sentiments towards Great Britain. The relations with Belgium were discussed on March 11 in the First Chamber. The Minister for Foreign Affairs on that occasion agreed with Mr. Polak, a Socialist member, that the moment might perhaps come when Holland would not consent to resume the negotiations which Belgium had quite unexpectedly broken off. For the present, however, the Dutch Government was still ready to do so. During 1921 negotiations had not been resumed, although the mood on both sides showed improvement. On the occasion of a visit by the Royal Family in September to the province of Zeeland, H.M. the Queen was greeted, on behalf of H.M. the King of the Belgians, by the Governor of East Flanders.

The existing difference with Serbia has not been solved. On August 18 an agreement was made with the German Government that a joint commission should be appointed for the settlement of the frontier question on the Lower Ems river, in regard to which Holland, as in the Wielingen question, favours a partition of the river along the "valley bed."

The Papal Legation, which had been abolished in 1871 and which during the war (in 1915) was temporarily re-established, was definitely reinstated in 1921, notwithstanding the opposition of the Christian Historic and Socialist Parties. On September 21 Mgr. Robert Vincentini was received as Papal Nuncio by the Queen.

Relations with Russia remained suspended during the war. In reply to a question, put by the Communist Wynkoop on October 20, regarding support for the famine-stricken areas, the Government declared that they ought above all to further the co-ordination of private relief efforts in Holland, and that they were not averse to supporting these efforts by granting credits. On December 22 the Government went so far as to promise that M. Krassin should be allowed to come to Holland for a short stay.

In accordance with Article 355 of the Treaty of Versailles, two representatives on the Central Rhine Commission were assigned to Holland, as to the non-riparian States, Great Britain, Italy, and Belgium. But as Holland made her co-operation in the revision of the Mannheim Convention of 1868 governing navigation on the Rhine subject to some complementary clauses and to the granting of one more delegate in the Central Rhine Commission, the delegates of Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy, in whose hands the Supreme Council had placed this matter, by the Protocol of January 21, 1921, reached an agreement with the representatives of the Dutch Government, by which Holland, as a riparian State, will have three delegates on the Central Rhine Commission.

The visit by the Crown-Prince of Japan to Holland was an occasion of friendly greetings between Holland and Japan, especially at the State banquet on June 15. Holland was invited (October 6) to participate in the Washington Conference, and Jhr. Dr. H. A. van Karnebeek, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, headed the Dutch delegation. Apart from the general interests which Holland possesses in the Far East, her claims regarding the Yap cables, which, prior to the war, were worked by a German-Dutch Company and maintained telegraphic communication between the Dutch East Indies and the Mother Country *via* China and Russia and *via* America, justified the presence of a Dutch delegation at Washington.

The election, too, of Jhr. Dr. H. A. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs and first delegate for Holland at Geneva, to the Presidency of the League of Nations, was looked upon in Holland not only as a recognition of the personal accomplishments of the Minister, but also as an appreciation of Holland's international position. During the month of March Holland introduced some amendments to Articles 4, 5, and 6 of the Pact; whilst the Netherlands Government, on August 18, requested that "International Statistics" be placed on the Agenda for the second session of the League of Nations. The establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague and the appointment of Dr. B. C. J. Loder as one of the members of that Court was greeted with satisfaction throughout the country.

#### SWITZERLAND.

In 1921 the head of the Swiss Government was M. Edmund Schulthess, who at the same time was responsible for the Department of Political Economy. As it happened the main strain during the year was laid upon this Department, since the general trade depression affected the political life of the country to the uttermost. Unemployment, comparatively small in December, 1920, increased apace, until there were in July over 50,000 unemployed and about 75,000 people on short time.

A series of emergency measures were adopted both by the Federal Government and the Cantons. These could, of course, only alleviate the hardship of the situation which was, for the most part, due to the high rate of exchange of the Swiss franc. In consequence no market could be found for Swiss goods in the low exchange States of the European Continent, and those industries, which were entirely dependent upon export and which formerly contributed most to the industrial prosperity of Switzerland, such as watch-making, textiles, and machinery, were very hard hit. They had even to a certain extent to be assisted by the Government. In order to protect the home industries against the dumping by goods from Germany and Austria, the Chambers in February voted a law giving power to the Federal Council to restrict the import of certain goods, or to declare their import subject to special licence. It was at the same time empowered to prepare a special tariff in place of that which had been in force hitherto. These measures were criticised by those who had only the consumers' standpoint in view, but, as they were generally endorsed by the manufacturers and peasants, the Federal Council even succeeded in having them extended by the autumn session of the Chambers until September 30, 1922. The provisional tariff, elaborated by the Federal Council according to the aforesaid decision, came into operation on July 1. It had a more protective character than any tariff Switzerland has ever had.

Since Switzerland has become a member of the League of Nations foreign policy plays a more important part in the life of the nation than before. At one time there was a good deal of feeling in Switzerland about the so-called Vilna incident. In February a decision of the Federal Council was taken to the effect that Switzerland would oppose the passage of troops who were to be despatched to Vilna on behalf of the League of Nations with a view to interfering in the Lithuanian and Polish conflict. This decision surprised the Council of the League of Nations, and a subsequent explanation of Switzerland's view took place in Paris where the Swiss Minister, Monsieur Dunant, and Professor Max Huber explained the attitude of their Government. The parties then concerned came to the conclusion that a certain lack of contact between the Federal Council and the Secretariat of the League of Nations had in the main been responsible for the incident, which was settled in a thoroughly satisfactory manner.

The delegates of Switzerland to the September session of the League of Nations in Geneva were again M. Motta, Federal Councillor and head of the Political Department, ex-President Gustave Ador, State Councillor Paul Üsteri, and, as technical expert, Professor Max Huber, who at this same session was elected as judge of the High Tribunal of the League of Nations.

During the year the Swiss Government had some trouble

with ex-King Karl of Hapsburg, who, despite solemn promises, twice attempted to leave Switzerland with a view to taking over the Government of Hungary. During Easter of 1921 he managed to cross the frontier in disguise and to proceed to Steinamanger. His negotiations with Horthy broke down, however, and he very soon recognised that his adventure had failed. He asked the Federal Council if he might be allowed again to stay in Switzerland until he had definitely made up his mind where to make his new residence. The Swiss Government granted him this request, but on the express condition that he should give forty-eight hours' notice before leaving the country again. Notwithstanding this pledge, Karl, in October, made a second attempt to regain his kingdom. This time he was captured and sent to Madeira. His removal was a great relief to the Swiss people seeing that the Federal Government had not always felt very easy in dealing with this affair on account of the many international complications involved.

As to Switzerland's relations with foreign countries, the controversy with France about the Savoy Zones still continued throughout the whole year. An exchange of notes between the two Governments had brought the question to a deadlock in the spring of 1921. Already the possibility of bringing the matter before the League of Nations was raised. In May, however, new negotiators were appointed on both sides, and they finally agreed to a convention on August 7, signed by Messrs. Maunoir and Laur on behalf of Switzerland and by M. Laroche on behalf of France, in which Switzerland obtained certain economic advantages, but agreed to the transfer of the French customs line to the political frontier. This convention has, however, not yet been dealt with by the Chambers; it will also have to be adopted by the people before it becomes valid. It will be brought before the people together with the convention concerning the abandonment of the Swiss claim with regard to the military neutrality of Savoy. The Council of States ratified this latter convention with France in December, 1921. It had already obtained the vote of the National Council before.

In December, 1921, a Treaty of Arbitration was concluded between Germany and Switzerland, but this Treaty has yet also to receive the verdict of the people.

The talk of arranging for a total revision of the Constitution, which had gone on for a certain time during the war, died down in 1921. An amendment to the Constitution was, however, adopted by the people on January 30 which would make all Treaties, running longer than fifteen years, subject to a referendum of the people. This amendment was proposed by Initiative and was adopted by 383,696 votes to 158,098. On the same date the Initiative, which aimed at the abolition of the Military Courts and which was proposed from Socialist quarters, was rejected by 386,888 votes to 192,803. Another amendment was adopted on May 22, with a view to regulating



automobile and cycle traffic federally. The consequence of this amendment will be that automobiles will in the near future be able to pass through those cantons which up till now have been closed to them. It also provides the legislating power for regulating air traffic.

Another socialistic Initiative proposing a levy on capital has not yet received a sufficient number of signatures. Another Initiative, originating in the Canton of St. Gall, requesting that an amendment should be added to the Constitution expressing the idea that the Federal Administration should be conducted on purely business lines (the so-called Initiative Schwendener) has also not yet passed the threshold of the Federal Chancellory. The same can be said of the customs Initiative directed against the extraordinary measures adopted by the Federal Council at the beginning of this year and referred to above.

The reform of the administration is a problem that has come more and more into the forefront of public opinion. For a couple of years the Federal Railways have, instead of yielding profits, shown huge deficits, and economies have become absolutely necessary. The Federal Council has now prepared a scheme of interior reorganisation and simplification of the management by which five million francs can be saved in wages annually. It will be discussed by the Chambers next year, and unusual opposition is expected, as it is bound to affect seriously many local interests.

Among the many laws which have been passed this year the so-called "Lex Haeberlin" is probably the most important. It is similar to the English Emergency Act and is directed against general strikes and revolutionary movements of all kinds. It was adopted by the National Council in December.

The financial situation of Switzerland has improved during this year owing to the energetic action of Mr. Musy, the head of the Financial Department, who is determined to wipe off within the next few years the deficit created as a consequence of war expenditure. One of the measures adopted by him to this end is the systematic reduction in the number of Federal officials. This is not done by means of dismissals, but only by not filling places when officials have died, and also by the frequent transference of staff from one department to another according to the necessities of work. There were employed in the Federal Administration and Federal Railways 76,666 people on January 1, 1920; 71,627 on January 1, 1921; and on January 1, 1922, they are expected to be reduced to 68,933. In spite of the economy measures the total deficit in 1922 is expected to be one billion francs and, if the Federal Railways are included, one billion two hundred and fifty millions. The deficit for 1922 alone figures in the Budget with one hundred millions, which compares favourably with the deficits for 1921 (probably two hundred and twenty millions) and 1920 (one hundred and seventy-nine millions).

The census for Switzerland, which is taken every tenth year, recorded in the year 1920 a resident population of 3,886,090, which is an increase of 120,967 compared with the 1910 total.

As new president of the Federal Council for 1922, Federal Councillor Robert Haab of Wädenswil, was elected in December. He is the present head of the Department of Railways, Posts, and Telephones. Federal Councillor Karl Scheurer, head of the Military Department, was elected Vice-President.

#### SPAIN.

The year opened with a sad event in the maritime world. On January, 12, the newly built steamer *Santa Isabel* of the Compañía Transatlántica, was lost in a dense fog off the Galician coast, and finally shipwrecked in the vicinity of Sálvora Island, amidst scenes of wildest despair during salvage operations. Some 800 lives were lost.

The Belgian Sovereigns were guests of King Alfonso and Queen Victoria during the first week in February. This official visit had long been postponed, and it was an ardent desire of King Albert of Belgium personally to acknowledge Belgium's gratefulness towards the Spanish nation for the untiring efforts shown by King Alfonso during the great war, in aiding Belgian refugees and smoothing the lot of their prisoners. Both Madrid and Barcelona accorded them a most hearty reception, and many festivities were organised in their honour. Mutual benefits were also attained by this visit in the establishment of special courses in the Universities of both countries.

Spain was honoured with the celebration of the Seventh International Postal Congress, held at Madrid. The closing session was presided over by the King, and a most touching note of sympathy to the motherland was given by the Delegates of over twenty Spanish-speaking countries, when proposing the minimum postal tariff between Spain and the South American Republics, as another link towards the establishment of closer relations between nations of the same race and family. The proposal was unanimously accepted by all parties concerned, and the new postal regulations, to come into force on January 1, 1922, will make the charge for sending an ordinary letter from Spain to Latin America and the Philippine Islands, and vice versa, the same as that ruling for internal communications in the respective countries.

On March 8, His Excellency Don Eduardo Dato, Prime Minister, was assassinated at 8.30 p.m. in the Plaza de la Independencia, a stone's throw from his residence, whilst returning in his motor-car from delivering a speech at the Senate. The murder was perpetrated in a most daring manner by three syndicalists in a motor-cycle with side-car, who, after the deed was done, raced at break-neck speed through Calle Serrano, a well-thronged thoroughfare at that time of night. Five days

later, one of the assassins, Pedro Mateu, fell into the hands of the police after a stubborn resistance. Another of the assassins, Luis Nicolau, was apprehended with his wife at Berlin late in the year by the German police, and active steps were at once taken to obtain his extradition, no easy matter, in view of the pressure borne by the German Communist Party on the German Government to refuse such extradition. The third and most dangerous assassin, Ramon Casanella, has managed to escape, and according to the latest rumours, is now in Russia.

The assassination of Señor Dato amazed public opinion and created a stir in all political parties. During his lengthy political career Premier Dato, who was at the time leader of the Conservative Party, made a special study of social problems for the amelioration of the labouring classes; and it was due to him, to a great extent, that a number of social laws, some of quite advanced character, were voted in recent years. Apart from the bereavement felt by the nation in general, the sad event created further troubles in the sphere of politics. It was expected that the Conservative Party would unite under the leadership of Señor Maura, but all efforts to attain this end were unsuccessful. On the other hand, a change of policy with the advent of the Liberals was not to be contemplated, as Parliament had just been convoked after new General Elections (held in December, 1920), and the Liberals had no majority to cope with the situation. Then again, the yearly Budget, which had been in abeyance for the last six years, had forcibly to be passed this year. Under these circumstances the King had no other alternative than to hand the reins of Government to Señor Allende-salazar, a moderate politician of goodwill, who succeeded in forming a sort of Coalition Government with all the Parliamentary forces, with the prime object of submitting to the Cortes the new Budget, which was finally approved.

The newly-appointed Governor of Barcelona, General Martinez Anido, handled with a firm hand and a wise policy the social movement of Catalonia, to the satisfaction of all patriots, who have reasons to hope that in a very near future this promising region of Spain will return to normal conditions.

The International Conference of Transport and Communications was held at Barcelona in the month of March. Many distinguished Delegates from foreign countries took part in the deliberations, who afterwards journeyed to Madrid and were received in special audience by H.M. King Alfonso.

In the first days of June H.R.H. The Infante Don Fernando de Baviera, cousin to the King, returned to Spain from his long journey to the South-American Republics. The Infante went out to America as the King's special envoy, accompanied by a special mission, to take part in the celebrations which Chile had organised in honour of the centenary of Magallanes, the famous navigator. The expedition in South America lasted over six months, and everywhere the Spanish representative

was received with enthusiasm. Other special missions were sent to South America, among which was that to Peru, headed by Count de la Viñaza, as special Ambassador.

On July 21, the Spanish troops suffered a serious reverse at Annual, an outpost in Spanish Morocco. Headed by Abd-El-Krim, a Moorish rebel who two years previously had received splendid hospitality at Madrid, when he pursued a special course of studies under Government auspices, the native troops serving under the Spanish colours revolted, and treacherously assaulted the officers and men, murdering a great number of them in the most barbarous manner. General Fernandez Silvestre, second in command in Africa, together with three Colonels and other officers of high rank, were either taken prisoners or killed outright. Nothing has been heard of them since, but the most fantastic news as to the lot that befell them is in daily circulation.

The high treason of the Moors did not stop there, but had a sequel at Seluan and Mount Arruit. At the latter outpost, General Navarro retired with the fugitive forces under his command. After a stubborn resistance, General Navarro and what was left of his forces surrendered under special stipulations. Not one of them was respected. After committing the most cruel atrocities on the defenceless Spanish soldiers, General Navarro, and the remaining troops were removed as prisoners to Axdir, off the coast of Alhucemas.

The serious situation at Morocco was the cause of a Government crisis. After an elaborate change of views with all the leaders of political parties, the King called on Señor Maura, who succeeded in forming a strong Government, with the aid of the Liberals, to the satisfaction of public opinion, who consider Señor Maura as the highest political authority in Spain at the present day. Señor Maura took with him as Minister of War, Señor Lacierva, a much-discussed politician but with an ample supply of energy and foresight, to cope with the grave situation created by the Moorish rising. This question dominated Parliament for the remainder of the year, and little legislative activity was registered. The only Act of importance passed during the year was the renewal of the privileges of the Bank of Spain and the reorganisation of the national banking system that accompanied it.

All the land lost to the Spaniards in Morocco in the sombre days of July and August were rapidly re-conquered, and at the termination of the year 1921 the outlook is most promising. It is worthy of note that the example set by ladies of the highest aristocracy of Madrid and elsewhere, who, like the Duchess de la Victoria, a Spanish grandee, volunteered as nurses to Melilla, where they have done excellent work, was generally followed.

The reverses in Morocco told heavily on Spanish Finance, the expenses having trebled. Señor Cambo, Minister of Finance, speaking in the Senate told the House that the nation

must look for an even greater deficit in the Budget, as the enormous expenditure on military operations in Morocco must be added to the total. He admitted that the financial book-keeping of the nation was in a bad condition, but asserted that it was not without hope of rectification through improved administration. He hinted that all classes of the nation would be called upon to help clear up the situation. The Budget for 1922, though in process of formation, would not be introduced into Parliament until after a thorough reform of the Revenue Department. Customs tariffs on imported goods are to be heavily increased.

There is a serious crisis in the coal-mining industry, especially in the Asturias, in consequence of the lack of demand for Spanish coal. Some railway companies have declined to use Spanish coal as they find English coal cheaper and better. The coal crisis was but a symptom of the general difficult economic situation during the year. The quarrel with France was another. Franco-Spanish commercial relations were severed on December 8 by the denunciation of the "modus-vivendi," a commercial understanding that was in force for the time being, pending the signature of a formal Treaty between the two countries. The action taken by the French Government created a difficult position, owing to the abnormal tariffs that goods from and to Spain have to pay at the frontier. Steps are being taken to arrive as rapidly as possible at some favourable understanding, and the French Government has already sent a special Delegate to Madrid for the purpose.

#### PORTUGAL.

Portugal in 1920 had been ruled by nine Governments, one of which lasted for twenty-four hours, another for six days. Successive Finance Ministers developed elaborate schemes of new taxation which they had neither time nor power to realise. In December Parliament voted a further increase of 200,000 contos of paper money. The value of the conto had sunk from approximately 200*l.* to 25*l.* or less. A gold reserve had virtually ceased to exist. Social unrest continued rife, and both Army and Navy and the Republican Guard (created in 1913) were undermined by subversive doctrines.

Liberato Pinto's Government, which came into power on November 29, 1920, was in crisis by the end of the year, and resigned on February 12, 1921. For the remainder of the month Portugal was without a Government, although the crisis had been long expected; but on February 24 the Radical ex-President of the Republic, Bernardino Machado, was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry which he succeeded in constituting on March 2.

On April 9, the anniversary of the battle of the Lys, Portugal's unknown warriors, one from Flanders and another

from Africa, were solemnly buried in the historic abbey of Batalha. Marshal Joffre, the Duca della Vittoria, and Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, representing respectively France, Italy, and Great Britain, attended the ceremony and 250 blue-jackets from H.M.S. *Cleopatra*, anchored in the Tagus, marched in the procession. On this occasion, after an all-night sitting in the Chamber of Deputies, a political amnesty was passed by 50 votes to 22, and the Royalists who had been incarcerated since the Monsanto rising of January, 1919, were with few exceptions released. On May 4 a decree was promulgated annulling that of December 9, 1917, by which Parliament had been dissolved. An unusual situation was thus created, since all legislation subsequent to the latter date became illegal.

The new decree did not, however, long remain valid, for on May 20 the Lisbon garrison revolted, threatening to fire on the forces which remained loyal to the Government. The revolutionary troops despatched an emissary to the President of the Republic, at whose house the Cabinet was meeting, demanding the resignation of the Government and the dissolution of Parliament. The Premier wished to resist, but the President, anxious to avert bloodshed, accepted the terms imposed, whereupon the garrison returned to their quarters. Doubt as to the observance of the terms brought them out again on the night of May 21-22, with the result that on the 23rd Barros Queiroz, leader of the Liberal or Moderate Republicans, formed a Ministry and Parliament was dissolved.

The new Government lasted three months. The elections of July 10 returned seventy-four Government candidates and fifty-one democrats. The latter supported the Liberal Government in its policy of retrenchment and reform. Dissensions in the Cabinet, however, soon arose in connexion with a decree for the suppression of speculation in foreign currencies and other measures and Barros Queiroz resigned (August 26), giving as his reasons for so doing the resistance—active and passive—to his bills for financial and economic reform which he had encountered in Parliament and the impossibility of forming a stable and effective Government in such circumstances. As a matter of fact, in a chamber of 152 deputies probably not more than eighty were at this particular period staunch Republicans, and legislation was frequently hampered by the apathy of members who on more than one occasion did not attend in sufficient numbers to form a quorum.

On August 29 Antonio Granjo, whose administration in 1920 had endured for several months, and who had resigned as Minister of Commerce from the preceding Cabinet, formed another Liberal Ministry. Its position, however, was precarious from the start, for it was threatened with vigorous opposition by the other parties and could scarcely count on the loyalty of its own. On October 19 the political and

revolutionary elements which had organised the revolution of May, 1915, and other movements executed another *coup d'état*, compelling the Premier to resign and the President to accept their nominees. The murderer of Sidonio Paes and other criminals were released, and independent groups of marines and civil guards paid domiciliary visits in the capital and its neighbourhood for the purpose of arresting Moderate Republicans. The majority of these succeeded in escaping, but, among others, the Premier, Granjo, Carlos da Maia, ex-Minister of Marine, and Admiral Machado dos Santos, popularly known as the founder of the Republic, were captured and shot.

The Revolutionary Committee obliged the President to nominate a new Government with their leader, Manuel Coelho, as Premier, and to issue decrees quashing the July elections and fixing December 11 for another appeal to the country. In this connexion the various political groups combined against the revolutionaries and refused to accede to the latter's demand for a division of the election spoils, despite the efforts of the President to arrange a settlement. The Government parried this refusal by postponing the elections till January 8, 1922, thus entering technically on a dictatorship.

The revolution had been outwardly successful, but the position of the revolutionaries was not actually so strong as it appeared to be, for they possessed the support of no party but their own and did not command popular sympathy. The murders of October 19 shocked public sentiment both abroad and in Portugal itself. British, French, and Spanish cruisers anchored for a month in the Tagus for the protection of their nationals, while the Portuguese Press demanded the punishment of the assassins whom the revolutionaries reluctantly promised to bring to justice. Coelho resigned on October 31, and his Ministry, reconstituted under Maia Pinto on November 4, only lasted until December 13.

In the meanwhile public opinion, casting vaguely for some solution, had instinctively turned towards a young officer of Engineers, Cunha Leal, a former Finance Minister, known for his courage, but possessing no great ability and little political experience. The different parties undertook to lend their support to his programme for the maintenance of order and administrative reform, provided that he adhered strictly to the terms of the Constitution. His task was formidable; his chances of success appeared at the close of 1921 to be so dubious that on December 30 he tendered his resignation, but was induced by the President to continue in power.

During 1921, therefore, instability was the dominant note in home politics, and the administration of the country continued to be the catspaw of rival factions, actuated, apparently, less by party principles than by personal animosities, towards which the bulk of the people were indifferent.

The Portuguese Colonies were to some extent saved from the effects of continual political changes at Lisbon, the first High Commissioners with extensive powers, Brito Camacho and Norton de Mattos, having sailed for Mozambique and Angola respectively on February 25 and April 1. A syndicate of Portuguese residents in Beira purchased some 75,000 hectares of land in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa for the cultivation of cotton. The extension of the Benguella railway was delayed for lack of funds.

In the preamble to a recent Finance Bill, the Minister of Finance made the following statement as to Portugal's financial position: "The amount of the country's floating debt, which is out of all proportion to its resources, gives serious cause for alarm. The note circulation is very high, and is not covered by corresponding metal reserves. Its continual increase will not meet the economic necessities of the country, but only serves the Budget." The public liabilities, including the floating debt referred to, are the following:—

	Escudos (mil.).
Floating Debt - - - - -	650,000
Debt to the Bank of Portugal - - - - -	730 000
Debts incurred in past years - - - - -	862,000
Deficit for the current year - - - - -	400,000
Anticipated deficit for next three years - - - - -	240,000
Public works - - - - -	30,000
	<u>2,412,000</u>

The close of 1921 was marked by a slight revival of general business, but the export trade was practically at a standstill.

Portugal concluded agreements with both France and Germany to facilitate the importation of port wine into those countries.

The National Economic Congress met for the first time to suggest remedies for the economic situation, but its suggestions were for the most part of an academic character.

A decree for the protection of Portuguese shipping, ordering payment of duties, etc., by national vessels in paper and by foreign vessels in sterling at par gold led the latter to threaten to boycott Portuguese ports.

The exchange on London, which stood at 4½*d.* at the end of March, rose to 8*d.* in June, but declined to the previous level after the October revolution.

#### DENMARK.

The Liberal Administration of Mr. Neergaard, which was in office during the whole of the year 1921, had as its main task the solution of the problems raised by the international after-effects of the war, and its efforts in this direction have marked the whole character of its policy.

The various branches of industry, strongly supported by the



Trade Unions, appealed to the Government for assistance against competition and dumping by the countries in which the exchange was least favourable. Commercial interest demanded greater export facilities; the farmers clamoured for the abolition of the remaining war restrictions. The Government declared its willingness to strive for the best terms obtainable for the restoration of property to the trade community, but refused to adopt artificial measures that might involve a danger of increased costs of production, and openly expressed its opposition to general protective tariffs. In conformity herewith it laid down the following general lines for its attitude towards trade: The greatest possible freedom of action for the trading community; the practice of the utmost economy in public and private expenditure; the lessening of the cost of working public utilities initiated by the appointment of economic councils which have already effected savings, amounting to about 14,000,000 Kroner in the postal, telegraphic, and railway services.

The Government's policy with regard to State support and protective measures met with strong opposition from industrial quarters and on the part of the workers, but throughout the year the Parliamentary majority, which brought the Government into power in 1920, steadily supported the Ministry, and thus ensured the success of its policy.

In recognition of the fact that something more than purely economic measures would be required to obviate international difficulties, the Government realised that its first duty was to reorganise the Foreign Office with special regard to modern commercial policy. With this object in view the Foreign Secretary on February 3, 1921, introduced into the Rigsdag a Bill which after some opposition was passed early in May. The fundamental principle of the project is to co-ordinate under a single head political as well as economic questions, formerly dealt with by separate departments. This unification is further symbolised by the fact that the general direction is to be placed in the hands of a permanent Director who is now M. O. C. Scavenius. Representation abroad has been extended; new diplomatic missions have been established in Brazil and Czechoslovakia, while the Legations in Switzerland, Japan, and Holland, formerly regarded as dependencies respectively of the Legations at Rome, Brussels, and Peking, have now been made completely independent. Ministers have replaced *Chargés d'affaires* in Siam and the Argentine, and new consulates have been set up at Seattle, Montreal, the Dutch East Indies, and Kovno. The setting up of diplomatic missions in Rumania, Serbia, Mexico, and Greece are also contemplated.

In regard to social legislation special interest attaches to the Government's proposal for National Health Insurance, having in view the creation of an insurance fund to which the State, the municipalities, the employers, and the employed will all

contribute. The right to insurance is limited to persons who are members of Friendly Societies recognised by the Government, and to persons who are officially classified as without means, by which term shall be understood persons whose total income amounts to less than 5,000 Kroner. This law has been in force since October 1, 1921.

The Government has considered plans of building and extending harbours in North Slesvig, and of setting up of a wireless telegraph station in Southern Greenland, a proposal which has been received with great interest in England.

In April it was decided to initiate direct negotiations with Germany in order to settle certain practical questions arising out of the restoration of South Jutland to Denmark. They were begun in May and concluded in December, when an agreement was reached in regard to water courses, fisheries, and local economic problems.

The problem of the future of Copenhagen as the transit centre of the world's trade through the Baltic with the Baltic territories and eastwards had long been under discussion and aroused much attention, above all in England. Sir Charles Sykes, M.P., arrived at Copenhagen in January accompanied by a number of eminent business men including Sir William Petersen, a native of Denmark. This delegation, which was known to have the support of the British Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade, entered into close negotiations with the Merchants' Guild at Copenhagen and inspected the Harbour and the Free Port. In March prominent English industrial leaders discussed at Copenhagen the project of Anglo-Danish commercial and industrial co-operation. In April Mr. Norman D. Johnston came to examine the possibilities of corresponding arrangements with Canada and the United States. At the close of the latter month, an Anglo-Danish Technical Society, having as its Chairman the Danish representative of the Federation of British Industries, was formed for the purpose of ensuring Anglo-Danish mercantile industrial collaboration. In August, Mr. Ch. D. Snow, Trade Specialist from the U.S.A., reached Copenhagen in order to inspect the Danish Free Port and consider its value as a centre of the North European and Baltic transit trade. Both Mr. Snow and Mr. Johnston, as well as Sir Charles Sykes, expressed their unreserved recognition of the utility of the Danish Free Port and the admirable situation of Copenhagen for the purpose in question, the realisation of which depended solely on certain contingencies and the development of events in Russia and the Baltic Lands.

The Great Northern Telegraph Company has resumed its old activities in transmitting the world's telegraphic messages to the East across Russia. In March a Danish-Dutch Union and a Danish Czechoslovakian Chamber of Commerce were formed. In the autumn a concession for the exploitations of

65,000 hectares of forest were obtained from the Latvian Government. Further, a Danish-Australian Chamber of Commerce was created.

The work in progress with a view to the development of Danish colonial enterprise in Greenland is of preponderating interest, and this work is especially marked by new administrative proposals, put forward in December, 1920. The interest in Greenland was heightened by the celebration of the bicentenary of Danish colonial enterprise in that country, and this celebration reached its culmination when the King visited Greenland.

Labour conditions in Denmark assumed a serious complexion during the spring in consequence of friction within several trades. On March 18 a lockout was declared, and was met with strikes comprising about 100,000 workers. Towards the middle of the following month the Government's arbitrator succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation involving amongst other things certain minute reductions in wages. Unemployment, which kept pace with the depression in trade, industry, and shipping, continued till the end of the year, and involved at its close approximately 80,000 workers. Shortly after the reopening of the Rigsdag in October the Minister of the Interior brought forward a proposal for the alteration of the terms on which maintenance and work should be given to the unemployed. But as the proposal implied a stricter control in granting allowances and at the same time aimed at reducing their amount, it was fiercely opposed by the Labour Party. Certain changes, intended to meet the objections of Labour, having been introduced, the proposal was passed with the consent of all parties and took effect as from January 1, 1922.

During the Autumn session the attention of the Rigsdag was concentrated on the great fiscal reforms foreshadowed by the Government. On November 23 the Minister of Finance proposed sixteen new taxes, comprising an income tax and a capital levy, expected to yield 176,000,000 Kroner; succession duty, estimated to yield about 23,000,000 Kroner; taxes on immovable property, amounting to at least 10,000,000 Kroner; indirect taxes of diverse kinds, such as customs duties, liquor tax, etc. The new tax on the turn-over of hotels and restaurants (10 per cent.) provoked special criticism. The total revenue, expected from all these taxes amounts to 400,000,000 Kroner which, it is hoped, will redress the balance between public expenditure and public revenue. The scheme here outlined seeks to follow the lines pursued for many years past with the object of removing the burden from indirect to direct taxation. At the same time a loan of 30,000,000 dollars has been raised in America in order to cover the deficit in the Budget for the current year. The Budget for 1922-23 is marked by the strictest economy.

At the end of 1921 the general financial depression which

weighed heavily on most European countries, did not affect Denmark severely. The drop in prices has been borne without serious dismay. Some new firms whose activity had been founded on the extraordinary boom prevalent during the war have been compelled to liquidate, and a few small banks which had taken too great risks have been obliged to close their doors. But all these occurrences were of a purely local character, and remained without influence on the general financial conditions of the country. At the close of the year 1921, Denmark can boast of a balanced Budget, favourable trade returns, a firm exchange which perceptibly improved during 1921 and was nearing par as the year ended, a discount rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and a much reduced circulation of paper currency.

#### SWEDEN.

The dominant feature in the political development of Sweden during and after the war, has been the ever-growing strength of the Social Democratic Labour Party. This party emerged from the elections of 1917 as the strongest in the First Chamber, a position which it still holds. The first Labour Government followed in 1920, when M. Branting held power for some months, to be succeeded by the non-political Government of de Geer.

The weakness of this Government was apparent when Parliament met in 1921. The King's Speech on the occasion of the opening of the Riksdag on January 10, began with a reference to the deep sorrow which the Royal family and the entire nation had experienced in the death of the Crown Princess (Princess Margaret of Connaught), expressed a hope for the growth of the influence of the League of Nations, foreshadowed measures for the maintenance of the food resources of the country, and for preventing unemployment. The most stringent economy in matters of State administration was promised, and proposals were submitted for certain new forms of taxation.

The Budget for 1922, which was simultaneously laid before both Houses, amounted to 901,956,500 Kr. as compared with 828,814,500 Kr. for the previous year. The supplementary Budget for the current year amounted to 442,812,242 Kr.

Towards the end of the session a new Budget was formulated, from which it appeared that the Riksdag had saved about 81,000,000 Kr. But this saving was more than obliterated by the heavy reductions which had to be made in the estimates of revenues, especially in regard to customs duties and income and property taxation. Through these reductions there came about a deficit of about 50,000,000 Kr., brought down to 29,400,000 by proceeds from State property. On the motion of the Government the Riksdag decided to meet this deficit by doubling the taxation on the sale and proceeds of intoxicating liquor.

In the course of his formal statement introducing the Budget, the Finance Minister drew attention to the fact that the Swedish Exchange policy would have to be directed towards the revival of an effective gold currency, by preventing any shrinkage in the value of the Krone in relation to gold, and by trying, on the contrary, to increase its value in so far as this might be practicable through a decided but cautious utilisation of the available means for augmenting the purchasing power of money.

The customary debates on the occasion of the Riksdag's going into Committee bore chiefly upon questions of economy, and were marked by a genuine desire on all sides to ensure all possible avoidance of waste and to reduce administrative expenses.

The Budget proposals included several new tariffs, among others an increased duty on coffee, which met with considerable opposition in the newly elected First Chamber, and was ultimately defeated by a great majority. Thereupon the Minister of Finance, M. Tamm, resigned. This resignation was followed in a few days by that of the whole Government. A reconstruction, however, took place, the Prime Minister, M. de Geer, being replaced by M. von Sydow, and the Minister of Finance by M. Beskow. In May, the Minister of Defence, General Hammarskjöld, was forced to resign when Parliament refused to pass his Military Service Bill, and he was succeeded by Commander Lybeck.

Sweden's customs duties policy during the last year has been under consideration by a Committee which has not yet concluded its labours. Parliament therefore adopted temporary measures for protecting the country's food supply. Thus ratification was given, in spite of strong opposition from the Social Democratic Party, to a so-called sliding scale for ground and unground grain by which duties are increased automatically when the importation price falls and are lowered when it rises. On the other hand the Social Democrats, Liberals, and the Peasant Party combined together to secure the rejection of a Royal proposal regarding substantial provisional increases in certain duties on industrial goods.

In the field of labour legislation a number of important decisions were taken. On the motion of the Government certain modifications were introduced in the law which was passed by the Riksdag of 1919 regarding the eight hours day for industrial workers. These modifications do not, however, involve any alteration in the principle of the law, and aim merely at giving them a milder application. The Social Democrats held, however, that from the standpoint of the workmen the modifications constituted a change for the worse and they offered a strong opposition to them. They recommended instead the ratification of the Washington Convention, but this was rejected. On the other hand, the Riksdag decided, on the motion of the Government, to ratify the Washington Convention's regulations

with reference to unemployment as well as the Genoa Convention regarding the institution of a minimum age for the employment of children on ships and boats. On a motion from the Liberals, and in the face of strong opposition from the Social Democrats, the Riksdag decided also to embody in an address to the King a recommendation for the holding of an inquiry "as to what measures could be proposed for securing peace in the labour world in addition to those already taken." This was held to foreshadow early legislation directed against strikes involving "danger to society."

From the Conservative side came a demand for the abolition of the eight hours day and for the dissolution of the Committees which were instituted by the Social Democratic Government in order to investigate into the question of Nationalisation. These demands, however, were opposed in a very decided manner by the Prime Minister. To an interpellation put forward from a Left Socialist quarter, with regard to the resumption of commercial relations with Russia, the Foreign Minister replied that the Government were in favour of this, but that it was a matter calling for careful treatment. They were seeking opportunities for solving the problem, he declared, but felt that the right moment had not yet arrived. Later in the year on the initiative of the Soviet Government negotiations were entered into for the conclusion of a commercial Treaty between Sweden and Soviet Russia and they were still in progress at the end of the year.

The Riksdag, which had sat for a period considerably longer than that legally provided for, was prorogued on June 21.

In the course of the Riksdag's Session a number of legislative reforms were enacted, some of them definitively, some provisionally, with a view to an increased democratisation of political life. Among those definitively passed was the Bill adopted by the previous Riksdag for a far-reaching reform of the franchise, of which the most important clauses are that women shall be entitled to vote and to be voted for on the same conditions as men, and that the right to vote shall be further extended so that practically every citizen of the age of twenty-three, and in other respects qualified to vote, shall be entitled to do so. A series of legislative reforms were also finally ratified which provided for the strengthening of parliamentary control over foreign policy. The private Committee, which the King was able to summon whenever he thought well to do so and which met only when the King so wished, was replaced by a Foreign Affairs Committee which the Riksdag appoints on its own initiative and which the King is obliged to summon to deal with all foreign affairs of importance. Moreover, the sanction of the Riksdag is now required for all agreements with Foreign Powers, not only with regard to questions which the Riksdag has been in the habit of ratifying alone or in conjunction with the King, but in regard to all questions of greater importance. Provi-

sional ratification for the period of the existing Riksdag was obtained, with a considerable majority, for a legislative reform instituting a consultative plebiscite in regard to matters of special importance before they come up for final settlement in the Riksdag which comes to its own decision in regard to the matter in question.

The constitutional reforms fundamentally changed the electoral basis of both chambers, and in July Parliament was dissolved in order to give an opportunity to the new constituencies to exercise their vote. The election took place in September, and with the participation for the first time of the women voters resulted in a marked victory for the Social Democratic Labour Party. After the election, the popular Chamber was composed as follows: 93 Social Democrats (the Swedish Labour Party); 62 Conservatives; 41 Liberals; 21 Peasants Party; 6 Left Socialists; and 7 Communists.

Even this decisive victory did not give an absolute majority to the Social Democratic Labour Party. The Sydow Government, however, resigned immediately, and M. Branting, the veteran Labour leader, was sent for by the King. Following the precedent of 1911, when the Liberals undertook the task of forming a new Government, he invited the Liberals to join in a coalition in order to secure a working majority. The offer was rejected and the new Government, M. Branting's second Ministry, became a Labour Government pure and simple, composed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs	Mr. Branting.
Minister of Finance	Mr. Thorsson.
Minister for Social Affairs	Mr. Lindqvist.
Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs	Mr. Olsson.
Minister of Commerce	Mr. Svensson.
Minister of Defence	Mr. Hansson.
Minister of Justice	Mr. Aakerman.
Minister of Agriculture	Mr. Linders.
Minister of Transport	Mr. Oerne.
Ministers without portfolio	Mr. Sandler, Mr. Nothin, and Mr. Schlyter.

With regard to foreign politics, the question of the status of the Aaland Islands continued to occupy the closest attention of the Government and the people alike. In the preceding year an international commission of jurists pronounced against the Finnish contention that this question was a purely internal Finnish concern and decided that it was international in character, and therefore a proper matter for the League of Nations to deal with. In accepting this decision, the Council of the League appointed the Belgian Minister of State, M. Beyens, the American judge, Mr. Elkus, and the former Swiss Minister of Justice, M. Calonder, to investigate the problem and give their opinion and reasons on which the Council could base a proposal for a definite or provisional arrangement. In April this Commission presented its report, declaring that the Aaland Islands should be under the sovereignty of Finland provided the

population of the islands were given certain statutory privileges in order to give security to their particular national rights and aspirations. This report evoked strong protests in the islands, as well as in Sweden. In June the Council of the League met at Geneva, and after hearing the representatives of the Aalanders, of Sweden, and of Finland, decided to adopt the report of the Commission. The Swedish delegation, led by Mr. Branting, while protesting on behalf of their Government against the decision, declared that Sweden was "ready to recognise that the decision of the Council has the force given to it by the Covenant." The conditions of Finland's sovereignty over the islands were then fixed, and the Aalanders were accorded the right of appeal through the Finnish Government to the Council of the League of Nations whose duty it is to watch over the application of the safeguards granted to the islanders. At the same time it was decided to enter into an agreement for the demilitarisation and the neutralisation of the islands, "in order to guarantee that these islands shall never become a cause of danger from the military point of view." On the request of Sweden a Conference for this purpose was held in Geneva in October. In this Conference representatives of Sweden, Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Denmark, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, and Latvia took part, and a convention for the neutralisation of the islands was signed, subject to ratification. Sweden and Finland have already ratified this convention, and the Finnish Parliament has also decided to put on the statute book the special stipulations agreed upon as conditions for Finnish sovereignty over the Aaland Islands. As a consequence of this development the relations between Sweden and Finland have gradually improved, and this has been marked by the appointment of a Swedish Minister in Helsingfors, where no Swedish Minister has been in residence since spring, 1920.

#### NORWAY.

Both in its political and its industrial life Norway continued to feel acutely in 1921 the effects of the Great War. Among the legacies of the war was a standard of wages which made the workmen lose some of their sense of proportion. When difficult times set in, they still believed themselves able to enforce their demands for higher wages or at least for preserving the war standard. A favourite idea among them was to bring about traffic strikes in order to paralyse the community and call forth universal dissatisfaction. The close of 1920 had witnessed a general railway strike, and in the first months of 1921 preparations were made for a seamen's strike in the coastal traffic.

By far the greater part of the Norwegian railways are State owned and State managed. The Government and the Storting—the Parliament—had during the war improved the wages and salaries of all State servants, including the railwaymen, and now



the Government and the Storting refused further concession. A railway strike was therefore called for December 1. By December 12 it had collapsed.

The extremists had experienced a humiliating defeat, but they hoped to have their revenge. In Norway wages agreements between labour and employers are usually fixed for two or three years. In the spring of 1921 some agreements expired, the most important being that between the shipowners and the crews in the coastal steamers. Freights had gone down considerably, and the owners were forced to reduce expenses. They accordingly asked the men to agree to a reduction of wages. The deck officers complied with the request, but the engineers, firemen, and seamen refused. On May 8 they began to strike, stopping entirely the coastal traffic of 110 steamship companies. Later on the dockers and transport workers joined in, and on May 26 the National Federation of all Trade Unions called out most of its members. About 160,000 men, including the seamen, were out. This was virtually a general strike by organised labour and a number of unorganised workers. But the community proved to be less helpless than the extremist leaders had anticipated. Some steamers were manned by volunteers and sailed as usual. The large fleet of small motor and sailing craft connected with the fisheries and the transport of goods along the coast and in the fjords were mobilised by the population for post and passenger traffic. In a short time the effects of the coastal shipping strike were neutralised by these and similar measures. The industrial strike ashore had even less effect. Concerns of vital importance, such as gas and electricity works, sanitary works, bakeries, and the like, were operated by volunteers.

Attempts were made to hinder voluntary work by fomenting riots in Bergen, Christiania, and some other towns. The police proved able everywhere to cope with the situation, though the Government took the precaution of keeping military assistance in readiness for all eventualities. On the whole the public organisations worked admirably. The authorities immediately brought to trial rioters and reckless agitators, thus effectively vindicating the power of law.

Morally, the "grand strike" as it was called by the leaders, was a failure from the very first day. A number of local Trade Unions seceded from the Trade Union Federation beforehand in order not to be involved in a strike which they considered unjustified and foolish. The secession continued after the strike had ended in complete failure—twelve days after its start. In November, 1920, the Trade Unions had 145,000 members; in April, 1921, the number was reduced to 127,000, and in September to 104,000. Though the industrial stagnation may account for some of this loss, the strike which was considered foolish by most of the workers was probably the main reason for the withdrawals.

The immediate effect of the strike was an increase of unemployment. A number of factories were unable to start work again after the stoppage, being temporarily paralysed by losing the few orders which were still available in the market during the continuance of the strike. The employers, however, did their best to limit the unemployment by keeping work going, on at least a restricted scale, where this was possible, even if losses were incurred. The Government and the municipalities, too, did what they could to relieve the distress by starting emergency work.

Another of the legacies from the war was the prohibition problem. Norway had before the war a very efficient system for controlling the liquor trade, and owing to habits thus acquired the Norwegian consumption of alcohol per head became one of the lowest in the world. The war with its inflow of money and artificial prosperity placed strong temptations in the way of many people, and, like other countries, Norway went so far as to prohibit the sale of spirits. Nevertheless, drinking increased considerably, and there was what was popularly called a "wine flood." For the first time for generations illicit private distillation of spirits began to flourish, and all kinds of substitutes for intoxicating drink were resorted to. The growing abuses were generally deplored, but there were widely different opinions as to the remedy. The more moderate people were for trying the effects of reasonable restriction and moral persuasion; prohibition, they thought, would only make the evil worse, as it would estrange many friends of sobriety and so divide the moral forces which were fighting the drink evil. The prohibitionists, on the other hand, thought that the evil could be rooted out by prohibition and severe punishment. Drinking to excess stirred public opinion, and the number of prohibitionists increased.

As far back as 1919, as the result of a referendum, prohibition of spirits and strong wines had been introduced by an Order in Council of the Radical Ministry of Gunnar Knudsen. When restrictions were introduced during the war, the wine-producing countries, France, Spain, and Portugal, had made no serious objections to these measures. But now when the war was over, they strongly protested against the temporary restrictions being made permanent, alleging that this was a breach of Treaty. To avoid accusations of this kind, Norway gave formal notice of cancellation of the Treaties with Spain and Portugal, while France denounced her Treaty with Norway. Temporary agreements were made while negotiations were going on.

In the meantime the Ministry of Gunnar Knudsen resigned in the summer of 1920, and the difficulties left by the war, including the negotiations with the wine countries, were handed on to a Conservative Ministry under Mr. Otto B. Halvorsen as Premier and Mr. C. F. Michelet as Foreign Minister. Like its predecessor this Ministry had no majority of its own party, and

it had to temporise on the prohibition question, though the Ministers personally were convinced that the country had entered on a wrong path by introducing prohibition, both because it would not increase sobriety and also because it was likely to jeopardise good commercial relations with the wine-producing countries. The Ministry was, therefore, suspected by the Opposition of not doing its very best in the negotiations with these countries to uphold the prohibition principle. With France a settlement was arrived at on the basis of Norway undertaking to import annually 150,000 litres of French brandies for medical and technical use, the Opposition assenting to the agreement. The negotiations with Spain and Portugal were less successful. These countries demanded that Norway should undertake to import from each of them 500,000 litres of wines containing over 14 per cent. alcohol. Such quantities were far in excess of medical requirements, and as it was made a condition that the wines should not be re-exported, Norway was placed in the dilemma of practically making her prohibition regulation null and void, or taking the risk of having her export of fish to Spain and Portugal destroyed. The Norwegian fisher population was to a great extent dependent on the Spanish and Portuguese markets, all the more so as the Russian market was already closed and the German market more or less in a state of collapse.

Under these circumstances the Conservative Ministry of Halvorsen desired to have an extended mandate from the Storting so as to be enabled to negotiate with Spain and Portugal on a freer basis and thus better secure Norway's economical interests, even if the ideal of pure prohibition should have to be a little modified in the process. The prohibitionists, including the Liberals and Socialists, refused to consider the Ministry's suggestion and were on the whole dissatisfied with the Government's handling of the matter. They therefore took the opportunity of making the Ministry resign on a side issue unconnected with the wine negotiations, and in the summer of 1921 a Radical Ministry was formed with Mr. Otto Blehr as Premier and Mr. Arnold Raestad as Foreign Minister.

The new Ministry believed that Spain and Portugal, whose population could not very well dispense with Norwegian fish, would show some moderation if Norway displayed sufficient firmness in upholding prohibition. To convince the wine countries that Norway was in earnest, the new Ministry and the Storting enforced prohibition by a special law, which took the place of the Order in Council. This measure was much resented by the anti-prohibitionists, who said it was unconstitutional for a Storting whose term was nearly expiring thus to prevent the electorate from being consulted on the matter.

Public feeling during the election campaign in the autumn of 1921 ran very high. Prohibition was the main issue on which discussion turned, quite overshadowing the other issues, *viz.*,

the labour movement, the language question, and the financial position. The fate of these, strangely enough, was made to depend on the prohibition question. Prohibition was believed to be a very cherished idea among the mass of the people, particularly the women, in spite of the obvious malpractices to which it led, such as illicit distilling, smuggling, increased drunkenness and lawbreaking. The party headquarters of the Socialists and the Radicals thought it would increase their poll and thus further their special party objects, if they included prohibition in their programmes. There were unquestionably many people who honestly believed that prohibition was a good thing for the nation and who would, therefore, be willing to support parties with prohibition inscribed on their flags. Thus the Socialist Party used prohibition for furthering Socialism and Communism, while the Radical Party hoped in the same way to gain support for the language question and other Radical ideas.

The language question has for a long time divided the nation into two camps. The Norwegian language has two main forms, the "Riksmaal" and the "Landsmaal," closely related in many respects, but differing in others. The "Riksmaal" is an inheritance from the union with Denmark, but it has been much altered from Danish by the adoption of Norwegian words and by being spelt according to Norwegian pronunciation. The "Landsmaal" is the literary form common to a number of rural dialects, the remnants of Old Norse, but it also is to some extent influenced by Danish. Both these forms of the Norwegian language are officially recognised as being on an equal footing in the Church, the universities, the schools, and the law courts, and persons wishing to enter the universities must learn to write both forms, though they may choose either as their principal language. The two forms have lately approached each other considerably, and will, in the opinion of many, one day amalgamate and constitute a single Norwegian literary language, by a process similar to that which, in England, fused the Anglo-Saxon dialects with Norman-French. While the Conservative Party wish this process to go on in a natural way without too much artificial stimulation, the Radicals are more impatient and wish to make the "Landsmaal" the principal language at once or in the near future. The Conservative Party consider this a violation of the principle of personal liberty of the same kind as prohibition and Communism, and other State interferences with the old-established rights of individuals.

As to the financial position, it was, in the eyes of the Conservatives, to a great extent bound up with the prohibition question, because if Norwegian fish were practically excluded from the wine-producing countries, the fishers, merchants, and shipowners would incur heavy losses detrimental to the whole community, especially in times of general stagnation. Thus in the way explained, prohibition became the central pivot

of the election, and made the Conservative Party, in a way, a champion of personal liberties.

The Conservatives urged the abrogation of the prohibition law, and their cause was greatly strengthened by the disgust felt at the extreme attitude of labour as well as of prohibitionists and language zealots. But various events which had recently occurred militated against their success.

One of these was an alteration of the Constitution voted by the Storting in 1920 lowering the minimum age for voters—men and women—from 25 to 23 years, introducing proportional party representation in the Storting, and increasing the number of representatives from 126 to 150. All these changes were calculated to increase the Socialist element in the Storting, and this really happened. The effect of this increase, however, was somewhat counteracted by a split in the Socialist ranks, the "Old Socialists" breaking away from the Communists. In the Conservative ranks, too, there was a split. In 1921 the important national organisation of the farmers, who were practically divided between the Conservatives and the Radicals, decided to form their own Political Party and to nominate their own candidates to represent the special interests of the farmers.

The results of the election gave the Conservatives 57 seats, as against 51 in the 1918 election; the Farmers' Party, 17 seats (3 in 1918); the Radicals, 40 seats (52 in 1918); the Labour Democrats, 2 seats (3 in 1918); the Old Socialists, 6 seats (none in 1918); and the Communists, 28 seats (17 in 1918).

The results were a blow to prohibition and to the Government, whose position is precarious. Soon after the election the Government made a temporary Treaty with Spain by which Norway agreed to import 150,000 litres of wine during the four months ending March 31, 1922, while Spain allowed Norwegian fish to be imported at a reduced tariff. No agreement was made with Portugal.

In 1921 Norway concluded a commercial Treaty with Soviet Russia, and thus obtained an outlet for some of her fish to her old market.

Disagreement with Denmark on the question of Greenland occurred during the year. When, some years ago, Denmark sold her West Indian Islands to the United States, the American and other Governments were asked to consent to Denmark extending her sovereignty and trade monopoly over the whole area of Greenland. Objection to this claim was taken by Norway, which has enjoyed certain advantages in Greenland from time immemorial. As yet no agreement on the subject has been arrived at between the two countries.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND INDIA: PERSIA—AFGHANISTAN—IRAK—  
PALESTINE—SYRIA—ARABIA—INDIA.

## PERSIA.

THE opening of 1921 found Persia in the throes of a grave political crisis. Internally discontent was rife with the corrupt feudal aristocracy by which the country was governed, and externally relations were unsettled with the Bolshevik Government of Russia on one side and the British Government on the other. There were persistent rumours in the country that the Shah intended to abdicate and go to Europe for his health. On January 16, however, the Shah, presiding at a meeting of Persian notables in Teheran, declared that he had decided to remain in the country at that time of national crisis, and this somewhat reassured the public. He had already on January 14 dismissed the Sipahdar from the post of Prime Minister, and though he revoked this step in deference to the wishes of the merchants of Teheran, the whole Cabinet resigned on January 18, and a month elapsed before a new one was formed. The Shah summoned the Mejliss to meet on February 8, but several deputies purposely kept away, in order not to have to ratify the Anglo-Persian agreement which was very unpopular, and thus prevented a quorum being formed. A Commission was sitting at the time to consider the possibility of effecting changes in the text of the agreement, so as to make it more palatable to the Mejliss.

Before that body could meet, however, the political situation was entirely transformed by a *coup d'état*. On February 20 the Kazvin and Hamadan sections of the Persian Cossack Brigade under Riza Khan marched on Teheran. Representatives of the Shah along with the Sipahdar and the Councillor of the British Legation went out to meet them, and were informed by Riza Khan that he was determined to occupy the capital and set up a strong military Government capable of protecting Teheran after the departure of the British troops, whose withdrawal from Northern Persia had been ordered by the British Government. He declared himself anti-Bolshevist and pro-British, and said he recognised no authority but that of the Shah. The Cossacks attacked Teheran at midnight, and after a couple of hours of street fighting secured complete possession of the town. The Shah accepted the Cossack regime, and on February 22 business, which had been at a standstill during the *coup*, was resumed. A number of political arrests were made, but there were no disturbances, either in Teheran or in the provinces. The task of forming a Cabinet was entrusted to the Seyyid Zia-ed-din, who acted in close conjunction with Riza Khan. The Bakhtiari of the provinces

telegraphed their adhesion to the new Government, and Mr. Cecil Harmsworth in the House of Commons announced that Britain's attitude to the Cossack force was one of strict neutrality.

Among those arrested was Prince Farman Farma, a feudal magnate who had expected to become Prime Minister in succession to the Sipahdar. Instead he was fined four million tomans (660,000*l.*) as part of the money which his family was alleged to have misappropriated in recent years.

One of the first steps taken by the new Government was to control the liquor traffic in Teheran, and another was to appoint a commission of Persian, British, and Belgian officials to report all possible reductions in the establishment and salaries of the Ministry of Finance, which had been notoriously mis-managed.

On February 27 the Seyyid Zia-ed-din issued a proclamation to the people in which he stated that Persia, after fifteen years of misgovernment by unscrupulous and corrupt nobles, was tottering to the brink of ruin when, with the Shah's approval, he assumed office in order to restore the country to an honourable position among the nations. He outlined a far-reaching scheme of internal reforms, and stated that a fundamental change in Persian foreign policy was also essential. He proposed to abolish the capitulations, and substitute special laws and "Tribunaux de Paix" for the benefit of foreign subjects. In pursuance of these principles he denounced the Anglo-Persian Agreement of August, 1919, in order to do away with misunderstandings between the Persian and English peoples, and open a new road to friendly relations with all countries. The proclamation was received with enthusiasm by the public, and also made a good impression on the foreign residents, especially the British, who were convinced that the pact of 1919 was a hindrance to friendly relations between the two peoples.

On April 9 at an official dinner at Teheran Zia-ed-din outlined Persia's foreign policy, and said that her relations with Great Britain were cordial owing to the disappearance of the Agreement, and that Persia turned to America for agricultural and France for legal advisers, and also contemplated employing Belgians and Swedes. By April 20 the British troops had entirely withdrawn from the front North of Kazvin, and were replaced by Persian Cossacks. The Prime Minister in an address to the nation thanked the British troops both for their coming and their going, and congratulated the nation on having bestirred itself in its own defence. Soon after the Cossack positions were shelled by a force of Bolsheviks and Tartars, and the Persian Government demanded an explanation from Moscow, refusing to receive the Russian Minister (Rothstein) till it had obtained satisfaction. The Minister apologised.

In May the Persian Government cancelled the concessions

granted to the Persian Transport Company, a well-known British concern, on the ground that it had not carried out the terms of the concession. This action caused considerable excitement, and was regarded as a direct challenge to British commercial interests. A strong movement arose among the Cossack Party, under Colonel Riza Khan, for the removal of the British officers and their advisers. This led to a breach between Riza Khan and the Prime Minister who was afraid that with the removal of the British he would fall under Persian military domination. The result was that the Shah dismissed Zia-ed-din and a new Cabinet was formed with Kavan-es-Sultanah as Prime Minister, the chief power, however, remaining in the hands of Riza Khan.

The meeting of the Mejliss in the first week of July was accompanied by the distribution broadcast of a document, signed by the majority of the members, indicting British policy. A further sign of the growth of anti-British feeling was the attempt made in the first week of August to invalidate the election to the Mejliss of Prince Firuz Misrata-ed-Dowleh on the ground that he had sold his country by negotiating the Anglo-Persian agreement. Firuz only retained his seat by declaring himself to be now entirely out of sympathy with British policy. The flames of Anglophobia were fanned by a speech of Earl Curzon in the House of Lords on July 26, outlining British policy in Persia. The speech was commented on with intense bitterness by certain organs of the Persian Press.

At the end of August friction arose between Russia and Persia owing to the refusal of the latter to deliver up a Bolshevik commissary named Israelenko who had escaped with Bolshevik funds to Persia and there claimed Polish nationality. The matter was finally settled by Israelenko being handed over to a Persian court for trial.

In this month Sir Percy Loraine succeeded Mr. H. B. Norman as British Minister. By order of Earl Curzon the South Persian Rifles were soon after completely disbanded, and in consequence the British Consul ordered the evacuation of the British families from Shiraz, considering them insufficiently protected.

On September 27 a number of prominent personages were arrested on a charge of plotting to murder the Prime Minister and the Minister of War, and one of them, Moshai-el-Mulk, was deported to Mesopotamia, but most of the others were released.

On October 23 the Sirdar Sipah's Cossacks captured the last stronghold of the rebel Kutchuk Khan, who had been in rebellion since May, 1920, and at one time occupied Resht. On December 8 he was reported to have been captured and beheaded.

In November oil concessions for fifty years in North Persia were granted to the Standard Oil Company of America.



Early in December Persian troops defeated Simko's Kurds who had for some time been terrorising the neighbourhood of Urumiah.

## AFGHANISTAN.

Early in the year a mission of five members, headed by General Muhammed Vali Khan, left Afghanistan for Europe in order to examine the possibility of entering into political and commercial relations with European States. The mission visited Moscow, where in March it signed a Turco-Afghan Treaty providing for mutual assistance between the two countries in case of attack by a third party. From Moscow it went to Riga, and thence to Angora, in order to explain the Treaty to the Turkish headquarters. The head of the mission there made bitter Anglophobe speeches, and in an interview stated that it was the duty of the entire Moslem world to help the Turkish nationalists. Early in May it was decided that a Turkish military mission should leave Anatolia for Afghanistan. The Afghan mission proceeded to Germany and thence to Rome, which it left after a stay of several days on June 6 for Paris.

On June 5 a son and heir was born to the Ameer, and on June 18 the Ameer announced the completion of a Code of Criminal Procedure with the effect, in his own words, of "making Afghanistan truly free and independent."

Meanwhile negotiations had been in progress for effecting a reunion between Afghanistan and India. Early in January Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Dobbs had arrived in Kabul to continue the conversations which had been begun at Mussoorie in the previous year. On May 31 Lord Chelmsford said in the House of Lords that he was confident the discussions at Kabul would have a salutary effect and produce valuable results. For a long time, however, they continued to hang fire. This was due to the leanings of the Ameer towards Russia and Turkey. A Treaty between the Bolshevik Government and the Ameer had been signed on February 28, and Lord Curzon stated on one occasion that the Soviet Government had offered the Afghans a subsidy of 100,000*l.* a year; and on November 17 the Afghan envoy at Angora gave a banquet in honour of Fakhri Pasha, who was leaving for Kabul, at which speeches extolling Islamic union were made.

However, on November 23 the India Office was able to announce that a Treaty between Great Britain and Afghanistan had been signed on the day previous at Kabul, on the Afghan Government giving written assurances that no Russian consulates would be permitted in the areas adjoining the Indian frontier. The Treaty reaffirmed Great Britain's recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence, and restored to the Afghans the privilege of importing munitions through India. A small place near the head of the Khyber Pass was transferred to Afghanistan, and Sir Henry Dobbs carried out the realignment of the frontier

on crossing over to India on December 4. King George sent a message of congratulation to the Ameer, who telegraphed a reply expressing deep appreciation of His Majesty's message, and hoping relations between the countries would grow closer.

#### IRAK.

After Egypt Mesopotamia is the country in the Near and Middle East with special British interests that has attracted most attention. The extremely disturbed state in which the country had been since the conclusion of the war had practically passed away before the opening of the year under review and the peace of the country was barely disturbed during that period. Early in the year the British Government, urged by the pressing need for economies, determined to reduce its commitments somewhat in Mesopotamia, and as the readiest means in that direction decided to create an Arab Government on which the main burden and expenses of the Administration and defence of the country would fall. As King of Mesopotamia or Irak, as the region became known, the choice of Britain fell on the Emir Feisal, chief of the shortlived Kingdom of Syria, and the most distinguished of the sons of the King of the Hedjaz. Britain did not appoint him King. It only expressed its preference and recommended him to the people of the country. These signified their approval through their Sheikhs, notables, and heads of their communities with practical unanimity, and Feisal was in due course crowned King of Irak. In fact, remarkable unanimity was attained, Shiites as well as Sunnites supporting his candidature, and Basra being as much in favour of him as Bagdad. Only the French in Syria looked somewhat askance at the appearance of Feisal as King of a State bordering on that from which they had so recently expelled him.

Although a King of Irak had been elected, the constitution of the country had not been settled, for that depended on the approval of the Draft Mandate by the League of Nations. The principal Allies had already decided that the Mandate for the supervision of the Government of the country and for its defence should be entrusted to Britain, and to Britain was left the task of drafting that mandate. As submitted to the League of Nations the Mandatory Power was bound to frame an Organic Law in consultation with the native authorities and submit it to the Council of the League of Nations for approval. Conditions leaving much to the Mandatory Power's discretion were laid down for the administration of the country, but the Mandatory Power was prohibited from making any discrimination between its own subjects and those of other Powers members of the League of Nations. An article of the Draft Mandate gave authority for the establishment of a system of local autonomy for the predominantly Kurdish areas. This Draft has not yet been considered by the League. The Kurds of Mesopotamia

had not altogether settled down quietly under the new regime, and there was trouble in their region in the summer when a small Turkish invasion was followed by a rising. But the former was easily repulsed, and the latter suppressed with very few casualties on either side. The leader of the Turkish malcontents then made his submission, and when King Feisal visited the north some weeks later, he was received with equal enthusiasm by Kurd and Arab, by Christian and Moslem. The recognition of Feisal as King of Irak by the Sultan of Nejd also helped towards the much desired settlement. This settlement allowed of a considerable reduction in the forces as well as economies in the cost of administration, and the Secretary of State was enabled by the march of events to forecast a still further considerable reduction in expenditure on account of Irak in the coming year.

Although the Mandate had not yet been approved by the League of Nations, the British Government was authorised by the League to proceed in accordance with its terms. The definition of the mutual relationship between the two States thereupon took the form of a Treaty which in effect set up a British Protectorate over the new State without, however, departing from the conditions laid down by the Draft Mandate. Much of the delay in the approval of the Draft Mandate was due to American dissatisfaction with its proposed terms which it was contended could differentiate against the United States in oil concessions and other commercial matters in view of its non-membership of the League of Nations.

#### PALESTINE.

Palestine suffered both economically and politically throughout the year from the general feeling of unsettledness due to the failure to ratify the Treaty of Sèvres by which the State was to be constituted, and to the delay in the approval by the League of Nations of the Draft Mandate. This Mandate, as drafted by the British Government, recited the Balfour Declaration as one of the principles by which the Mandatory Power is to be guided in the Government of Palestine, and moreover, directed that Mandatory to place "the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home," and to recognise the Zionist Organisation as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in furthering that policy. The policy of the Powers as defined in this draft met with some opposition on the part of certain non-Jewish elements in the country which organised a Christian-Moslem Committee, by whom strong representations were made against it. This Committee met with little encouragement from either the Government of Palestine or the Colonial Office, until an anti-Jewish outbreak occurred at Jaffa and the neighbouring Jewish centres in May. This indirectly gave the anti-Zionist movement in Palestine a greater importance in the eyes of the

authorities than it had hitherto enjoyed. As a sequel if not as a consequence, Jewish immigration into Palestine was more closely regulated, and correspondingly reduced in volume, although it had never been considerable, and an official interpretation of the Balfour Declaration far removed from that put upon it by the Zionist extremists was given. The Christian-Moslem Committee also obtained a sort of recognition. The Anti-Zionist extremists were, however, still unsatisfied, and they sent to London and other European capitals a delegation instructed to press for the complete abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, and the immediate setting up of Parliamentary government limited, however, to natives or long-standing residents in Palestine. The delegation met with no success. In the meanwhile the High Commissioner for Palestine invited a number of representative Arabs to form a Committee which he might consult before taking decisions of consequence in the government of the country. This was to some extent a parallel to the Jewish representative body which already existed, and was in addition to the Advisory Council, on which all elements of the population were represented. The proposed Committee of representative Arabs, however, did not eventuate, for on the instructions of the Delegation, which was then in London, the great majority of the members refused to discuss any matters of importance, such as, for instance, the Draft constitution. The situation remained in this indefinite situation at the end of the year. The Mandate was still unconfirmed, its fortunes being linked with that for Mesopotamia. In consequence, not only was the political settlement of the country prevented but all industrial development was hampered.

The foregoing relates to Palestine proper, that is to say, Palestine west of the Jordan. During the period of the short-lived Arab kingdom at Damascus, Transjordan or Eastern Palestine belonged to the sphere of Feisal. On his dethronement the French took his place, and at the same time had a more or less shadowy control over northern Transjordan. To the portion of the region south-east of the Sea of Galilee they laid no claim. For a time this district remained in a condition of administrative chaos in the course of which Abdullah, another of the sons of the King of the Hedjaz, invaded it preparatory, as it was thought, to an attack on the French in Syria. At this stage the British intervened. An embryonic organisation was given to a Transjordanian State, at the head of which Abdullah was placed with a few British advisers, the whole somewhat loosely connected with Palestine and under the direction of the British High Commissioner. This was, however, only a temporary arrangement, but it still held at the end of the year.

#### SYRIA.

The year in Syria has been one of suppressed discontent and of order kept only by means of overwhelming military force.

There have been no outbreaks against French rule, but the attempt to assassinate the High Commissioner, General Gouraud, occasional raids on French posts, and the sullen abstention of the populace and their leaders from all official celebrations show unmistakably the temper of the people. The French policy has been to divide the country into four independent districts and thus to break up the unity of Syria. The application of this policy began in the Lebanon which was enlarged to include Beirut and other neighbouring districts, and this gained the support of the Christian element of the population. Later in the year, however, after the conclusion of the Angora Treaty this policy underwent some changes, and Beirut and Tripoli while still nominally included in the Grand Lebanon State were given wide autonomy. Syria like Palestine and Mesopotamia is to be governed under a mandate granted by the League of Nations, but whereas Britain has drafted and published and submitted to the League its proposed mandates, nothing has been heard of similar action on the part of France. On the other hand France by her Treaty with Kemal Pasha actually ceded to Turkey a portion of Northern Syria, whose protection and administration she had accepted as a consequence of the Treaty of Sèvres. This Treaty with Kemal reacted in another manner on Syria. By one of its clauses Cilicia was evacuated by France, and as a consequence tens of thousands of Armenians, Greeks, and others who had trusted and served France during the occupation found themselves in grave danger of Turkish reprisals, and a flight from Cilicia soon set in. Of the refugees some attempted to land in Syria, but they found no welcome from the French authorities there.

#### ARABIA.

Arabia also was mainly without a history during the year 1921. King Hussein seems to have reigned at Mecca in apparent peace. But at the beginning of the year there was some fighting in the Yemen where the forces of the Imam of Sanaa came into conflict with those of the Ruler of Asir, with the result that the former was thoroughly defeated. Further to the east Ibn Saud, the Emir of Nejd, from whom trouble was at one time expected, had himself proclaimed Sultan of Nejd and its dependencies. This proclamation was promptly recognised by the British authorities, and this seems to have so pleased the new Sultan that he on his part extended his recognition to the new King of Irak with whose family he had not in the past been on the whole in very friendly relations. The King of the Hedjaz also negotiated an agreement with the Emir of Asir, and at the close of the year negotiations were in course between him and the Imam of Sanaa, and also between the British and the Imam. On the other hand fighting broke out between Ibn Saud and the Shammar, in the course of which the capital of the latter was taken and the country incorporated in Ibn Saud's dominions.

## INDIA.

The elections held in November and December, 1920, under the new constitutional scheme, passed off far more successfully than had been anticipated. Taking the ten legislative bodies collectively (two Chambers of the Indian Legislature and the eight provincial Councils) there were 774 seats to be filled by election and 1,957 candidates stood for them. There were contested elections for 535 of the 774 seats and for these 535 seats 1,718 candidates were forthcoming. In all Provinces the dearth of candidates was most marked in Mohammedan constituencies, particularly in the towns, and this was specially noticeable in the Bombay Presidency and in the Punjab. This must be attributed to the boycott which was largely advocated and adopted by Mohammedans as a protest against the Turkish peace terms. The Non-Brahmins were unexpectedly successful in the Madras Presidency, and the land-holders secured a large proportion of the open seats in the Councils in which their apprehensions had been specially expressed—Bengal, the United Provinces, and Bihar and Orissa.

In the formation of the new Provincial Governments, notable incidents were the appointment of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee as Minister in the Government of Bengal and of Lala Harkishan Lal as Minister in the Punjab.

The Provincial Legislative Councils were opened in January, and the All-India Legislative Assembly and Council of State and also the newly-constituted Chamber of Princes were opened by the Duke of Connaught in Delhi early in February. His Royal Highness conveyed the greetings of His Majesty the King to the Princes of the Indian States and to all his subjects in India on the reaching of another epoch inaugurated by the Act of 1919, an Act designed to satisfy the growing desire of his Indian subjects for representative institutions and to make a definite step on the road to self-government. The Duke of Connaught made a personal appeal to British and Indians to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past and to work together to realise the hopes arising from that day.

The first session of the new Indian Legislatures was noteworthy for the display of a high standard of political wisdom and debating capacity and a moderate and conciliatory spirit on the part of members. Frankness on the part of Government towards the Assembly in regard to the military and the financial situation had the effect of deepening the new Parliament's sense of responsibility for the welfare of India.

Among the subjects discussed were the maintenance of the connexion with the British Empire based on the principle of equal partnership and perfect racial equality, the control of the Army without domination or interference by the War Office, Trade Unionism, the "Esher" Report on the Army in India, military requirements, free admission of Indians to all the arms

of His Majesty's military and naval forces in India, and "repressive" laws.

Lord Reading succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy and assumed charge of office on April 2. Lord Sinha, the first Indian to be appointed to the headship of a Province, was obliged by ill-health to resign the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa. Lord Lytton was designated as successor to Lord Ronaldshay, whose term of office as Governor of Bengal expires in 1922.

The second session of the Indian Legislature opened in the new Council Chamber in Simla on the 1st, and closed on September 30. In addition to the demands for grants the following subjects were discussed: Distinctions between Indians and non-Indians and the removal of their mode of trial, purity of administration, separation of judicial and executive functions, reconstitution of the Provinces of India, judicial administration of the North-West Frontier Province, purchase of stores by the High Commissioner for India, the Sukkur Barrage scheme, Indian autonomy, limitation of hours of work in the Fishing industry, establishment of a National Seamen's Code, unemployment insurance for seamen, the anti-drink movement, equalisation of the number of Indians and Europeans in certain posts, the permanent Capital of India, railway and postal matters, recruitment for All-India Services, the Railway Committee's report, contributions from Bengal to the Central Government, religious and moral education, removal of the centralised system of administration, equality of status for Indians in East Africa, uniform system of weights and measures, the administration of Aden, purchase of stores in England, fiscal powers, etc.

The application of the Constitutional Reforms Scheme to Burma was advanced a further stage. Owing to the pressure upon Parliamentary time, the home Government dropped the Government of Burma Bill on the understanding that action would be taken to give effect to the provisions of the Bill by means of a notification under the powers conferred by the Government of India Act, 1919. The Government of India thereupon directed that the Province of Burma shall, on a date to be hereafter appointed, be constituted a Governor's Province and that all the provisions of the Act of 1919 relating to Governors' Provinces shall apply to Burma, with some modifications, *viz.*, a minimum percentage of elected members of 60 instead of 70 per cent. of the total as in other Provinces; the total number of members to be ninety-two, the maximum salary of the Governor to be Rs. 1,00,000 per annum, and of the members of the Executive Council, Rs. 60,000. A Committee, with the Hon. (now Sir) A. F. Whyte as Chairman was appointed to make recommendations on the questions of franchise and the electorates, the subjects to be administered by Ministers, and all ancillary questions.

The Budget of the Central Government was presented to

the Indian Legislature on March 1 by Mr. Hailey, the Finance Member. He explained that whilst in the past the Budget proposals of the Government were laid before the old Legislative Council for information and discussion and did not require the specific approval of Council and expression of approval did not necessarily entail their modification, now, save for some items of expenditure mentioned by clause 67 A (3) of the Government of India Act, all proposals for expenditure were subject to the vote of the House, qualified only by the power of the Governor-General in Council to restore any provision if essential to the discharge of his responsibilities.

The Budget figures (given in rupees instead of sterling as heretofore) were considerably smaller than in previous years, owing to the following facts: the Government of India Act was designed *inter alia* to secure a greater measure of independence for Provincial Governments, and provision had been made in the Act and Rules for the delimitation of the functions of Government as between the Central Government and the chief Provincial Governments and for the definite assignment to each of these Provincial Governments of a part of the revenues of India. Effect had been given to these measures of devolution in the eight "Governors' Provinces" (*viz.*, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Assam) and in Burma. As regards these nine provinces, the functions of Government had been classified as either "central subjects" or "provincial subjects." A general authority to control all matters coming under the latter head, subject to certain expressed provisos, devolved upon the Provincial Governments concerned. Certain definite sources of revenue had been given to local governments as sources of provincial revenue, consisting in the main of the receipts accruing from provincial loans and from those provincial subjects which are revenue-producing, the principal heads of which are land revenue, irrigation, stamp duties, and excise. In addition a local government was given a share in any expansion of income tax due to an increase of the assessed income within the province. But in order to meet the deficiency in the revenues of the Central Government, an annual contribution, fixed at the outset at 983 lakhs of rupees,<sup>1</sup> is to be made by eight of the nine local governments to the Central Government.

The figures presented by the Finance Member, representing only the revenue and expenditure of the Central Government, showed a deficit of 11½ crores of rupees in 1920-21, mainly due to the continuation of warlike operations on the frontier, and an estimated deficit, on the basis of existing taxation, of 18½ crores of rupees in 1921-22. To meet this deficiency additional taxation was proposed under four heads—postal charges, railway surcharge, import duties, and taxes on income—estimated to

<sup>1</sup> One rupee = 2s., a lakh is 100,000 rupees, and a crore is 100 lakhs.



bring in about  $17\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees. The general *ad valorem* duty on imports would be increased from 7 to 11 per cent.; existing concessions by which certain machinery and other supplies required for spinning and cotton mills were admitted free would be withdrawn; the duty of matches would be raised to 12 annas per gross boxes; certain articles of luxury would be taxed 20 per cent. instead of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; the duty on foreign sugar would be raised from 10 to 15 per cent.; there would be an increased duty on tobacco other than unmanufactured from 50 to 75 per cent.; and the duty on cigarettes and cigars would be Rs.  $2\frac{1}{4}$  instead of Rs.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per lb. The duty on liquors and wines would be increased. But Government did not propose to increase the cotton excise duties. On this basis the revenue of the Central Government for 1921-22 was estimated at Rs. 128,31,43,000 and the expenditure, Rs. 127,60,43,000 showing an estimated surplus of Rs. 71,00,000.

The Budgets of the Provincial Governments showed an estimated deficit of Rs. 599 lakhs for 1921-22.

Non-co-operation with Government as a political force made rapid progress. Prosecutions in the cases of incitements to violence were instituted by Government with greater freedom, but attempts were made to redress genuine grievances. The "repressive" laws and Press Acts were referred to a non-official Committee of the Legislature. The movement manifested itself in various forms—strikes, campaigns against the use of foreign cloth, an increase of racial feeling, a more virulent Khilafat agitation, attempts to seduce the police and the army from their allegiance, and various outbreaks of mob violence. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali were prosecuted and convicted for advocating at the All-India Khilafat Committee in July at Karachi, a religious injunction to Moslems against service in the Army. Many disturbances, with serious loss of life, took place at various places in July. The Moplah rebellion, mentioned below, and the regrettable incidents connected with the reception of the Prince of Wales on November 17 at Bombay were followed by an increasing disregard for authority and necessitated drastic measures by Government, who authorised the application of the Seditious Meetings Act. In reply to a demand for a Round-Table Conference, put forward by the "Moderates," Lord Reading insisted on the necessity of the discontinuance of the unlawful activities of the non-co-operation party. Towards the end of the year the Indian National Congress held its Annual Meeting at Ahmedabad when Mr. Gandhi was appointed sole executive authority of the Congress Committee, and the resolution as to a Round-Table Conference of the Subjects Committee was rejected. Mr. Gandhi announced that he reserved the right to continue during a Conference preparations for civil disobedience, etc., whilst putting forward conditions which the Government were asked to accept. The President, Sir Sankaran Nair, withdrew and Moderate opinion was disgusted and alienated.

In August troops and police who were giving assistance to the district magistrate in Malabar, while he was making arrests of dangerous leaders, were attacked heavily at Tirurangadi by armed bodies of Moplahs. The cause of the outbreak was the excited state of religious fanaticism which had been aroused among the Moplahs who look upon all non-Moslems as Kafirs and have a great reverence for the Sultan as Khalif. The non-co-operation and Khilafat agitators had reached Malabar and carefully prepared the ground for the purpose of creating an atmosphere favourable to violence in the district. Some Europeans and many Hindus were murdered, Government offices were burnt and looted, records were destroyed, Hindu temples were sacked, the houses of Europeans and Hindus were burnt, and many Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam—all leading to a total collapse of civil Government and the possibility of famine in one of the most fertile tracts of South India. The crime and disorder ensuing on the outbreak necessitated the promulgation of martial law and severe military measures against the rebels. Up to December 9 the total number of Moplah casualties since the outbreak were: killed, 1,826; wounded, 1,500; captured, 5,474; voluntary surrenders, 14,241. At the end of the year the rebels actively resisting were practically confined to two main gangs under chief leaders in the hills, with an estimated total of 700, and about seven scattered dacoit gangs in the north-eastern portion of the area, all of whom were fugitive and closely hunted.

In August the "Acworth" Committee, appointed last year, reported that the existing railway system is entirely inadequate to meet the need of the country, and that there is urgent need of drastic measures of reform and reconstruction. Government had failed to provide adequate funds both for capital works and for renewals. The Committee recommended the addition of an experienced administrator (not necessarily a technical expert) to the Governor-General's Executive Council as Member for Communications to be responsible for Railways, Ports, Inland Navigation, Road Transport in part, and Posts and Telegraphs; and suggested a number of other improvements. The members unanimously advised that the system of management by guaranteed companies of English domicile should not be continued after the termination of their present contracts, and that management by a combination of English and Indian domiciled companies is impracticable. But the Committee was divided as to the relative merits of management by the State and by Indian domiciled companies. A majority, consisting of the Chairman and four other members, was in favour of direct State management provided that the Committee's recommendations of financial and administrative reforms are substantially adopted. They recommend that as the English guaranteed companies' contracts fall in, the undertakings should be managed directly by the State. A majority of the Committee were against the

Government being committed to a policy of State management only, and recommended the continuance of the system of State and company management side by side, with Indian companies in place of English companies. The Report was discussed in the Legislative Assembly on September 30 when the appointment of a Committee of the Legislature to consider certain matters arising therefrom was recommended.

On February 23 the Council of State adopted a Resolution recommending that the Government of India be granted full fiscal autonomy subject to the provisions of the Government of India Act. A Committee was appointed (with Sir Ibrahim Rahintulla as President) to examine, with reference to all the interests concerned, the tariff policy of the Government of India, including the question of adopting the principle of Imperial preference.

During the year the Government of India announced its intention to discontinue the use of the Andamans as a penal settlement, as recommended by the "Cardew" Committee, appointed to examine the existing systems of prison administration in India.

The Prince of Wales, who was to have performed the ceremony of inaugurating the Reformed Legislatures, but whose visit to India was deferred for a time in order that His Royal Highness might recover from the fatigue of his labours in other parts of the Empire, reached India on November 17. He landed at Bombay, where the general reception by the populace was enthusiastic, but in the Indian quarter there was serious rioting, traceable to the activities of the non-co-operators, and to intimidation by Ghandi's agents and Khilafat volunteers. In Poona the Prince was joyfully received, but at Allahabad and Ajmere the population remained indoors. The *hartal* declared on the day of the Prince's arrival at Calcutta was partially successful, but it soon broke down.

The Census of 1921 showed a remarkable drop in the rate of increase in comparison with previous decades, due mainly to the influenza scourge of 1918, resulting in over 6,000,000 deaths. The provisional figures are:—

Total population, 319,075,132—*viz.*, British Territory, 247,138,396; Indian States, 71,936,736; being an increase of 3,205,218 in British Territory and 713,518 in Indian States, or 1·2 per cent. increase since 1911. Males in British Territory, 126,941,215; females, 120,197,181. Males in Indian States, 37,114,976; females, 34,821,760. There is thus an excess of over 9,000,000 males in all India.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE FAR EAST: CHINA—JAPAN—DUTCH EAST INDIES.

## CHINA.

THE year 1921 opened with a China divided into North and South under rival Governments, and its close found their rivalry more intense. All the efforts that had been made in the preceding years to bring about peace by conciliation failed, and in December it was officially announced by the President of the Southern Government that as soon as it is well equipped he will lead an expeditionary force against Peking.

The relative position between North and South has changed during the year. In the past the South was itself divided, but since the defeat of Mr. Tsen Chun-hsuan at Canton in 1920, it has become united under the Government of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. It is true that its authority does not as yet extend over the southwestern province of Szechuan, but it has at last succeeded in making an agreement with the authorities there that they will not interfere with each other in administration, and so far as military enterprise against the North is concerned, will take joint action.

The Northern Government, though it is recognised by the Powers as the *de facto* Government and, consequently, speaks for the whole country in its diplomatic transactions, lacks all the essentials of a central authority. It has not only failed to restore the unity of China, but it has also given up all hope of doing so. Formerly, it treated the Southern leaders as insurgents, but in the course of the year 1921 it began to feel that it is no more representative of the people than they are. Moreover, the Government as such is not even in a position to enforce its orders in districts not under the influence of the South. Its President is a figure-head, and its executive departments are presided over by men nominated and removable by provincial governors. It governs without a Parliament or Constitution; and it has to carry out orders issued by provincial rulers before it can maintain its own existence.

During the year there have been two changes of Cabinet, one in July and the other in December. They were caused by the governors of Manchuria and Chihli who were not satisfied with the regime then existing. The Ministry in power at the end of the year was led by Mr. Liang Shih-yi, a financier of some repute, who was selected for the post mainly because of his close relationship with many banks and financial houses which, it was thought, would help him to find means to fill the empty Exchequer and pay the mercenary troops in the different provinces. It is, as yet, impossible to tell whether he will be strong enough to tide over the financial crisis with loans, but

it is certain that once he fails to satisfy the demands of the military despots he will fall.

Numerous incidents have happened during the year which showed the precarious position of the Peking Government. One may suffice by way of illustration. It will be recalled that Outer Mongolia, which was granted the right of autonomous Government by a Russo-Chinese agreement signed in 1913, cancelled its own independence and resumed its allegiance to the Chinese Government in 1919. Early in 1920 a group of anti-Bolshevik Russians, under the leadership of Baron Ungern, managed to lead a few Mongolian princes into sedition and then captured the city of Urga. That gave rise to serious anxiety among the Reds in the Far East, who at once mobilised their force for attack. After a war lasting a few weeks, they put the "Whites" to flight and installed themselves in Mongolia. Throughout all these operations the Government at Peking was conscious of its responsibility towards the Mongolians and determined to restore its authority over them. As it had no army of its own, it had to entrust one of the governors—*viz.*, of Manchuria—with the task of recapturing the lost territory. In spite of its financial difficulties it devoted large sums of money to financing his expeditionary force, and provided him with all the necessary armaments; but it was finally powerless to make him move his troops, or even to deter him from secretly encouraging the Bolshevik advance. That Governor, General Chang Tso-lin, remains supreme in the North of China, and is able to overthrow any Cabinet that has the courage to disagree from him.

Under these circumstances there is scarcely any justification to call the Cabinet at Peking a central Government. But it does not follow that China is therefore politically in a state of disruption. The Chinese, unlike any people in Europe, can live and prosper without a Government. For centuries they have established a sort of self-government in their villages. They maintain order among themselves, and are willing to pay taxes and duties in return for freedom from official interference. Except in a few districts affected by famine, or where fighting actually takes place, trade is flourishing and the harvests have been exceptionally good. Communication between North and South has been well maintained, and considering the weakness of the Governments robbery and piracy have not been widespread.

In spite of political chaos, there has been much educational and industrial progress in China during 1921. Although the number of schools has been reduced owing to lack of funds, and the teachers in Peking have been on strike, the people on the whole are better educated than heretofore. The number of newspapers in the country is increasing, and the habit of reading is beginning to spread. During the year 1921 a new periodical, called *New Young-Men*, was started, transplanting

into China the teachings of Karl Marx, Louis Blanc, St. Simon, and other celebrities of the Socialist schools, and its circulation at the end of the year was at least 10,000. Mr. Bertrand Russell towards the end of the year concluded his visit to China where he expounded to thousands of students the policy of Lenin and Trotsky, together with its results as he actually found them in Russia. It is difficult to estimate how far he made his "Analysis of Mind" intelligible to his Chinese audiences. The same institution which financed his mission to China is inviting Professor Einstein to make a tour in the East in order to explain his theory of relativity to the young Chinese, most of whom, it should be noted, have not even acquired a rudimentary knowledge of geometry. Science and medicine have also made strides in institutions independent of Government finance. In Shanghai, several vocational schools were opened during the year, all supported by private subscriptions. With the formal opening of the Rockefeller Institution in Peking, in September, China can boast of an up-to-date and well-equipped hospital and medical school, a gift to China from her American and British friends, which is expected to have far-reaching consequences for the development of medical science and of the medical profession in China.

In industry and commerce much progress has also been made in 1921. In spite of the world-wide depression, three new cotton mills were erected in Tientsin and Shanghai. To show the rapid expansion of the cotton industry, it may be stated that five years ago there were only 50,000 spindles in China, whereas to-day there are 800,000. Factory life has come to stay; and on the Yangtse one finds a great variety of works using machinery and employing thousands of workmen. The Banks which have been re-organised on Western models are now very powerful in financing the commercial enterprises of the land. Early in the year they made a loan of 6,000,000 dollars (about 1,000,000*l.*) to the Department of Communications for the purchase of rolling stock, and in June they floated a loan of 2,500,000 dollars (425,000*l.*) for the erection of a central mint in Shanghai, which was to coin standard silver dollars and would eventually provide China with a uniform currency. It is hoped that the Chinese Banks will soon be in a position to finance the construction of railways, thus doing away with foreign loans, and it is certain that when the country is covered with a network of rails, there will be brought about an industrial revolution.

China is represented on the Council of the League of Nations and takes an active part in all its deliberations. Chinese representatives were also invited to the Washington Conference, which may prove to be of assistance to China in solving some of her difficulties with Japan. The dispute between the two countries over the possession of the Kiaochou Bay, formerly

leased to Germany but captured by Japan in November, 1914, was a subject of conversation between their delegates at Washington. It will be recalled that at the Peace Conference sitting in Paris in 1919, the delegates from China asked for a direct restoration to her of the territory, together with other rights and privileges once enjoyed by the Germans; that the decision of that Conference not to restore them to China but to transfer them to Japan caused the Chinese delegates to refuse to sign the Treaty of Versailles, and that in September, 1921, the Japanese Minister in Peking approached the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs with a proposal of restoration which was rejected by China on the ground that, apart from the fact that the conditions attached thereto were far from satisfactory to the Chinese Government, China, having never recognised the Japanese occupation of Kiaochou as valid, would be guilty of inconsistency if she agreed to open direct negotiations with Japan. Under the conciliatory influence of the American Government and the British Delegation, the negotiations at Washington have so far enabled the delegates of China and Japan to agree on all the points except that of the control over the railway which connects the port of Taingtao with Tainanfu, the capital of the Shantung province. The Japanese, on the one hand, propose to offer China a loan with which to buy off Japanese interest in the railway and as a condition of the loan to retain Japanese engineers and accountants in the railway administration. The Chinese, on the other hand, refuse to employ Japanese officials, and are prepared to indemnify the interests to be surrendered with ready cash. They contend that as all the railway lines in China should be placed under a uniform system of control, they cannot accept an arrangement that might lead to interference by the Japanese. By the end of the year this matter had not yet been settled.

Apart from the Shantung question, the Washington Conference has decided that foreign post offices in China should be closed so as to leave the whole of the postal service in the hands of the Chinese Postal Administration. It has also been agreed to allow China to raise her import tariff to an effective 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, pending the abolition of her internal excise, called *likin*, which will be followed by an increase of another 7½ per cent. Further, it has now been agreed upon by the Powers represented at Washington that a Commission of jurists should be appointed, within six months after the close of the Conference, to proceed to China to investigate the judicial system and administration now in force there, with a view to abolishing or modifying the consular jurisdiction now exercised by the Powers on Chinese territory. The most important event of the Conference affecting China was the adoption on November 21 of the following resolutions:—

“It is the firm intention of the Powers attending this

Conference, hereinafter mentioned, to wit, the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal

“To respect the sovereignty, independence, territory, and administrative integrity of China;

“To provide the fullest unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government;

“To use their influence for the purpose of effectually establishing and maintaining the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry for all nations throughout the territory of China; and

“To refrain from taking advantage of present conditions in order to seek special rights and privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects and citizens of friendly States and from countenancing any action inimical to the security of such States.”

It is conceded by thinking Chinese that whether the independence and integrity of their country, as alluded to in the resolutions, will be preserved depends to a very large extent on themselves. It will indeed depend on whether they will be able to evolve peace and order out of their present chaos and set up a strong and representative Government. From this point of view, the year 1921 must be written down a great disappointment.

#### JAPAN.

In the struggle to emerge from the paralysing aftermath of the Great War, Japan experienced as much difficulty during the year 1921 as was the case with the nations of Europe. The period of commercial depression, which had already set in soon after the Armistice, had not definitely given place to brighter conditions, although hopes were entertained that better days might be in store. Such post-war changes and programmes of reconstruction as were adumbrated in the Occident were not without repercussion in Japan where the tendency to react to general world conditions has become more marked of recent years.

The outstanding event of the spring of 1921 was the departure from Japan on March 3, of H.I.H. Crown Prince Hirohito for the purpose of a world-tour, which lasted for nearly six months. Accompanied by H.I.H. Prince Kan-in, and escorted by Count Chinda, who had been but recently Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, H.I.H. arrived in England on May 8, and remained until May 29, when he proceeded to France, subsequently visiting the friendly countries of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy. Great significance attaches to the fact that the Crown Prince, in making this tour, created a precedent of traditional importance, as never before in the history of the Imperial House of Japan had the heir to the throne left



the country. The success which attended the tour, and the cordiality with which the Crown Prince was everywhere received, were enthusiastically acknowledged by the Japanese people, who considered that these events justified the national desire for closer relations with the countries of the West.

It may be noted in this connexion that prior to the departure of the Crown Prince some of the more conservative elements in Japan raised a popular agitation against the proposed trip, regarding it as an unprecedented and undesirable risk for the heir to the throne. This agitation, however, speedily died down and had no influence on the success of the tour. The betrothal of the Crown Prince to Princess Nagako of Kuni was officially announced shortly before the Imperial tour.

During the first three months of the session of the Lower House, the Bill for the extension of the suffrage, already demanded by sections of the opposition in the previous year, was again brought forward. The passage of the Bill, however, was defeated by a majority of the parties supporting the Government, on the grounds that the time was not yet ripe for extending further a franchise which had already been considerably broadened in its scope in the spring of 1918.

With a view to the simplification of Local Government, a Bill was introduced to abolish the system of District Administration of the rural towns and villages and to put these under the immediate control of the Prefecture. This measure was passed and the new arrangement duly promulgated in the official gazette under date of April 6.

A tragic event, which overshadowed the national life of Japan, but was not followed by political complications, was the murder of the Premier, Mr. Takashi Hara, on November 4. His assailant appears to have been one of the fast-dwindling band of Japanese political fanatics, whose minds are imbued with distorted and revolutionary ideas. The wise and prudent policy pursued by Mr. Hara, the first commoner to become Premier of Japan, was not changed by his successor, Viscount Korekiyo Takahashi, who had hitherto held the portfolio of Finance Minister and formally took over the Premiership on November 13. In a declaration issued the following day, Viscount Takahashi stated that the foreign policy of the Japanese Government would be continued on the lines laid down by Mr. Hara.

All the Ministers in the Takahashi Cabinet retained the positions they had occupied in the Hara administration, the post of Finance Minister still remaining in the hands of the new Premier, who was also elected soon afterwards President of the Seiyukai (the Majority Party).

The health of H.I.M. the Emperor had been causing anxiety, and a chronic indisposition developed into so severe a debility that on November 25, H.I.H. the Crown Prince Hirohito was constituted Regent in accordance with the provisions of the

Imperial Constitution and the Imperial House Law. Count Sutemi Chinda was created Grand Steward to the Heir Apparent, and on December 6 the Prince Regent removed from his palace at Aoyama to the Detached Palace at Kasumigaseki.

An agreement between the Governments of Japan and the United States with regard to the island of Yap, a former German possession and Cable Station in the North-West Pacific, was reached in November, and a formal convention for signature and subsequent ratification by the American Senate was prepared. The question, thus satisfactorily settled, had been more or less acute ever since the Council of the League of Nations had allocated to Japan, under Art. 22, 6 of the Covenant, the mandate for the island, the United States Government taking the view that the island should be internationalised. Under the terms of the agreement, while the United States Government acquiesced in Japan receiving the mandate, Japan, on her side, undertook that the United States should have free access on a footing of entire equality with Japan or any other nation in regard to the landing and operation of the existing Yap-Guam cable and also to certain rights, privileges, and exemptions in relation to electrical communications.

From the early part of the year the prospects of the renewal of the Anglo Japanese Alliance had been the subject of eager popular debate and speculation in Japan. Both among the people and in Government circles its renewal was ardently desired and the result of the discussion of the Alliance at the Imperial Conference held in London in June was keenly awaited. No decision, however, was come to at that Conference on the subject.

The situation with regard to Shantung cannot be said to have made much progress in the year 1921. The Japanese Government, in view of its reiterated pledges eventually to return the territory to China, had endeavoured at the beginning of 1920 to induce the Chinese Government to open negotiations on the details of the restitution. The whole year passed without any progress being made, and finally on September 7, 1921, the Japanese Government, in another determined effort to clear up a situation which was intolerable to all concerned, addressed a note to the Chinese Government, inviting their serious and sincere consideration of certain general plans to serve as the basis of a Shantung settlement. On October 5, the Chinese Government replied in unconciliatory terms that the Japanese proposals were unacceptable and not in accordance with the principle laid down in the treaties between China and the Foreign Powers. The Japanese Government promptly sent their answer on October 19, pointing out once more that they were ready and willing to open negotiations whenever the Chinese Government felt disposed to give deliberate consideration to the questions at issue in the interest of cordial relations between the two countries. But the matter was at a standstill

until revived during the last days of the year at the Washington Conference.

In the month of August a Conference was opened at Dairen between the representatives of the Chita (Far Eastern Republic) and Japanese Governments with a view to clearing up outstanding questions in Eastern Siberia. The negotiations were still in progress at the end of 1921.

Considerable progress was registered in Japan during the year with regard to the instruction of public opinion on the subject of the League of Nations. Successful meetings were held by the Japanese sister-society of the League of Nations Union and literature was distributed on a large scale. The proceedings at the Second Assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva in September and October were attended by three Japanese Delegates, Baron Hayashi, Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, Viscount Ishii, Ambassador at Paris, and M. Adatci, Ambassador at Brussels.

The Washington Conference, the convocation of which awakened the liveliest satisfaction in Japan, was attended at its opening session on November 12 by three Japanese Delegates, Prince Iyesato Tokugawa, Admiral Baron Tomosaburo Kato, and Baron Kijuro Shidehara. The Four Power Pacific Treaty draft was signed, and under one of its clauses. Japan and Great Britain agreed to abrogate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance when the Pacific Treaty should be duly ratified.

The controversy over Yap and the failure to reach a settlement of the Shantung and other minor questions had tended to create an atmosphere of tension between the United States of America and Japan. Scaremongers, on both sides, endeavoured to exaggerate the tension, but the frank discussions at the Washington Conference resulted in a general and much-desired improvement of the relations between the two countries.

A Japanese naval training squadron was despatched on a world cruise on August 20. The squadron consisted of two cruisers, the *Yakumo* and the *Izumo* and two Princes of the Imperial House, Prince Kacho and Prince Kuni, Junior, were included among the naval cadets for whose instruction the cruise took place. The squadron arrived at Sheerness on November 29, and remained there until December 10, the officers, cadets, and other ratings of the crews being hospitably entertained both in London and Sheerness.

In the latter half of the year two delegations left Japan; one consisted of Japanese Parliamentarians who went to America to return the visit which American Congressmen had paid to Japan in 1920, and the other was composed of Japanese commercial and business representatives who proceeded to England on a tour to consolidate mutual understanding and co-operation in trade between the two countries. Another Commercial Mission also paid a successful visit to the United States of America.

Japan was not immune from industrial troubles during the year and a series of strikes took place in various industries. Some two thousand miners struck at the Ashio Copper Mines in April and nine hundred workers took similar action at the Osaka Electric Light Company's works in May. In June further strikes occurred in Osaka at the Fuji Nagata Dockyard, at the Ono Iron Foundry, and also at factories at Nitta and Murata. In July the employees at the Kawasaki and the Mitsubishi Dockyards, Kobe, struck work. A settlement of all these labour disputes was arranged, and it is important to note that the principle was recognised by the Japanese employers that the employees had the right to negotiate on labour matters through their own representatives.

#### DUTCH EAST INDIES.

For the Dutch Indies 1921 was an important year. On April 29 the Second Chamber passed a Bill, providing for the establishment, by the Netherlands-Indian Government in co-operation with the Batavian Oil Company, of the "Nederlandsche Indische Aardolie Maatschappij" (Netherlands India Petroleum Company) for the working of oilfields in Djambi (Sumatra). The shares in the new company are divided equally between the two bodies named, but the Netherlands-Indian Government controls the majority on the Board of Directors, whose approval or sanction is required for all important decisions of the managers. Of the first million guilders profit, the Netherlands-Indian Government is to receive 60 per cent., while if the profits exceed this amount the share will rise to a maximum of 70 per cent.

This Bill met with strong opposition from Radicals and Socialists, who are in favour of State exploitation and who, moreover, feared the influence of the Royal-Shell group, which includes the Batavian Company, in the Dutch East Indies. The Liberal groups wished to reserve for the Batavian Company only half of the very extensive Djambi oilfields and the other half for other applicants. An amendment to that effect was rejected by 43 votes to 37.

The Bill attracted a great deal of attention for three reasons. In the first place, the matter was important in itself; in the second, there is much sympathy in Holland for the Royal Dutch concern; and in the third, there was the fear of causing discontent in the United States in connexion with the competition between the Standard Oil and the Royal Dutch-Shell groups. There was some ground for that anxiety because at the last moment the Standard Oil Company sent a request to be allowed to work a part of Djambi. The request came too late. After the Bill was passed an Orange book, published in May, showed that between May, 1920, and May, 1921, a very lively exchange of views had taken place between the

Governments of Holland and of the United States, the latter having shown much interest in the Netherlands India mining laws and especially in Djambi. The Dutch Government pointed to the open door policy maintained in the Netherlands East Indies, and stated that besides Djambi there are in that territory other oilfields which might be considered for exploitation by American or other foreign capital.

There was a feeling in the Second Chamber that this correspondence had been unnecessarily held back from members, and on May 27 the Government had to answer an interpellation on the matter. Subsequently a vote of censure on the Minister for the Colonies was rejected by 43 to 40 votes. On July 1 the Bill was also passed by the First Chamber.

On March 24 the retiring Governor-General, Dr. P. J. Count van Limburg Stirum, handed over the Government of the Netherlands East Indies to his successor, Dr. D. Fock, formerly Minister for the Colonies and recently President of the Second Chamber. On May 17 the Governor-General opened the session of the newly elected People's Council with a speech regarding the situation of the Netherlands East Indies. The number of members of the Council has been increased by ten to forty-eight, of whom twenty-four (eight natives and sixteen Europeans) are appointed by the Governor-General, whilst the remaining twenty-four are elected. One half of these are to be natives and the other half Europeans and foreign Orientals.

On October 14 the Second Chamber passed a revision of the "Regulations on the administration of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies," by which a further decentralisation of Government will be made possible, by the creation of provinces and the granting of self-government. A revision and extension of the system of taxation of the East Indies was effected on March 18; on December 23, the Second Chamber passed a Bill for the revision of the Tariff.

The 1922 Budget was adopted by the Second Chamber. The expenditure was estimated at 924,717,380 guilders, and the revenue at 734,491,841 guilders, the deficit being 190,225,539 guilders, of which 61,076,419 guilders was on the ordinary expenditure. In May a loan of 250 million guilders was decided upon on behalf of the Netherlands East Indies. In July the first issue amounting to 75 million guilders at 7 per cent. was made, and 150 million guilders were subscribed by the public. In October another issue (100 million guilders at 6½ per cent.) took place, but this loan failed, for only 56 million guilders were taken up. It was thereupon decided to issue a loan of a maximum of 100 million dollars in the United States; the real rate of interest will not exceed 7½ per cent., and it is intended to issue in the first instance not more than between 30 and 40 million dollars.

In November a Bill was introduced for the establishment of a fund, to be paid in twelve years, for the extension of the

Indian Navy which will thereby include 4 cruisers, 24 destroyers, 32 submarines, 4 submarine mine-layers, 4 gunboats, 9 mine-layers, 1 mother-ship for submarines, 4,500 mines, the necessary vessels for auxiliary service, and an airfleet consisting of 72 scouting machines, 18 chasing machines, and 18 fighting machines.

## CHAPTER VIII.

AFRICA: THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA—MOROCCO—EGYPT—  
SUDAN.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

AT the dawn of 1921 South Africa was in the throes of a General Election the significance of which was far greater than that of any similar contest since the creation of the Union in 1914.

Strongly convinced of the futility and devastating influences of racialism as a political factor in the economic development of the country, General Smuts, as leader of the South African Party, definitely broke away from the recalcitrant minority of republican extremists who had rallied around General Hertzog under the Nationalist banner, and brought about the formation of a constitutional party in which Sir Thomas Smartt and the Unionist organisation merged their separate identity. [See ANNUAL REGISTER, 1920, pp. 281-2.] This sacrifice of party interests marked a new era in the short political history of the Union, and it called forth from the Premier a publicly expressed appreciation of the high motives inspiring it. By means of this amalgamation, for the first time since 1914 Dutch and English-speaking South Africans found themselves politically, as well as geographically, united for the advancement of their common interests. General Smuts in his appeal to the country enunciated the principle that the King was the executive head of the Union "by reason of a vital fundamental article of the constitution, the removal of which would inevitably involve the breaking up of the Union and a reversion to the position of 1899." The Nationalists were avowedly republican.

Nominations for the 134 constituencies were handed in on January 14, and the elections took place on February 8. The South African Party secured a total of 79 seats (Cape 36, Transvaal 29, Natal 14), the Nationalists 45 (Cape 13, Transvaal 15, Natal 1, Orange Free State 16), Labour 9 (Cape 1, Transvaal 5, Orange Free State 1, Natal 2), and the Independents 1 (Cape). The strength of the parties in the elections for the Senate was as follows: Ministerialists 25, Nationalists 13, Labour 2.

Parliament assembled at Cape Town on March 11. It was then officially announced that the Cabinet had been constituted as follows: General the Right Hon. Jan Smuts, Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs; the Right Hon. F. S. Malan,

Minister of Mines and Industries; the Hon. Henry Burton, Minister of Finance; Senator the Hon. N. J. de Wet, Minister of Justice; Colonel the Hon. H. Mentz, Minister of Defence; the Hon. Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of Works, Telegraphs, and Posts; the Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, Minister of Agriculture; the Hon. J. W. Jagger, Minister of Railways and Harbours; the Hon. Patrick Duncan, Minister of Interior, Public Works, and Education; Colonel the Hon. Denys Reitz, Minister of Lands.

The first session of the new Parliament lasted from March 11 until July 15, and then adjourned until October 14. On the 7th of that month the Government announced from Pretoria a further prorogation until December 9.

The legislative output of Parliament during its first session was twenty-nine public and eleven private bills passed, and seven rejected or abandoned.

In September by-elections became necessary in the Gardens and Liesbeek divisions of Cape Town. In each contest the South African Party lost the seats they had previously held to Labour. There was also a by-election at Queenstown in December. This resulted in the defeat of the Nationalist candidate and in the return of the nominee of the South African Party.

South Africa was officially represented at the Imperial Conference by General Smuts, the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, and Colonel the Hon. H. Mentz. They landed at Southampton on June 11. The first official meeting took place at No. 10 Downing Street on June 20, when the visitors were formally welcomed by Mr. Lloyd George.

A few days before the termination of the Conference, early in July, General Smuts, accompanied by his secretary, Captain E. F. C. Lane, C.M.G., paid a flying visit to Dublin where he conferred with Mr. de Valera and other leaders of the Sinn Fein movement upon suggestions made for a settlement of the Irish question. For this, as Mr. Lloyd George subsequently informed Parliament, General Smuts had the full assent of the King and the Cabinet. His letter to Mr. de Valera dated August 4 and written after the interview, was issued later as a Government publication.

General Smuts and Sir Thomas Smartt sailed for Cape Town on their homeward journey on board R.M.S. *Saxon* on August 5, Colonel Mentz extending his visit in order to tour the Continent. The *Saxon's* voyage was an eventful one. Owing to a bunker fire, which at one time threatened the safety of all on board, the ship's course was diverted towards the west coast of Africa, and Sierra Leone was made on August 16. General Smuts transhipped to the *Kenilworth Castle* (having been the guest of the Governor during his enforced stay at the port), and arrived in Cape Town on August 30.

At the Conference of the Assembly of the League of Nations,

at Geneva in August and September, South Africa was represented by the Hon. Sir Edgar Walton, K.C.M.G., the Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil, and Professor Gilbert Murray.

The final report of the Commission appointed to consider the future government of the mandated South-West Africa was presented to the House of Assembly on April 19. They recommended that, firstly, the territory should be controlled by an administrator assisted by a nominated advisory council, and that eventually the form of government should be developed into a system resembling that of the four provinces of the Union, giving the population full representation in the Provincial Council and in Parliament. The Commission also recommended that when this stage of development has been reached the mandated area should be administered as a fifth province of the Union with a similar form of Government, subject to the conditions of the mandate. They considered that this final stage in the development of local government should not be instituted until the population included at least 10,000 white male British subjects. The Commission further recommended special legislation to be adopted to simplify the method by means of which late enemy subjects who have made the country their home could participate in its political government; and they advised an enactment whereby every adult German domiciled in South-West Africa should be declared a British subject unless he or she signed a declaration expressing unwillingness to do so.

Following the death on June 28, 1919, of the Right Hon. W. H. Schreiner, the office of High Commissioner in London was temporarily filled by Sir Reginald Blankenberg, until the appointment in February, 1921, of Sir Edgar Walton as permanent head of South Africa's overseas representation. The removal of the Union Government's London offices from Victoria Street to more spacious premises in Trafalgar Square synchronised with the appointment of the new High Commissioner. Sir Edgar Walton had, prior to accepting office, represented Port Elizabeth in the House of Assembly since 1898. From 1904-8 he was Treasurer-General in Dr. Jameson's Ministry of the old Cape Parliament. Sir Edgar Walton also figured prominently in the deliberations of the National Convention, which preceded the unification of the four provinces, and he is the author of "The Inner History of the Convention," a book which describes the negotiations culminating in the Act of Union.

Field-Marshal Earl Haig arrived in Cape Town on February 21 to inaugurate the first Congress of the League of Comrades of the Great War. These notable proceedings were attended by delegates from all parts of the Empire, and at the inaugural meeting in the City Hall, Cape Town, on February 28, Earl Haig was officially welcomed by General Smuts, Major-General Sir Henry Lukin, Inspector-General of the Permanent Forces



of the Union, and Sir N. F. de Waal, Administrator of the Cape Province. After touring the country Earl Haig sailed from the Cape for England on April 29.

At Richmond Cemetery on June 30, in the presence of a distinguished gathering of Anglo-South Africans, General Smuts unveiled a cenotaph erected to the memory of South African soldiers who had died in the South African Military Hospital in Richmond Park. The memorial was the gift of the people of the town to perpetuate feelings of esteem and affection inspired by members of the Springbok Contingent during their sojourn in Richmond. The memorial was dedicated by Dr. Furse, Bishop of St. Alban's and formerly Bishop of Pretoria.

General Smuts announced in Parliament on May 3 that the Committee appointed to consider the question of South Africa's war memorial had decided upon the erection of memorials at Delville Wood and at Arras which would, he hoped, "express South Africa's gratitude to the heroes buried in France and Flanders." His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, was elected President of the London Committee formed to act in conjunction with the South African body.

Early in May a large body of native fanatics, calling themselves "Israelites," located at Bullhoek in the Queenstown district of the Cape Province, repudiated European authority and declared that they were awaiting an "intimation from Jehovah to proceed to Palestine." They settled upon the commonage at Bullhoek in defiance of the law prohibiting squatting, and declined to move on. As they became a nuisance to the white as well as to the orderly native inhabitants of the district, the Government held out many inducements in order to obtain their peaceable departure, but when persuasive measures failed a body of mounted police, 800 strong, and under the command of Colonel Truter, sought to force their ejection. The sequel was tragic. Brandishing weapons of an obsolete character the natives charged the police who, firing from a range of 30 yards, brought the advance to a standstill. The casualties, killed and wounded, numbered nearly 150. The affair created a profound sensation throughout the country, and it was the subject of questions in Parliament and meetings in various centres.

The official explanation made by the Prime Minister in the House of Assembly on May 25 was delivered amidst an impressive silence. It was urged by General Smuts that force of arms had not been resorted to until every other means of giving effect to the law had been tried in vain. The subsequent inquiry, the findings of which were published in a White Book, held that the fanatical fury with which the "Israelites" had charged the police was a complete vindication of the action of the Government which had been made the subject of so much ill-informed criticism. In June a representative meeting of

the inhabitants of Queenstown passed a resolution deploring the loss of life involved, commending the exemplary forbearance of the authorities, and thanking the Government for the firm stand made against a menace. Subsequently the ringleaders of the fanatical rising at Bullhoek were brought up for trial, and upon being found guilty of the charges preferred against them were heavily punished.

Scientists are unceasingly striving to solve one of South Africa's greatest problems in the reclamation of sandy wastes by means of extensive irrigation works. When the scheme propounded by Professor Schwartz in 1920 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1920, p. 282) was raised in the Senate, on a motion requesting the Government to send engineers to the regions of the Cunene, Okavango, Chobe, and Zambesi rivers and the site of the Makarikari lakes, to investigate the feasibility of the scheme propounded by Professor Schwartz, General Smuts, on behalf of the Government, said that although the problem was a fascinating one action on the lines of the resolution might raise international questions and be resented as interference with neighbouring Powers. He added that the Government was already in communication with the Portuguese authorities upon the matter, and hoped to obtain their co-operation to take water from the Cunene river and reopen its silted-up channels, for without some such help natives in the district would die out.

Dr. de Jager subsequently raised the question, in June of the present year, in the House of Assembly. Sir Thomas Smartt, Minister for Agriculture, announced that the Advisory Board of Industry and Science had expressed the opinion that even if the scheme were carried out "no appreciable amelioration of the climate of the Union would result."

According to the latest available figures, South Africa voted 642,000*l.* for irrigation schemes in 1920. The total of loans dealt with was 571,930*l.* while sums outstanding on March 31 amounted to 1,819,695*l.* One of the biggest individual schemes is that of Lake Mentz, in the Cape Province. For this a loan of 250,000*l.* has been sanctioned. Another project involves the expenditure of 70,000*l.* upon Aapies river in the Pretoria district.

In April there were centenary celebrations at Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth of the arrival of the first British settlers in 1820. Connected with these celebrations was the foundation of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association, the object of which is to aid and encourage the settlement in South Africa of men of a type similar to those who formed the backbone of the 1820 movement, and by means of education and scholarship schemes to assist thrifty and hard-working yeomen to settle upon the land.

The development of Kosi Bay, between Durban and Lourenco Marques, was decided upon by the Government in November. It is claimed for the site of the proposed new harbour works that it is one of the finest on the south-east

coast, and that the construction of a modern port here will not only tend to relieve congestion elsewhere, but create a new era of activity for the agricultural and mineral resources of Swaziland and the eastern Transvaal. Advocates of the Kosi Bay scheme also urged its adoption on the ground that the construction of an additional East Coast harbour in Union territory and north of Durban, would lessen the dependence of the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia upon the Portuguese port of Lourenco Marques. Having a direct bearing upon the Kosi Bay project is the suggestion advanced by General Smuts that Swaziland should enter the Union of South Africa. There is a considerable feeling within the territory, however, that Swaziland desires to maintain its separate identity.

Serious and widespread labour troubles have in the case of South Africa aggravated the economic upheaval which the war left as a legacy to the world. The year 1921 closed with the grave possibility of a general strike among the coal-miners, a conflict which threatened to spread to many other departments of labour. For the past twelve months there has been increasing tension between the owners of the gold mines and their white employees, mainly as a consequence of the economic stringency of the times. In July an agreement regarding the revised wage scale was arrived at between the Chamber of Mines and the South African Industrial Federation, but in October an influential section of the employers repudiated the undertaking, and clashing interests once more threatened to stop the production of gold and thereby plunge the whole of the country into industrial chaos. General Smuts entered into the dispute as a friendly mediator, and took part in the negotiations for a revision of the Mining Regulations with a view to the more extensive employment of natives upon the low grade mines in order that these non-paying propositions should, under a scheme of economic reorganisation, once more become remunerative. In November the Premier warned the Mine Workers' Union of the seriousness of the decay of the industry and urged co-operation in order to keep it alive. He had found, he said, that the efficiency of the white workers had on the whole become lowered, and that the efficiency of native employees upon the mines had between 1914 and 1920 decreased by something like 20 per cent. Outstanding points in the dispute are the revision of the contract system, the removal of trade union restrictions, and the abolition of the *status quo* agreement. This agreement, arrived at some years ago, stipulates that where whites are employed they are not to be replaced by native labour, and *vice versa*.

After close association extending over a period of 125 years, the British Army in December brought to an end its connexion with South Africa. In future the military defence of the Union will be undertaken by the Defence Force. The close of this long and stirring chapter in the history of the country

was marked by a banquet at Pretoria at which General Molyneux-Carter was the guest of honour. The distinguished gathering included Prince Arthur of Connaught and General Smuts.

Although a complete analysis of the total population of the Union, based upon the recent census has not yet been issued, the preliminary figures reveal a steady increase in the number of white inhabitants since the previous census. According to the 1921 returns, the Cape Province has a total white population of 651,653 (330,100 males, 321,552 females); the Transvaal, 545,449 (285,901 males, 259,548 females); Natal, 137,291 (70,062 males, 67,229 females); and the Orange Free State, 189,031 (97,873 males, and 91,158 females). These figures give an approximate white population for the Union of 1,523,424.

#### MOROCCO.

*French Morocco.*—Marshal Lyautey who was in Paris early in the year, was commissioned to consolidate French rule in the Southern zone of Morocco, and soon after his return in March military operations on a somewhat extensive scale were undertaken against the rebel tribes, prominent among whom were the Beni-Warain, near the Spanish border. A force under General Aubert, consisting of five infantry battalions, five batteries, and five squadrons of cavalry engaged in eleven battles, built twelve outposts, and occupied a region never before penetrated by any Moorish Sultan. The operations against the Beni-Warain were successfully concluded by June 14. On May 15 Marshal Lyautey was present at the inauguration of the new town of Meknes, which was to be built alongside of the old town, and which it was hoped would, owing to its geographical position, become a flourishing commercial centre. On August 1 the Fez-Taza line uniting Morocco and Algeria was opened, and the Beni-Warain chiefs came to present their homage to Marshal Lyautey.

*Spanish Morocco.*—The year 1921 will long be remembered in Spain on account of the signal disaster which befell Spanish arms and prestige in Morocco. The tribesmen of the Riff district, who had always in previous years shown restiveness after gathering in their harvest in the summer, this year organised revolt on a formidable scale, and the Spaniards, owing to over-confidence, mismanagement, and dissensions in the army, were taken quite unawares, so that they suffered one of the most severe reverses ever sustained by a European colonising power at the hands of natives.

Early in May Spanish troops succeeded in opening communications between Sheshuan, which had been occupied in the previous autumn, and the sea. In the same month the Spaniards tried to open a road between Melilla and Alhucemas,

on the coast. On June 7 a Moorish contingent of this force mutinied and killed five Spanish officers, and the Spaniards fell back to the fortified camp at Anual. The news of this created a painful impression in Spain, but its effect was more than counterbalanced by the encouraging reports which came from the Spanish troops in the west of the country who were engaged against Raisuli. On July 12 they were reported to be closing in on him, and the date of his surrender was already announced, when the Spaniards were called off owing to the turn which affairs had taken in the eastern part of the country. When the Spaniards there had fallen back to Anual, the tribesmen had commenced to rise in force, and attacked Alhucemas and compelled its commandant to remain inactive while they advanced on the Spaniards at Anual. These soon found themselves in a desperate position, and a relief column under General Silvestre left Melilla to bring them assistance. Plunging recklessly into the wild country, General Silvestre got into serious difficulties on approaching Anual, and was surrounded by the enemy. His force was practically annihilated, and he himself and several members of his staff were killed or committed suicide. In the first two days of the fighting the Moors had already inflicted some 4,000 casualties on the Spaniards, and captured forty guns and many machine-guns. Most of the survivors were forced to wander about the mountains. Some seventy fortified Spanish posts soon fell into the hands of the enemy, including even that of Nador, six miles from Melilla, and by August 11 the last of the columns holding out had surrendered, and the disaster was complete. It was subsequently stated officially that the total Spanish losses from July 20 were 14,772 men, 29,504 rifles, 392 machine-guns, and 129 guns. Thus the work of twelve years was undone in three weeks, and the Spaniards were thrown back exactly to where they were in 1909, when they began the occupation of the Rif.

On the news of the disaster at Anual consternation reigned at Melilla, but confidence was soon restored by the arrival of reinforcements by sea. The town was fortified, but was not regarded as being in danger, as the tribesmen in the immediate neighbourhood remained faithful. In the rest of the country, however, many tribes joined the rebels.

The news of the disaster, as was natural, created a profound commotion in Spain. One of its first effects was to cause the fall of the Ministry which had allowed matters to be so mismanaged. A new Cabinet was formed under Señor Maura, with the declared policy of re-establishing the protectorate by political action seconded by armed force, but with the avoidance of hazardous military enterprises.

The Rifis, meanwhile, had offered the supreme command to Raisuli, on condition that he would declare himself anti-Spanish and help to drive the Spaniards from the country.

The negotiations between the Rifis and Raisuli did not lead to anything, as the rebel chief was suspected of being secretly in league with the Spaniards. Anarchy, however, began to increase in the western zone, and on August 24 the Moors captured a Spanish port near Alcazar, killing a colonel and over fifty men. Spanish reinforcements were poured into Laraiche (on the west coast), and at the same time an attempt was made to allay discontent by a promise that taxation would be abolished and direct control over native affairs by Spanish officers abandoned.

The Spaniards in Melilla, meanwhile, had taken the field against the Moors, and on August 23, with a force of 10,000 men, inflicted a severe defeat on a body of tribesmen estimated at 6,000 to 8,000. On September 9 news was received at Madrid of a serious engagement at Casabona in which 11,000 Spaniards had been engaged. Troops had meanwhile been pouring into Melilla from Spain, and on September 12 a systematic advance began, under the supreme direction of General Berenguer. The objective was to drive the Moors from the slopes of the Gurugu hills, from which they could shell Melilla, and capture the summit. The troops first marched south of Melilla and immediately gained a success at Ras Quiviana, about 30 miles away. Soon after they occupied Nador, and turned the Moorish position which had been threatening Melilla. On September 29 a fierce action took place at the west end of the Melilla promontory, in which some 15,000 Spanish troops fought their way through to Feizan. It was in this engagement that the veteran cavalry officer General Cavalcanti, Commandant of Melilla, sallied from the town, and in person led an infantry charge into the Moorish trenches, an action for which he was severely criticised in the Spanish Press. Soon after an advance was made from Nador up the south side of the Gurugu hills. There were by this time about 75,000 Spanish troops in the country, with reserves up to 100,000, and 120 guns. The summit of Gurugu was finally occupied on October 10, and on October 19 the censorship was raised in Spain, and full details of the situation were allowed to be published.

On October 24 the Spanish Army occupied Mt. Arruit without opposition, and found there over 2,000 unburied Spanish corpses. On November 2 six columns, totalling 25,000 men, began to advance towards the river Kert, and occupied the south flanks of Gurugu. By November 13 the line of the Kert was under the Spanish guns.

On November 10 Señor Maura stated the Government's policy to be the exemplary chastisement of the rebel Moors, the cessation of military operations on a grand scale, the extension of the Protectorate by the occupation of points on the coast, and the helping of the natives to govern themselves.

Meanwhile trouble had broken out in the west, not far from Tetuan, and General Berenguer went there from Melilla. Con-

sternation was caused at Tetuan, by the kidnapping of Sid Ali Slawi, a high official in the Spanish Protectorate Government. The Spanish columns, however, operating from Tetuan, Ceuta, and Lاراiche, occupied various points, and placed Raisuli and his followers in a very difficult position.

## EGYPT.

The year 1921 has been a momentous, perhaps an historical year for Egypt. Almost the whole of it has been occupied by the negotiations between the British and the Egyptian Governments out of which were to have eventuated the Treaty which would have secured the independence of Egypt, and at the same time safeguarded the interests of Britain in that country and more especially in the region of the Suez Canal. The work of the Egyptian Delegation being practically concluded in Europe the members returned to Egypt early in the year, Zaghoul Pasha alone remaining in Paris. This physical division in the Delegation gave support to the rumours that there were serious differences on matters of policy between Zaghoul and his colleagues, and it was not long before the rumours received confirmation. The more moderate and accommodating the majority showed themselves, the more *intransigent* became Zaghoul. As time passed the division widened, and as Zaghoul lost the confidence and support of the more stable elements in the population, his demands and the manner in which he expressed them became more and more extreme. As usual, the students gave him considerable support, and their manifestations led to the temporary closing of the schools of Alexandria at the end of February.

Almost simultaneously with these disturbances the Milner Report was published by the British Government. Its principal lines had been well known for months, having been communicated to the public in the form of a memorandum the previous August. The proposals then published met with the general approval of the Delegation and of Egyptian public opinion, but certain modifications, the chief of which was the definite abrogation of the Protectorate, were urged. The main points of the Report dealt with (1) the diplomatic representation of Egypt abroad; (2) the Army of Occupation; (3) the protection of foreigners and the safeguarding of foreign interests. On these points the Commission recommended that (1) Egypt should have diplomatic representation abroad; (2) there should not be an Army of Occupation, but on the other hand, British troops should be stationed in Egypt for the protection of the Suez Canal; and (3) for the safeguarding of foreign interests, the Financial Adviser and a high official in the Ministry of Justice should be British. The question of the abolition of the Protectorate, it was said, solved itself, inasmuch as the negotiation of a Treaty based on the Report would automatically introduce a new status in place of

the old. The Report had on the whole an excellent reception in Egypt, and at the time of its publication it was difficult to find any responsible or influential party that was able to express disapproval of it.

Immediately on the publication of the Report the British Government informed the Sultan that although they had not come to a final conclusion regarding Lord Milner's recommendations, they were agreed that the status of a Protectorate was an unsatisfactory one, and they invited the Sultan to send a delegation to England "with a view, if possible, to substitute for the Protectorate a relationship which would, while securing the special interests of Great Britain, and enabling her to offer adequate guarantees to foreign powers, meet the legitimate aspirations of Egypt and the Egyptian people." Unfortunately at this point much excitement and some resentment was caused in Egypt by an unhappy phrase used by Mr. Churchill, the new Secretary for the Colonies, at a public dinner in London. In a burst of rhetoric he referred to Egypt as part of the British Empire, and this led at once to protests by a group of ex-Ministers, the Egyptian Delegation, and other responsible bodies. However, this was but a flash in the pan, and the excitement speedily subsided.

To meet the new situation the Egyptian Cabinet resigned, and a new one consisting mainly of "All the Talents" under the premiership of Adly Yeghen Pasha was appointed. Its policy was, in brief, co-operation with the Delegation in the endeavour to arrive at an agreement with Great Britain satisfactory to Egyptian aspirations. This agreement when made was to be submitted to the National Assembly. Pending the settlement of the constitutional position no reforms of moment would be introduced. The new Cabinet had an enthusiastic reception from all classes in Egypt. There was, however, one exception to the general satisfaction. Zaghoul Pasha, the head of the Delegation, but whose estrangement from his colleagues was now patent to the world, although he had remained in Europe when the other members of the Delegation returned to Egypt, now thought that the situation in Egypt demanded his presence. He arrived there early in April and received a remarkable welcome from the populace in Alexandria and Cairo, but there were signs at once that close co-operation between him and the Government was improbable except on his terms. One demand he made at once, and that was that the new Delegation which was to go to London should consist mainly of his nominees and have himself as its president. A contest between Zaghoul and the Prime Minister ensued, in which the latter had the support for the most part of the more moderate and stable elements in the population, while Zaghoul's supporters consisted largely of the mob and the students. The inevitable in due course happened, and a complete breach between the two leaders of Egyptian opinion became manifest. Zaghoul went so far



as to say that even if the Cabinet accepted his demands he would now refuse to co-operate with it. His new demand was in effect that he should be vested with the powers of Dictator of Egypt so far as the negotiations with the British Government were concerned.

Zaghoul's persistent and increasingly virulent attacks on the Cabinet led to a hardly unexpected outbreak of violence at Alexandria and a smaller one at Cairo in May. The former one in which the mob for a time obtained control of a portion of the city was especially violent, and took a definitely anti-European direction. A large number of Europeans, mostly Greeks, were killed or injured, and one of the results was to give a decided set-back to the cause of Egyptian independence, for the foreign colonies had been given reason to feel doubtful whether their lives and property would be safe under an uncontrolled Egyptian Government, and there was a strong demand on their part for the continuance of British protection. Another consequence of the outbreak was to strengthen the position of the Cabinet, which gained the adhesion of several new elements. As the position of the Cabinet grew firmer it was able to take more decisive action. The principal press organ of Zaghoul was suspended, and Prince Aziz Hassan, a member of the Khedivial family, one of Zaghoul's most active and dangerous supporters, was ordered to leave the country. Aly Bey Fahmy Kamel, the leader of the Extreme Nationalists, was deported, and other notables arrested for breaches of the law. These measures had a decided effect on their colleagues who remained free. Zaghoul also was influenced to the extent that in an interview he expressed his willingness to co-operate with the Cabinet, but his influence was decidedly on the wane, as was evidenced by a propaganda tour which he conducted in the early autumn. His reception on this was in parts so mixed that the authorities had in some places to intervene in order to preserve the peace, and the tour was ultimately brought to a premature conclusion. Zaghoul was even formally disavowed by the majority of the Legislative Assembly.

Despite the protracted negotiations in London a settlement could not be reached, and Adly and his colleagues returned to Cairo at the end of the year empty-handed. The British Government held by the Milner recommendations for the most part, and it is probable that if no departure from them had been suggested, agreement would have been possible. But on two points, the military dispositions and foreign relations, the gulf separating the two parties proved impassable. The Egyptians would have accepted a British garrison on Egyptian territory confined to the Canal zone. They might even have agreed to the presence of British troops in other specified places. The British, however, demanded for the security of their nationals and other Europeans that the troops should be stationed wherever in Egypt the military authorities thought it desirable. As to the other point, both

parties agreed to the diplomatic representation of Egypt abroad, but the Egyptian delegation took exception to the title of High Commissioner for the British representative in Egypt, and to the consultation of that representative before the conclusion of political agreements with other Powers.

On the failure of the negotiations Adly Pasha and his colleagues returned to Egypt, and on his arrival there he and the other members of the Cabinet tendered their collective resignation. Several attempts to find a successor were made, but the end of the year still found Egypt devoid of a Cabinet. The failure of the negotiations, of course, gave Zaghoul his opportunity. The immediate occasion that he took was the publication of the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Alexandria riots of the previous May. Against this report Zaghoul issued a protest in very forcible terms, and he followed it by a scarcely veiled appeal to the Egyptians to protest in a still more forcible manner. The immediate result (Dec. 22) was the arrest and deportation to Ceylon of Zaghoul and five of his principal supporters. This led to a further outbreak of mob violence in Cairo and one or two other towns, which was quickly suppressed.

Without the persistent unsettlement in the political situation there would have been ample cause for financial and commercial depression, and for something of the nature of an economic crisis, and it was found necessary to introduce a regime of ruthless economy into all branches of the public service. The Budget for 1920-21 showed a deficit of more than 11,000,000*l.*, and although economies effected an improvement, the estimates for the year 1921-22 showed also a considerable deficit.

#### THE SOUDAN.

The Soudan being a country of minor importance, with no sensational events, did not loom large in the public eye. The more passionate politics of its closely related neighbour, Egypt, had of course their reflex further south, and the overflow of the agitation in Egypt took the form of a national propaganda in the Soudan, but this was patently artificial and led to manifestations in favour of the Government which were more noticeable than those against it. The long-standing hostility between the Soudanese and the Egyptians may have been one of the causes of the former's preference for the *status quo*. The agitation resulted, however, in a few slight disturbances, but there were none of a serious character. The economic depression in Egypt also had its reflex in the Soudan. Labour was so scarce that an appreciable part of the crops could not be gathered. Coupled with this was the very heavy cost of fuel, with its influence on a variety of charges, and a not very satisfactory harvest. The combination of all these elements can properly be described only as a gloomy situation. Later in the year there was an outbreak

in Southern Darfur, in the course of which two British officers and three civilian employees were killed, but it was easily suppressed with severe loss to the insurgents. The leader, Abdullahi-es-Soghayer, was captured and afterwards hanged.

## CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA: THE UNITED STATES—CANADA—ARGENTINA—BRAZIL  
—CHILE—CENTRAL AMERICA—COLOMBIA—MEXICO—OTHER  
REPUBLICS.

### THE UNITED STATES.

THE year 1921 opened with the Republicans still dazed by their amazing victory the previous November when they elected as President, Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding, of Ohio, by the utterly unprecedented majority of nearly 7,000,000 votes over Governor Cox, the Democratic candidate. In the House of Representatives they found themselves with a clear majority of 150 votes, while in the Senate they had a majority of 22. They could look forward, almost certainly, to four years of uninterrupted control. To the Republicans, with their determination to re-establish high protection and their disrelish for governmental interference with business, the vista was pleasant indeed.

In the White House, President Wilson, a sick man, watched the sands of his administration run quickly through the glass. In the months of January and February, the President contented himself with vetoing the "Emergency Tariff Act" passed by the jubilant Republicans, refusing to pardon Eugene V. Debs and 145 other "political" prisoners, and expelling H. A. K. Martens, the Bolshevik envoy, from the country. He passed on to the new administration for solution a controversy with Great Britain over oil rights in Mesopotamia, a dispute with Japan over the island of Yap, the settlement of peace terms with Germany and Austria, *de facto* occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo by American marines, much friction with Panama, Columbia, and Nicaragua, an agitation for independence in the Philippines, and the question of the recognition of Mexico.

In addition the new administration was shortly to be confronted with three domestic issues which were to absorb between them nearly all the President's time and attention. One was the severe industrial slump, indicated in January by the announcement of the United States Department of Labour that there were 3,473,466 unemployed in the country, a figure which by August had crept up to 5,735,000.

A second problem, new to the national consciousness, was the bankruptcy of agriculture. On January 1, for the first time in the history of the United States, the urban population overtook the rural population, with the cities growing seven and a

half times as fast as the rural districts. The converse of this—the desertion of the farms—was to be traced to the economic plight of the farmers who were carrying, it was estimated, a dead loss of 6,000,000,000 dollars on the 1920 crop, due to the fact that the crop had been gathered on the highest wages known since the Civil War, and yet had to be sold at prices lower than any known since 1914. Professor Ashby Hobbs declared in the *New York Times* that the average farmer during 1920 had cleared above his working expenses, to be consumed by himself and his family, bare wages amounting to 9.61 dollars per week. In the single agricultural State of Ohio alone 60,000 men and boys deserted the farms. All this led to the emergence in Congress of the Agricultural bloc, a group of senators and representatives, of both parties, from the agricultural States, who displayed a determination to force from the administration “some consideration for the agricultural interests of the country.” In the speeches of Senators Capper, of Kansas, Kenyon, of Iowa, and La Follette, of Wisconsin, throughout the year the views of this significant group may be traced.

The third domestic legacy left to the new President was the growing movement throughout the country for disarmament. It is perfectly clear from his public addresses prior to his inauguration in March that Mr. Harding had no notion of adopting even partial disarmament as an administration policy. While he took some trouble during his campaign to dissociate himself from the unpopular movement for universal military training and peacetime conscription, the senator made it clear that he believed in a Navy “second to none.” In this he was entirely in harmony with his party which, ever since Mr. Roosevelt’s days, had advocated a strong Navy to protect American investments abroad.

But as early as January signs began to multiply that the American people, although steadfastly opposed to the Wilsonian League of Nations, were thoroughly dissatisfied with the huge naval and military burdens which they were carrying. Major General Pershing was among the first to suggest that some disarmament was in order; General Tasker H. Bliss, another prominent soldier, said much to the same effect. Then Senator Borah, of Idaho, an independent Republican, introduced a resolution calling for a Conference between Great Britain, Japan, and the United States looking toward a naval holiday. In obedience to this rising sentiment Congress cut the American Army from 288,000 down to 175,000 men.

But Mr. Harding in his inaugural address in March gave only the vaguest signs that he recognised the force of public opinion on this question. “I would rejoice,” said the President, “to acclaim the era of the Golden Rule and crown it with the autocracy of service,” whatever that may mean! But he made no concrete recommendations. He pronounced himself opposed to the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, although in favour of an undefined “association of nations.” However, he

did recommend that the war with the Central Powers be officially terminated by act of Congress. Such a resolution, after some controversy between the two Houses, was adopted by the lower House on June 30, by the Senate on July 1, and was signed by the President on July 2. Peace Treaties were then drawn up and presented to Germany and Austria. The Austrian Treaty was signed on August 24 and the German Treaty on the day following.

In March the disarmament sentiment was distinctly fanned by a statement made in Parliament by Lord Lee, First Lord of the Admiralty, that "if America invites Great Britain to come to an agreement on the naval question," he would put aside all other business and help the movement along. In May the new Secretary of State, Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, decided that the United States should re-enter the Supreme Council of the Allies at Paris in order to safeguard American interests. He likewise decided to send an "Official Observer"—in the person of Mr. George Harvey, the new American Ambassador in London—to the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris. Thirdly he took steps to be represented "unofficially" on the Reparations Commission.

These reminders that America was still hopelessly involved in the European debacle spurred the disarmament forces to greater activity. A three-days' Conference was held in Chicago, May 17-19, attended by official representatives of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the National Catholic Welfare Council, and the Central Conference of American Synagogues to plan concerted action. With the churches, the powerful women's organisations, and even the business men clamouring for action, the President had no difficulty, presently, in noting the public feeling on the question. Defeated at his first attempt, Senator Borah pressed for a rider to the Naval Appropriation Bill authorising the President to call a Conference for a naval holiday: at first the administration resisted the suggestion, but finally and suddenly withdrew its opposition; the rider was adopted, and in July the President issued to Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan an invitation to take part in a Conference, to be held in Washington on November 11, on "the subject of limitations of armaments, in connexion with which Pacific and Far Eastern problems will also be discussed." For the latter discussion, China, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal were invited.

In the meantime the administration struggled with other problems. All suggestions from Europe that the debts of the Allies should be mutually cancelled excited great opposition, although there was growing recognition that the country needed a solvent Europe in order to recover from its own increasing slump. But Europe was held in popular suspicion. An "American Commission on Ireland," an unofficial body sponsored by a New York weekly magazine, held prolonged hearings

on the events in Ireland under the Black-and-Tans and the Commission's report in March aroused strong feeling.

Oddly enough, the country was treated unexpectedly to three distinct revolts against its own imperialistic enterprises. The Filipino legislature appropriated 50,000 dollars with which to agitate for freedom from American rule. The people of Santo Domingo started a strong protest against the American occupation of their country, and made public many unpleasant allegations as to American rule. And simultaneously the people of Haiti filed bitter protests against the exploits of the American Marines in Haiti with allegations that more than 2,000 natives had been wantonly murdered and that compulsory labour—the *corvée* system—had been revived and rigorously enforced against them by the Marines. The Senate promptly appointed a special Committee to investigate the situation in Haiti and Santo Domingo. While this was going on the administration laid down to Mexico the conditions on which the Obregon administration would be "recognised;" these conditions the Mexicans declined to accept.

Throughout the year industrial conditions grew steadily worse. In February the railroads, faced with increasing monthly deficits, began a campaign to reduce wages and were finally successful. In fact, wages in all lines were cut from 12½ to 20 per cent. Bankruptcies were numerous. One great New York bank came close to the brink, but was rescued by the others; not so fortunate were the country banks holding the notes of practically bankrupt farmers; many of them went under in the grain States.

At least two cheerful events occurred. One was a world aeroplane record for trans-continental mail delivery. Seven fifty-pound sacks of mail were strapped to an aeroplane in San Francisco on Tuesday morning, February 22, and dropped off at Mineola, Long Island the next afternoon—the whole continent spanned in twenty-five hours twenty-one minutes at a speed of eighty-one miles an hour.

The other cheerful event was a characteristic popular uprising against the Ku Klux Klan, an organisation which had been revived in all the southern and many of the northern States. Its elaborate ritual, its midnight raids against Negroes, Jews, and Catholics, its brutality, and the huge profits of its enterprising promoters were exposed, first by a syndicate of newspapers led by the *New York World* and later by a special Committee of Congress. It was a healthy explosion of public indignation which routed the Klan, but it did not come until midsummer by which time the Klan had the following exploits to its official credit: Killings 4, irreparable mutilations 1, branding with acid 1, floggings 41, tar-and-feather parties 27, kidnappings 5, individuals driven from town 43, communities threatened with posters 14, and parades of masked Klansmen with threatening placards 16. Congressional legislation against

the order was threatened but proved unnecessary, as the organisation went to pieces under popular ridicule and the vigorous attacks of public officials all over the country.

At the same time, it must be admitted that the year showed the usual dreary record of lynchings and burnings. The lynchings for the year numbered sixty-three; of the victims fifty-nine were negroes. Four victims were burned to death, five were burned after death. The most serious racial outbreak occurred at Tulsa, Oklahoma, on May 31—a pitched battle between the two races in which 200 lives were lost. The entire negro section of the town was burned to the ground. To offset this should be placed the courageous stand against attempts at lynching made in many Southern communities as well as the steady growth of the “inter-racial committee movement.” An “inter-racial committee” is, as its name suggests, a local body made up of both white and coloured formed to discuss and remove causes of friction before serious antagonisms develop. This movement spread rapidly through the South during the year, and finally attracted the attention of President Harding who gave it unqualified praise, and promised to appoint a Federal Inter-Racial Commission to investigate the whole question from the national point of view.

Previous efforts of the Wilson administration to establish a merchant marine under Government control gave the in-coming Republicans a chance to “muckrake” their predecessors in brilliant fashion. After his inauguration President Harding appointed Albert D. Lasker to be chairman of the United States Shipping Board. Mr. Lasker, after an extensive investigation, declared that the affairs of the Board constituted “the most colossal commercial wreck the world ever knew.” He asserted that the Board’s total operating loss for 1920 had been 380,000,000 dollars. Of 409,000,000 dollars disbursed as operating expenses, no less than 307,000,000 dollars, he asserted, was “entirely unaccounted for.” This sum, he declared, had been paid out to ship operators who had made no adequate reports to the Government. So loosely had the Board’s affairs been conducted, he said, that he could find figures for only 3,000 out of the 9,000 voyages credited to Shipping Board ships.

The remainder of the year was spent in the drastic sale of hundreds of ships. An attempt was made to force the American ship-operators to handle Government ships on a bare-bottom charter without looking to the Government to guarantee them from loss. This the ship-operators declined to do; having had a taste of Government subsidy they wanted more. Efforts to bring about a more businesslike and competitive state of affairs were somewhat weakened by President Harding’s conspicuous fondness for the idea of “planting the flag” on the high seas, and his willingness to go as far as Congress would let him in the direction of a Government subsidy for the merchant marine. The year closed with the question unsettled.

But by November 12, when the Disarmament and Far Eastern Conference opened in Washington, all these questions were forgotten in the intense interest taken by the whole country in that enterprise.

The delegates assembled for that Conference included: for the United States, Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State; Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Senator Underwood, Democratic floor leader; Mr. Elihu Root; General Pershing; and Rear-Admiral Coontz.

For Great Britain: Mr. Balfour, Lord Lee of Fareham, Sir Auckland Geddes, Lord Beatty, and Lord Cavan. For Canada, Sir Robert Borden; for Australia, the Hon. G. F. Pearce; for New Zealand, Sir John Salmond; and for India, the Hon. Srinivasa Sastri.

For France, M. Briand, M. Viviani, M. Sarraut, and Marshal Foch.

For Japan, Prince Tokugawa, Baron Shidehara, Admiral Baron Kato, and General Tanaka.

Never was an international Conference launched more dramatically, not to say abruptly. After an address of welcome by President Harding, the Conference invited Secretary Hughes to preside as chairman, and the latter, in his address of acceptance, broke all precedents and achieved a *coup de main* by proposing a detailed scheme, complete in all but two or three particulars, for a naval holiday and for partial naval disarmament. When he began to speak no one in the Conference knew what, in American parlance, he had up his sleeve, and the proposals made a profound impression not only upon the country, which went wild with delight, but upon the assembled diplomats as well.

Briefly, Mr. Hughes proposed that the United States should scrap all new capital ships under construction, and fifteen of the older battleships, making a total of 845,000 tons scrapped. He proposed that Great Britain should cease the construction of the four proposed battleships of the Hood class and scrap all her second-line and first-line battleships up to the King George V. class, a total of 583,000 tons. Japan, he suggested, should scrap 289,000 tons, including her newest ones. The total number of capital ships to be scrapped by those three Powers would be sixty-six, with a gross tonnage of 1,874,043.

Then, said Mr. Hughes, within three months after the signing of the agreement, the Navies of the three Powers would include capital ships of the following aggregate tonnage: Great Britain, 604,450 tons; United States, 500,650 tons; Japan, 299,700 tons. There would be no replacement, he suggested, for ten years; at the end of that period he proposed that the capital ships should be limited as follows: for Great Britain, 500,000 tons; the United States, 500,000 tons; Japan, 300,000 tons. France and Italy, he thought, should be reserved for later



consideration owing to the losses they had suffered during the war.

While the delegates were listening with, perhaps, mixed emotions to these concrete suggestions, Mr. Hughes swept them on. There were submarines. He proposed that Great Britain and the United States should limit themselves to 90,000 tons of submarines, while Japan would restrict her submarine tonnage to 54,000. For naval aeroplane carriers, he proposed that the maximum should be 80,000 tons apiece for Great Britain and the United States, and 48,000 for Japan. He tentatively placed the total for all auxiliary craft at 450,000 tons each for Great Britain and the United States, and 270,000 tons for Japan.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the profound stir created by this speech throughout the country. The precision of it, its unconventional character, the boldness and generosity of the proposals aroused American pride in the highest degree. The Conference was launched with great prestige. Mr. Balfour promptly and cordially endorsed the proposals "in principle," though intimating that he would like to see the Conference go even further in certain respects. M. Briand pledged France's hearty support, as did the spokesman for Japan.

The interesting discussions which followed lasted past the end of the year. At first Japanese naval circles proved a little intractable. Japanese pride was offended at the definitely subordinate status reflected in the ratio 5, 5, 3, but she finally fell into line, partly through the pressure of the Japanese journalists present at the Conference who were deeply impressed with American feeling on the subject of disarmament and anxious that Japan should not seem to be militaristic. Not the least of the unconventional developments of this extraordinary Conference was the action of these Japanese journalists in signing a "round robin" to their own Government, protesting against any attempt to modify the American proposals!

Great Britain was the next to raise a point. Lord Lee on December 22 made a powerful plea for the total abolition of submarines on the grounds that they were useless as a purely naval weapon, either for offence or defence, and were of effective use only against merchant shipping, and then under conditions of the grossest inhumanity. He pointed out that the United States had 85,540 submarine tonnage, Great Britain 80,500, and Japan, 32,000, France, 28,360, and Italy, 18,250. Under the American proposal of 90,000 tons each for the United States and Great Britain and 54,000 tons for Japan, those countries would have to build more submarines.

Impressed by this point the American delegation proposed the next day that the submarine tonnage for Great Britain and the United States be cut to 60,000 apiece, and that they leave the submarine fleets of France, Italy, and Japan at their present strength.

Great Britain promptly accepted this, but France flatly refused. On December 28, the French Cabinet notified the French delegation that France would insist on building submarines up to 90,000 tons, and would likewise insist on having 330,000 tons of auxiliary craft. This stand, the result of pressure upon M. Briand from a strong Nationalist bloc in the French chamber, definitely destroyed the work of the Conference on the limitation of auxiliary craft. France agreed, after a long and not very felicitous discussion, to restrict her tonnage in capital ships and the ratios accepted on December 19—namely, Great Britain, 5; United States, 5; Japan, 3; France, 1.70; Italy, 1.70—stood, though France destroyed the moral effect of this agreement by her announcement on December 28, that she would regard the naval holiday as over in 1927, when she would feel free to resume the replacement of her capital ships. While this Five-Power Agreement, with the reservations noted, was duly signed on December 29, its reference to the Congress of the United States—as well as the legislative bodies of the other Powers—falls into the history of 1922.

But while France's *non possumus* gave the campaign against the submarine a definite setback, the Conference, at the suggestion of Mr. Root, attacked the issue obliquely. Mr. Root proposed that the Conference draft an agreement prohibiting the use of the submarine against merchant craft—specifically, that the submarine should not be permitted to attack a merchant ship without "visit and search," and without giving passengers and crew full opportunity to leave the ship. This, which was practically a reiteration of international law upon the subject, would, Mr. Root argued, so reduce the efficiency of the submarine as a weapon against merchant shipping, as to gain the end which all had in mind. France assented to this cordially, and the year closed with a sub-committee drafting a set of rules designed to restrict the submarine in future wars to attacks upon combatants and not upon non-combatants.

While this discussion was going on, two important related issues were before Committees of the Conference, both connected with the Pacific. In view of the fact that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1911 had run its allotted ten years, it was proposed that it be laid aside and that the Conference should then and there draft a Four-Power pact designed to assure peace in the Pacific. This took the form of an understanding between Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, each Power engaging itself to respect the integrity of the island possessions of the others in the Pacific and, in the event of any dispute, to invoke the good offices of the other parties. It was agreed that strategic islands in the Pacific should not be fortified.

This pact was duly signed by the delegates on December 13, but this had no sooner been accomplished than public opinion in the United States became somewhat alarmed lest this new Treaty prove an "entangling alliance." Definite opposition to it began

to crystallise in the United States Senate. At the close of the year it was by no means certain that President Harding, who stoutly defended the Treaty against its critics, could muster the requisite two-thirds vote in the Senate to secure its ratification. Incidentally, it may be remarked that while the fate of this, the first of the agreements reached by the Conference, is still uncertain, the atmosphere of the Conference proved useful in one important respect, it enabled the United States and Japan to compose their serious and rather long-standing disagreement over Pacific cable facilities and the control of the island of Yap.

The second significant issue that was being attacked by the delegates while the disarmament proposals were under discussion was the problem of China. Immediately after the Conference opened the Chinese delegates, headed by Mr. Wellington Koo, presented a memorandum making concrete the Chinese demand for full restoration of her sovereignty, the "open door" as the Chinese interpreted it, and the end of all foreign interference with her national affairs.

This raised a number of difficult questions which were referred to a Far Eastern Committee for solution. The plan was to draft an Eight-Power Treaty, or perhaps even a Nine-Power or Ten-Power Treaty definitely recognising China's rights. The theory was that unless all joined in some such recognition, international friction over China and in China might reach such a point as to menace the peace of the world. Among the problems posed for the committee were: China's financial plight, Japanese occupation of Shantung, the so-called "spheres of influence" enjoyed by certain powers, the administration of the Chinese tariff, the likin evil, the opium question, and the meaning of the "open door." During the discussion of these issues the Chinese delegation had the ear of the American public; they enjoyed a good press throughout, and this favourable public opinion was reflected in the Conference itself. When the year closed, however, a deadlock had developed between the Chinese and the Japanese over the Shantung question, especially the administration of the railway there, and it was not at all certain what success would attend the efforts of the Conference to remove the wrongs of which the Chinese complained. It was tentatively agreed that a sort of international board of reference should be set up and to that board China would have the right of appeal if, in the future, she felt that her rights were being invaded. Doubtless 1922 will see the Chinese situation definitely nearer solution as the result of this Conference.

#### CANADA.

In the early months of the year Mr. Meighen, the newly elected Prime Minister, was working strenuously to strengthen the position of the Coalition Government which had necessarily

suffered by the illness and protracted absences at various Conferences in London and Paris of Sir Robert Borden, its former head.

Barely six months after his succession to Office (which took place on July 10, 1920) Mr. Meighen had visited every Province except New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, holding over fifty meetings in the Western Provinces, and whatever political results were accomplished, there is no doubt that his activities made a favourable personal impression. Confidence in the National Liberal-Conservative Party appeared to be revived by his efforts, and although the Government sustained a heavy defeat by the United Farmers in the bye-election at East Elgin, Ontario, three victories for the Government were gained in the bye-elections (caused by the re-organisation of the Cabinet on Sir Robert Borden's resignation) in Colchester, Nova Scotia, St. John, New Brunswick, and British Columbia. The victory of the Farmers in a Unionist Constituency was, however, significant of the ascendancy of a new party already powerful in the three Prairie Provinces, while in Ontario the Hon. E. C. Drury, the Provincial Premier, who as an exponent of the principles of the moderate section of the Farmers' Party defeated his Conservative Opponent in October, 1919, enjoys a personal popularity in the Province which is probably unique.

Notwithstanding the Premier's individual exertions, within the course of a few months one bye-election after another resulted in Government defeats, some returns adumbrating the complete revulsion of political feeling which was demonstrated later in so remarkable a manner. In the French district of Yamaska, for instance, where there appeared to be every prospect of a Ministerial success, the Liberal Candidate was elected by a majority of 1,500. Even more pronounced was the verdict of the Election in the Medicine Hat Constituency (where the vacancy was caused by the death in January of the Right Hon. Arthur L. Sifton, Secretary of State), for there the Coalition Government was represented by a candidate who had a good war record, had sat in the Legislature, and was well liked in the district. Yet the majority in favour of the United Farmers was no less than 8,000, and in the town itself where, with 4,000 voters, it was confidently expected that the Government candidate would secure a majority of at least 1,000, the Farmer led by 226.

The policies of the Farmers, under the leadership of Hon. T. A. Crerar, declared against the principle of Protection; opposed the return of railways to private ownership; emphasised the necessity of stimulating immigration, and stood for "the further development of the British Empire along the lines of partnership between nations free and equal under the present Government system of British constitutional authority," strongly opposing any attempt to centralise Imperial control and combating any tendency to "set up an independent

authority with power to bind the Dominions, whether this authority be termed a Parliament, Council, or Cabinet, calculated to hamper the growth of responsible and informed democracy in the Dominions."

The Fifth Session of the Thirteenth Parliament was opened by the Governor-General at Ottawa on February 14. Among the various issues before Parliament were the Tariff Revision (a special Commission having been appointed to collect evidence throughout Canada); the Appointment of a Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington; the Western Provinces in relation to their natural resources; and Prohibition. The Act granting an extension of the period for Arbitration respecting the Grand Trunk Railway was perhaps the most conspicuous piece of legislation of the Session. The Government had been empowered by Act of Parliament passed in 1919 to enter into an agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway for the acquisition of the capital stock of the company, the value of such stock to be determined by a Board of three Arbitrators. The Arbitrators appointed were the Hon. Sir Walter Cassels, President of the Exchequer Court of Canada, Chairman; The Right Hon. Sir Thomas White, and the Hon. William H. Taft. This Commission sat for seventy-one days continuously except for a break between April 8 and June 1, and ceased taking evidence and hearing argument on July 8. Their Award declaring that there was no value to the shareholders of first, second, or third preference stock, or in the ordinary or common stock of the railway was published in Ottawa on September 7. Much agitation followed this decision, and subsequently the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council granted permission to shareholders to appeal against the Award.

Other notable legislation for the period includes the West Indies Trade Agreement; the France Trade Agreement; the Copyright Act; the Returned Soldiers Insurance Act; and the Act to authorise the Ratification and carrying into effect of the protocol accepting the Statute for the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The presentation to the Canadian Government of a finely executed replica of the Speaker's Chair at Westminster was a pleasant illustration of the spirit of comradeship prevailing between the members of the Canadian and British Parliaments "united by ties of common ideals, of like institutions and traditions, and of a common allegiance." The gift was presented on May 20 by Mr. Lowther, the former British Speaker, on behalf of the members of the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association. Felicitous speeches were delivered by the Governor-General and several of his leading Ministers.

Immediately after Prorogation of Parliament on June 4 Mr. Meighen left Ottawa to attend the Conference of Prime Ministers in London. The Conference had aroused considerable

interest in Canada and the problems to be discussed by the Empire Premiers had been the subject of debate in the Dominion House of Commons. On arrival Mr. Meighen met his British colleagues for the first time in his capacity as Head of the Government of Canada, and he received Civic honours during his stay in the capital. Of the matters before the Conference, the Renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty was the most important so far as Canada was directly concerned. Mr. Meighen opposed the renewal of the Treaty on the ground that he could not agree to any contract which might involve the Dominion in complications with the Republic south of her borders. Dealing with Empire foreign policy in general, the Canadian Premier's contentions were that the British Government should enter into no treaties or alliances without consultation with and the advice of the Dominions; that all such treaties even when entered into should be subject to the approval of the Dominion Parliaments, and that upon all questions arising as between the United States and Canada the advice of the Canadian Government should be accepted as final.

Revolutionary as these contentions may appear, they were intended simply as logical developments of the theory of the Commonwealth of free nations within the Empire. That the Canadian leader advocated no Separationist doctrine was made amply manifest by several public utterances on his return. On the contrary, it may be claimed that Mr. Meighen brought into prominence certain phases of Empire policy which grow increasingly insistent, and his representations at the London Conference were said to have had a notable effect upon the political groups in Canada. Moreover, in emphasising the importance of a clearer understanding and a closer co-operation between the two great English-speaking nations, the British Empire and the United States, Mr. Meighen expressed the sentiments of every Canadian, and there is reason to believe that those sentiments are not wholly unreciprocated by the people of America.

On July 22 the Duke of Devonshire left Canada, having completed his five years' tenure of office as Governor-General. His departure was signalled by addresses from leading Ministers and speakers from representative organisations expressive of the warm appreciation and esteem of the Canadian people for the whole-hearted manner in which His Excellency had carried on the traditions of his high office during a difficult period.

The announcement of General Lord Byng of Vimy as his successor met with enthusiastic approval throughout the country, and the new Governor-General was sworn in on arrival at Quebec on August 11.

The dangers of absence were vividly demonstrated by the state of affairs which confronted the Prime Minister on his return to Ottawa. His task of maintaining confidence in the Coalition Government was an exacting one from the first, and whatever

may be the value of his contributions in London to Canada's progress and the Empire's problems, there can be no doubt that he lost much ground during the weeks of his visit to the Old Country. The first question to be determined on his return was whether to face another Session of Parliament with a revision of the Tariff and a redistribution of constituencies, or to order an immediate appeal to the country. With a majority of only twenty-five the Cabinet favoured the latter course although the industrial and financial conditions prevailing were adverse to such a decision. As a preliminary step to a General Election Mr. Meighen somewhat drastically reconstructed his Cabinet. Many considerations had to be borne in mind during the process, and although the new Ministry evoked no wide measure of approval it was judged as considerably strengthening the Coalition position. The inclusion of three Quebec members was regarded as a personal success on the part of the Premier.

The retirement of the Right Hon. Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce and a veteran of forty years' public service; the Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals; the Hon. J. A. Calder, Minister of Immigration and Colonisation; the Right Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice and one of Canada's signatories of the Peace Treaty; the Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General; and the Hon. R. W. Wigmore, Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue, together with a rearrangement of portfolios resulted in the appointment of eleven new Ministers. Sir George Foster, Dr. Reid, and Mr. Calder were appointed to the Senate, and the new Cabinet sworn in by the Governor-General on September 21 was as follows:—

Prime Minister and Secretary of State for	
External Affairs - - - - -	Right Hon. Arthur Meighen.
Minister of Finance - - - - -	Sir Henry Drayton.
Minister of the Interior - - - - -	Sir James Lougheed.
Minister of Trade and Commerce - - - - -	Hon. H. H. Stevens.
Minister of Railways and Canals - - - - -	Hon. J. A. Stewart.
Postmaster-General - - - - -	Hon. L. de G. Belley.
Minister of Militia and Defence - - - - -	Hon. Hugh Guthrie.
Minister of Public Works - - - - -	Hon. F. B. McCurdy.
Minister of Health, Immigration, and Colonisation - - - - -	Hon. Dr. J. W. Edwards.
Minister of Marine and Naval Service - - - - -	Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.
Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue - - - - -	Hon. J. B. M. Baxter.
Minister of Labour - - - - -	Hon. G. D. Robertson.
Secretary of State - - - - -	Hon. R. Monty.
President of the Council - - - - -	Hon. L. P. Normand.
Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment - - - - -	Hon. Dr. R. J. Manion.
Minister of Agriculture - - - - -	Hon. Dr. S. F. Tolmie.
Minister of Justice - - - - -	Hon. R. B. Bennett.
Ministers without Portfolio - - - - -	{ Sir Edward Kemp; Hon. E. K. Spinney; Hon. E. Bristol, and Hon. J. R. Wilson.

Shortly after this revision Mr. Meighen announced that the General Election would take place in the first week of

December. The campaign was quickly in progress: all parties took up the issues and in no constituency was there an unopposed candidate. At Portage la Prairie in formally opening his election campaign Mr. Meighen urged the necessity of a protective Tariff to safeguard Canada's industries in world-wide competition particularly in view of the proximity of the United States with its vast industrial development, and asserted that the entire world was protective. He did not believe, however, in a high protective Tariff, which he said would be unfair to the West and other sections of the country, and he introduced a new election issue in proposing the formation of a huge general grain pool similar to the Canadian Wheat Board, for receiving, holding, and marketing grain, as an alternative to the existing system which would not be interfered with. The latter proposal was the subject of much comment in the press, but was not regarded with favour by the Western Grain Growers generally, and the Tariff was treated as the main issue.

It was believed from the first that Quebec would vote solidly for the Liberal candidates, and in the Prairie Provinces victories for the Farmers (who had changed the name of their organisation to the "National Progressive Party") were considered as foregone conclusions. Suggestions of an alliance between the Progressive and the Liberal Parties were taken up by the leaders, but the Farmers decided to remain a separate and distinct political body.

Polling took place on December 6. Of the 235 seats the Liberals secured 117; the Progressives (Farmers), 65; Conservatives (Coalitionists), 51; and Labour, 2.

Such a sweeping victory for the Liberal Party exceeded the most sanguine hopes of its supporters, and came to many as a sudden revelation of the widespread lack of confidence in the Liberal-Conservative Government and its policies. Quebec fulfilled the expectations of the Liberals by returning the whole of her candidates (65) as adherents of that Party, but Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island provided a surprise by also voting solidly Liberal (returning twenty members), while the Prime Minister himself lost his seat to a Farmer in Manitoba where the voting was: Farmers, 12; Liberals, 2; Labour, 1. For the remaining Provinces the results were: Ontario—Conservatives 37, Liberals 22, Progressives 23; Alberta—Progressives 10, Liberal 1, Labour 1; Saskatchewan—Progressives 14, Liberals 2; British Columbia—Conservatives 7, Liberals 3, Progressives 3; New Brunswick—Conservatives 5, Liberals 5, Progressive 1; and Yukon—Conservative 1.

The Government thus having been disastrously defeated, Mr. Meighen tendered his resignation into the hands of the Governor-General who called upon Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader and former protégé of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to form a Government. The formation of the new Cabinet was



a matter of keen interest throughout the Dominion, and it was generally believed that some of the Progressive leaders would be offered portfolios. This indeed was the case, but the Farmers maintained their organic independence, and the following Liberal Cabinet was duly sworn in on December 29:—

Prime Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council - - - - -	Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.
Minister of Railways and Canals - - -	Hon. W. C. Kennedy.
Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and Minister of Public Health -	Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland.
Minister of Public Works - - - - -	Hon. Hewitt Bostock.
Minister of Finance - - - - -	Hon. W. S. Fielding.
Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue -	Hon. Jacques Bureau.
Minister of Trade and Commerce - - -	Hon. James A. Robb.
Minister of Justice - - - - -	Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin.
Postmaster-General - - - - -	Hon. Charles Murphy.
Secretary of State - - - - -	Hon. A. B. Copp.
Minister of Agriculture - - - - -	Hon. W. R. Motherwell.
Minister of Labour - - - - -	Hon. James Murdoch.
Minister of Militia and Defence and of Naval Service - - - - -	Hon. George P. Graham.
Minister of the Interior - - - - -	Hon. C. Stewart.
Solicitor-General - - - - -	Hon. D. D. Mackenzie.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries - - -	Hon. E. Lapointe.
Ministers without Portfolio - - - - -	{ Hon. J. E. Sinclair; Hon. R. Dandurand, and Hon. Thomas Low.

Of this Cabinet seven Ministers are Roman Catholic (five from Quebec and two from Ontario), and twelve are Protestant.

Time alone can prove whether this Ministry will retain the confidence of the people of the Dominion, for while the Liberal victory was so decisive, the opinion is strongly held in some quarters that the present position represents but the first stage in a greater contest between the National Progressives and the rest of the political groups. In the meantime, the Tariff question, the complex railway and merchant marine situation, immigration, and other problems of national development and reconstruction consistent with Canada's war-won status will provide wide scope for all the qualities of vision and statesmanship incorporated in the new Administration.

During the twelve months, provincial General Elections were held in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In Saskatchewan Premier Martin (Liberal) was re-elected to power by a substantial majority, while in Alberta the Farmers gained a marked success, securing 39 out of 61 seats.

Western Canada remains the pioneer field of the woman legislator. At present there are four lady members in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia, and in the last-named Province Mrs. Ralph Smith had the distinction of being the first Cabinet Minister of her sex in the Empire.

At the Washington Disarmament Conference which opened in November, Canada was represented by Sir Robert Borden, and in the vital problems before that Conference, Sir Robert,

with his unique experience in foreign affairs affecting the Dominion, was able to render good service both to Canada and the Empire.

In Geneva, also, Canada's Ministers and officials as direct representatives of a "free, equal, and autonomous nation," contributed towards the solution of the various international questions before the Councils of the League of Nations which were held from time to time.

Much interest was displayed on both sides of the Atlantic by the proceedings of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Importation of Store Cattle into the United Kingdom. During the sittings of the Commission which extended from May 30 to July 6, several prominent Canadians, including Hon. Dr. S. F. Tolmie, Dominion Minister of Agriculture, gave evidence before Viscount Finlay, and the Report of the Commission favouring the admission of Canadian Stores into Great Britain was published on August 30.

Two other events of noteworthy importance were the holding of the decennial Census in July, and the granting of new Arms to the Dominion embodying several revisions and the inclusion of the fleurs-de-lys of the Arms of Royalist France, which was published by Proclamation in the *London Gazette* of November 22, 1921.

#### ARGENTINA.

The year 1921 has been remarkable for labour troubles throughout the Republic, which have been most of all prevalent in Buenos Aires, the capital. These came to a head in May and June, when the strikes in the shipping and transport worlds reached a bitter pitch, and when certain attempts at violence were perpetrated against those desirous of working. Various bomb outrages occurred, the most important of which was one which damaged the railway bridge at Palermo, an important suburb of Buenos Aires. As a protest against this condition of affairs the International Association of Shipowners threatened to withdraw their steamer service from Buenos Aires, and a number of liners were actually stopped at Montevideo in Uruguay. In the course of the dispute, something nearly amounting to an international incident was caused by the prolonged boycott by the representatives of local labour of the American steamer, *Martha Washington*. The action of the shipowners, however, together with the powerful influence of the Liga Patriótica, had the effect of restoring order and a more or less normal situation. Nevertheless, an element of industrial unrest has continued up to a certain point, although the tendency is now for the situation to regularise itself.

The Argentine League of Nations Delegation to Europe was headed by Doctor Honorio Pueyrredon, the Argentine Minister for Foreign Affairs, who, on the question of the selection of those nations who should be admitted to the League, withdrew from

the Session. The Cabinet has remained unchanged as regards the principal portfolios, and the party of which President Iri-goyen is head appears certain to remain in power after the Presidential Election which takes place next year.

The anniversary of the birth of General Bartolome Mitre, one of the most notable of the Argentine Presidents and the founder of *La Nacion* newspaper, was celebrated. Arrangements also were begun for the holding of a National Exhibition in 1922.

#### BRAZIL.

Compared with the neighbouring nations Brazil has enjoyed a period of industrial and commercial peace, although the financial situation, as elsewhere, has proved detrimental to the Republic, with the result that the exchange has suffered a severe fall. Added to this, rinderpest broke out in São Paulo, causing great damage to the cattle industry, which, it may be mentioned, has made vast strides in these regions. It is stated that the danger in this respect has now been overcome, but the result has, of course, handicapped the progress of cattle-breeding in southern Brazil.

Preparations are now actively afoot for the inauguration of the Brazilian centenary exhibition of 1922, which will be held in Rio de Janeiro.

Doctor Epitacio Pessoa has continued to be President of the Republic during the year. In March of 1922, however, the Presidential Elections take place, the two candidates being Señor Arturo Bernardes and Doctor Nilo Peçanha.

Measures have been taken to raise the rate of exchange, but the effect of these has been less favourable than had been hoped.

#### CHILE.

Both from the political and the industrial point of view Chile has experienced a trying year. The stagnation in the nitrate fields and the consequent dearth of employment in the north has exercised a disturbing effect throughout the Republic, and the Chilean *roto* or labourer, having now obtained the vote, has asserted his rights in a manner which has occasionally tended towards violence. This was more especially the case on the part of those who came down from the North clamouring for labour in the centre.

In the course of the year, the vexed question of the disputed provinces of Tacna and Arica again cropped up, both Chile and Peru maintaining their right to these territories. In December Chile offered to submit to the long-discussed plebiscite. This proved unacceptable, but at the conclusion of the year the negotiations were proceeding more favourably.

## CENTRAL AMERICA.

On September 15, 1921, the Republic of Honduras joined those of Guatemala and El Salvador to form a new State—the Republic of Central America, with its capital at Tegucigalpa. Provision has been made for the inclusion later of the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua. It was arranged that each of the three constituent countries should continue to conduct its ordinary affairs separately, but that they should constitute one unit in matters of foreign affairs and of those where the general interests of all were involved.

As regards the Presidents of the separate Republics, in Nicaragua, Señor Diego M. Chamarro was succeeded by General Emiliano Chamarro, and in Guatemala General Carlos Herrera resigned.

## COLOMBIA.

The year 1921 was in many respects an important one for Colombia, and the industrial and commercial possibilities of the Republic have received more attention than ever before in a similar period.

The President of Colombia, Marco Fidel Suárez, whose policy did not meet with the approval of the great majority of the House of Representatives, resigned, and was replaced in office by the official designated for the purpose, General Jorge Holguin, who will act as President until August 7, 1922. This change was effected without any disorder.

In December the Republic of Panama was, for the first time, recognised by Colombia as an independent State, and a Treaty was carried into effect by which the United States paid 25,000,000 dollars as compensation.

## MEXICO.

A year of remarkable progress has been achieved owing to the efforts of the new President, General Obregon. It is claimed now that, owing to the efforts of the authorities, the element of unrest and brigandage has practically disappeared. The army has already been reduced in numbers, and serious efforts have been made to place the country in a sound condition. Diplomatic relations have not yet been resumed by Great Britain and the United States, but there seems no doubt that, should the present progress of the State continue, this will be little further delayed.

## OTHER REPUBLICS.

In Cuba, Doctor Alfredo Trayas assumed the office of President on May 20, 1921. Very shortly after this the ex-President General Mario Menocal headed an official mission to Europe which resulted in marked success. The General arrived in London on November 2 and met with a cordial reception.

The Government has occupied itself in efforts to render normal the situation of sugar, the low price of which has proved detrimental to Cuban interests.

In Peru, President Leguia has continued to act as President. On July 28 the Republic celebrated the centenary of its independence. In foreign affairs attention has chiefly been centred on the dispute with Chile concerning the ownership of the provinces Tacna and Arica.

In Paraguay a revolution occurred in November which, after a period of confusion, appears to have left President Gondra still in power.

In Uruguay, various social laws were passed, including one prohibiting house-owners from charging any advance in rent on that previously obtained, and a Bill was passed giving women equal rights with men.

There is little to note with respect to the remaining States of Latin America; but, on the whole, the year may be said to have been a peaceful one throughout the continent, and, although the industrial and commercial situation of the various countries has been adversely affected by the world-wide depression in trade, and the exchanges have for the most part been adverse, yet much steady progress has been made.

## CHAPTER X.

### AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA—NEW ZEALAND.

#### COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

DURING 1921 the dominant considerations in the political life of Australia were the future of the Pacific, the revision of the Tariff, and financial reconstruction.

A new Tariff Act came into operation by virtue of resolutions passed on March 25, 1920, and its detailed revision occupied the greater part of the 1921 session in the Federal House of Representatives and Senate. As amended, the Tariff substantially increased the duty upon goods which could be manufactured in Australia, but the principle of preference for goods of British origin was preserved and expanded. The Act also fixed an intermediate duty rather higher than the British rate but less than the general duty; this intermediate duty was intended for use in cases of reciprocal trade with countries which do not benefit under the British rate. The general purpose of the revision was to secure what the Right. Hon. W. A. Watt described as "a Federal Tariff which would strengthen the loins of this young country in the great struggles of the future."

One of these possible struggles—the control of the Southern Pacific—came prominently before the Australian public on

the eve of Mr. Hughes's departure to attend the Imperial Conference in London at which the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty was to be discussed together with the general question of inter-imperial defence.† On April 7, the Prime Minister (the Rt. Hon. W. M. Hughes) made a long statement in the House of Representatives, in which, regarding the Imperial connexion, Mr. Hughes said, "If I am asked what is the constitutional link that binds us to Great Britain, I say deliberately that it is the King—the monarchy." Mr. Hughes pointed out that the Empire must crumble and decay if the British Navy did not retain control of the seas. During 1920, he added, Australia had spent 3,250,000*l.* on the navy, but this was "ludicrously inadequate" for the defence of the country. "Within a few days' sail there is a part of the world which is over-crowded. And we have set up our banner, we have said that we will retain this continent for ourselves. This banner of a White Australia is really a very arrogant boast. How long would that banner fly if behind it there were not massed the legions of the Empire and ringed about it the protection of the British Navy?" Mr. Hughes continued, "Here is our dilemma. Our safety lies in the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Yet that Treaty is anathema to the Americans. The ideal at which we should aim during the Imperial Conference in London is the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty in such a form as will be acceptable to Britain, America, Japan, and ourselves. . . . It is utterly wrong for the Japanese to think that because we have passed certain laws we regard them as inferiors. But we have our ideals and they have theirs."

On September 30 Mr. Hughes delivered a second speech in the Federal House of Representatives, supplementing that of April 7, in which he reviewed the results of the Imperial Conference. The Prime Minister also discussed the Australian aspects of the Disarmament Conference at Washington, in which Australia was represented by Senator Pearce. On this subject Mr. Hughes said, "Frankly, I see no hope for disarmament until the Pacific problems are settled, and this can only be done by a *modus vivendi* satisfactory to Japan, America, and Australasia," a judgment which happily foreshadowed the results achieved at Washington.

The debates and newspaper discussions which followed Mr. Hughes's speeches gave a new reality to the related problems of "White Australia," the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, and Australia's contribution to the Imperial Navy which was needed if the Imperial Conference in London was to have full value. The Hon. F. G. Tudor, leader of the Opposition, in the House of Representatives on April 13, said that he saw no difficulty in keeping the policy of "White Australia" inviolate if the Japanese Treaty were renewed. Dr. Earle Page, leader of the Country Party, expressed similar views,

but added that Australians were dubious lest at the forthcoming Conference they might be committed to some form of Imperial Federation. Mr. Hughes interjected, "I have always opposed it. I do not believe in it." The Hon. T. J. Ryan, deputy leader of the Labour Party, moved an amendment calling upon the Prime Minister not to make Australia party to any Anglo-Japanese Treaty without the consent of the Australian Parliament, on the ground that this would give offence to the United States. The amendment was rejected on a party division by 42 votes to 21. Mr. Ryan, who had resigned the Premiership of Queensland at the end of 1919 to enter Federal politics, had a great capacity for leadership, and his mastery of Parliamentary tactics quickly secured him a position of authority in the Federal Opposition. Mr. Ryan's unexpected death on August 1, 1921, was a serious loss to the Australian Labour Party.

The defence problem in Australia is closely connected with the population of the continent, and the tendency for this population to centre in the capital towns of the various States. The census of 1921 showed that, exclusive of full-blooded aborigines, the population was 5,436,794, an increase of about 985,000 over the 1911 figures. The census also showed that the tendency to crowd into the capital cities of the six States was as marked as ever. The population of the States' capitals increased 37·87 per cent. during the last decade, whereas the county population only increased 8·81 per cent., that of Sydney being 897,000 and Melbourne 765,000. The primary industries of the Commonwealth, which are also affected by the slow growth of population in the country districts, however, suffered even more from lack of shipping and other marketing facilities. Between 1915 and 1920, the sale of Australian wheat was controlled by a Wheat Pool consisting of Ministers of Agriculture in the wheat-producing States, a Commonwealth official, and four representatives of the wheat industry. When war conditions ended, this Wheat Pool was dissolved. In May, 1921, a Conference of the wheat growers in the four wheat-producing States urged that a new compulsory Wheat Pool should be formed, controlled by representatives of the growers. This scheme met with much opposition on the ground that it would give too much power to the growers. Fortunately the value of wheat was high in 1921, averaging 9s. to 10s. a bushel. Similar difficulties followed the closing of the Wool Pool on June 30, 1920. The British Australian Wool Realisation Association (*Bawra*) was registered in January, 1921, to supervise the sale of Australian wool, including large supplies held by the British Government in England. In July, 1921, the unsold Australian and New Zealand wool was approximately 9,500,000 bales, a considerable part being wool which the British Government bought at a flat rate of 15½*d.* per pound and for which the Australian grower has been paid. The wool

included the produce of four seasons. Before the war the average price of Australian wool was 10*d.* a pound; during the war it was 15½*d.* a pound plus bonuses; in 1921 a reserve price of 9*d.* was fixed.

With much of her wool unsaleable at prices which would cover the cost of production, with beef selling for less than its production cost, and lead, copper, tin, and zinc selling for half they were making in 1920, the economic situation in Australia was strained throughout 1921. The difficulties were increased by the demand of the Labour Party for the fixing of a basic wage. The Hon. F. G. Tudor asked that every adult male worker in the Commonwealth should be paid a minimum wage of 5*l.* 16*s.* a week. The demand was strengthened in February, 1921, when the Federal Basic Wage Commission recommended that provision should be made for a minimum wage which would vary in the different capitals, the highest proposed being 5*l.* 17*s.* for Sydney and the lowest 5*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* for Brisbane. This proposal for a basic wage was submitted to the Federal Arbitration Court which gave judgment (on September 23) that the standard proposed was impracticable. The Commonwealth Government, however, went so far as to agree to a basic wage for public servants at 4*l.* a week, with 5*s.* extra for each child under fourteen years.

Wage regulation in Australia also received a set-back through the resignation, at the end of 1920, of Mr. Justice Higgins, first President of the Federal Arbitration Court. The personality of Mr. Justice Higgins not only gave vitality to a difficult office but to the whole policy of wage regulation which the Federal Arbitration Court sought to establish. During a time of rising prices and large profits, his policy of ignoring the relation between wages and output and his refusal to take into account the rates an industry could bear, were possible. In 1907 Mr. Justice Higgins had fixed the minimum wage of an unskilled labourer at 7*s.* a day. He argued that if an industry could not pay this, it had no right to exist. But the position changed after the World War when a period of rapidly fluctuating prices began. Having obtained the highest wages Mr. Justice Higgins was disposed to give, a number of powerful Trade Unions resorted to direct action in order to secure further increases. They refused to approach the Arbitration Court. In more than one case Mr. Hughes and the Federal Government appointed special tribunals to deal with these special difficulties. Mr. Justice Higgins found his position untenable and resigned, being succeeded by Mr. Justice Powers.

The effect of this wage regulation upon certain industries in Australia was serious. In December the Broken Hill Proprietary Company's steel works at Newcastle closed for a month in order to reduce their staff from 5,500 to 1,800. The necessity arose from the increases in wages and the decreases in hours of work consequent upon decisions of the Arbitration Court. The



well-known Mount Morgan copper and gold mine in Queensland and the Mount Lyall copper mine in Tasmania were also compelled to consider closing their works owing to the fall in the selling price of copper. In March the directors of both companies proposed an all-round reduction in wages to enable the mines to carry on, and in both cases the workers replied that "the question of lowering wages is wholly a matter for the Arbitration Court." To this the directors replied that the Arbitration Court had laid it down as a fundamental principle that it would be better to abandon an enterprise which cannot be maintained without reducing the basic wage. After a ballot the Mount Morgan employees, by a 30 per cent. majority, rejected the proposal and the mine was closed down at the end of March. A Conference between the Unions and the Mount Lyall Company, which resulted in a rearrangement of working hours, made it possible to avoid closing the Mount Lyall mines.

An important judgment was delivered on August 1 when the Federal High Court, by four votes to two, refused to authorise an appeal to the Privy Council on the question whether the Arbitration Court might make an award binding on a State instrumentality. In the previous August, the High Court, reversing earlier decisions, determined that such an award was binding upon a State. On that decision Mr. Justice Higgins acted; the judgment of August, 1921, made it final and conclusive. The importance of the judgment was that it removed certain landmarks which had hitherto separated the legal province of the Commonwealth from that of the States. It had been understood that the Commonwealth could not interfere with a State instrumentality, any more than the State could give to its "legislative or executive authority an operation which would fetter or control the free exercise of the legislative or executive power of the Commonwealth" (judgment in "*D'Emden v. Pedder*"). Australian Federalists have expressed regret that an appeal to the Privy Council was not sanctioned on so vital a principle.

On November 7 a Conference of State Prime Ministers with Mr. Hughes was held to discuss the matter of Federal and State jurisdiction in industrial affairs. The Conference unanimously agreed to restrict the arbitration law to really Federal matters and to create a special judicial tribunal to define a "Federal industry." The States agreed to surrender to the Commonwealth the power to legislate in connexion with the basic wage and standard hours of labour in industries which had been determined to be Federal. In return, the Commonwealth promised to confine the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Arbitration Court to disputes in Federal industries. All employees of a State or of a State instrumentality were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth Court. The Conference, therefore, practically restored the law to the limits it had before the High Court

judgment of August, 1920. No amendment of the Australian Federal constitution seemed possible, so the agreement between Mr. Hughes and the State Prime Ministers offered a happy solution of a difficult problem.

In spite of the difficulty of marketing Australia's production and the friction between employers and Labour, Sir Joseph Cook, the Treasurer, announced in his Budget speech in the Federal House of Representatives, that the general economic strain was easing and that there were favourable omens suggesting that Australia was turning the financial corner. The Commonwealth revenue for the year ended June 30, 1921, was 65,517,608*l.*, an excess on the estimate of 2,152,908*l.*; the expenditure out of revenue was 64,624,007*l.*, being less than the estimate by 4,248,000*l.* The gross public debt of the Commonwealth on June 30, 1921, was 401,720,025*l.*, of which 359,606,719*l.* was war debt. The Treasurer added that the total direct and indirect taxation of the States and Commonwealth was 12*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* as against 24*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* in the United Kingdom.

Shortly after delivering his Budget speech Sir Joseph Cook resigned from the Federal Ministry to take up the position of High Commissioner in London in succession to the Right Hon. Andrew Fisher. On December 21, the Federal Cabinet was reconstituted as follows:—

Right Hon. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs; Senator Right Hon. George Foster Pearce, Home and Territories; Senator Edward Davis Millen, Repatriation; L. E. Groom, Attorney-General; Walter Massy Greene, Defence; Alexander Poynton, Postmaster-General; Arthur Rodgers, Trade and Customs; S. M. Bruce, Treasurer; Mr. Foster, Public Works and Railways; Sir Granville de Laune Ryrie, Assistant Minister for Defence; Senator Earle, Vice-President of the Executive Council, and Mr. Lamond, Assistant Minister for Repatriation. Mr. Massy Greene was appointed to lead the House of Representatives in the absence of Mr. Hughes.

During the latter part of the 1921 Session, after his return from London, Mr. Hughes's position was difficult owing to his small majority. In the House of Representatives, the division of parties was: Ministerialists 38, Labour 24, Country Party 13. During the Budget debate at the end of November, Dr. Earle Page urged the reduction of the estimates by 2,800,000*l.*, and moved a formal amendment on the subject which was virtually a vote of no confidence in the Ministry. Dr. Page was supported by the full strength of the Labour Party, and the motion was only defeated by a single vote.

Turning to State politics, in Victoria and New South Wales similar difficulties arose from the narrow margin of votes dividing the parties in the Legislative Assemblies. In July, the Lawson Ministry in Victoria was defeated by a chance alliance

of the Farmers' Union Party and the Labour Party and appealed to the electors. The General Election on August 30 resulted in Mr. Lawson's Party numbering 31, the Labour Opposition 21, and the Farmers' Union Party 12, there being one independent member. The election, therefore, left the fate of the Lawson Ministry in the hands of the Farmers' Union Party, whose only quarrel with Mr. Lawson's Government was the refusal of the latter to favour a compulsory wheat pool. Mr. Lawson was eventually able to carry on the business of the State owing to the Country Party, on behalf of the Victorian farmers, accepting a voluntary wheat pool in place of the compulsory pool. On these terms the Country Party gave the Government its general support.

In New South Wales, Parliamentary difficulties followed the death of Mr. John Storey, the Labour Prime Minister. A boiler-maker by profession, Mr. Storey won the respect of his political opponents by the stand he made for clean politics when he took office after the defeat of the Holman Ministry at the polls at the beginning of 1920. At a special meeting in October, 1921, Mr. James Dooley, a tailor, who had been Mr. Storey's Chief Secretary, was elected State Premier by 24 votes, against 16 given for Mr. McGirr, Minister for Health and Motherhood. The elections in February, 1920, resulted in the Labour Party winning 45 seats, out of 90. The Opposition was chiefly made up of Nationalists and members of the Farmers' Party, with two anti-Labour Independents. The Labour Government was able to exist by electing a Nationalist Speaker. After Mr. Storey's death, the extremist element in the State Labour Party asserted itself, and a Budget, including new taxation proposals, was introduced. Mr. Levy, the Nationalist Speaker, thereupon resigned and retook his place among the supporters of Sir George Fuller, leader of the Opposition. The parties in the State Assembly were thus equal. When the Labour Party was forced to nominate Mr. Hickey to the Speakership, its defeat became certain and Mr. Dooley resigned. The State Governor, Sir William Davidson, sent for Sir George Fuller, representing the combined Nationalists and Progressives, who asked for a dissolution. When the Governor refused this, Sir George, in turn, resigned, being in office only seven hours. The Governor, therefore, gave Mr. Dooley a second chance of office, instead of permitting an appeal to the electorate on the ground that the Parliamentary position had become impossible. There was much adverse comment upon Sir William Davidson's action in Nationalist circles. The crisis was eventually ended by Mr. Levy resuming the Speakership, after a promise from Mr. Dooley's Government that a dissolution should take place as soon as possible. The New South Wales Parliament quickly passed the Budget and then adjourned, with a view to a General Election in April, 1922.

A project which has long been contemplated—the making

of a bridge across Sydney Harbour—was advanced a stage during 1921. The New South Wales Government called for tenders for a bridge linking up the city of Sydney with the residential district on North Shore, thus dispensing with the ferry. The bridge is to carry four lines of railway, a roadway 25 feet wide, a motor roadway 18 feet wide, and a footway 15 feet wide.

In Queensland, Mr. E. G. Theodore who was returned by a reduced majority in October, 1920, held office throughout the year. The chief problems before the State Parliament were financial. In recent years, under a Labour Government, expenditure increased rapidly, the revenue in 1920-21 being 12,600,000*l.* compared with 7,708,000*l.* in 1915-16, when the direct taxation was 2*l.* 2*s.* against 4*l.* 18*s.* per head in 1920-21. The policy of high income tax and land taxation adopted by the Queensland Labour Government made it difficult for the State to float loans in London, and borrowings took place on the New York Stock Exchange.

Knowledge of Central Australia was increased by the report of a geological expedition under Professor Sir Edgeworth David to the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science. The water supply of Central Australia was a subject of special study. The expedition visited several artesian bores, and Professor David came to the conclusion that, as approach was made to the margin of the artesian basin at the north-west, where large quantities of rainwater from the rivers are soaking into the porous sandbeds which form the intake for the great basin, the artesian water is fresher than in the deeper parts of the basin. Professor David assured himself that there were, at least, 100 hot springs in the Dalhousie country. The principal spring produces 40,000 gallons a day. Date palms have been planted and yield good fruit. The glacial phenomena seen by the expedition was on a grand scale. Places where the temperature is now often 120 degrees in the shade must have been thick-ribbed ice in the distant past. The flower-covered steppes also provide a paradise for botanists. Professor David urged the necessity for a geological survey under the control of the Federal Government and the pressing need for the co-ordination of work in the great artesian water basin. Only by these methods will the full potentialities of the continent be revealed.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

The year 1921 saw the international status of New Zealand confirmed and enhanced by three great conferences, the Imperial Conference of the British Empire in London, the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva, and the Washington Conference, at all of which the Dominion was represented.

Though New Zealand had internal problems requiring unremitting attention, and it was difficult for the Prime Minister to leave his responsibilities, at the earnest wish of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Massey went to London to attend the Imperial Conference, the duties of Acting Prime Minister of the Dominion

being carried out by Sir Francis Dillon Bell, Leader of the Legislative Council.

At the Geneva Conference of the League of Nations, New Zealand was represented by her High Commissioner in London, Colonel the Hon. Sir James Allen, K.C.B., who took a prominent part in the debates, and was selected to be a member of various important committees to deal with international questions.

Mr. Massey's absence and the long postponement of Parliament had delayed the passing of legislation for the solution of Dominion difficulties, and the services of the Prime Minister or of any of his Ministers could not be spared for the Washington Conference. As New Zealand's representative, therefore, His Honour Sir John William Salmond, Kt., M.A., LL.B., a judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, proceeded to the United States. Sir John Salmond had gained great distinction at the Bar, had been for many years Solicitor-General, and had published a number of books on international law, and was regarded as a jurist possessing special qualifications and with an intimate knowledge of Dominion requirements in the settlement of the Pacific problem. The signing of the Quadruple Treaty, and the consequent removal of her fears regarding Japan, was hailed with delight in New Zealand.

The administration of the mandatory territory of Samoa as an integral part of New Zealand has caused some perplexity. Though liable for any administrative deficit, the Dominion is applying for the Samoan's benefit her share of the reparations represented by the surplus profits from the German Crown estates. For some time, however, she has had to contend with agitations stirred up by the resident traders, many of whom have German sympathies and take advantage of every opportunity to embitter the natives. The extension of the Dominion prohibition laws to the Island and the imposition of certain restrictions in the interests of the Samoans have been used to exaggerate grievances due to the shrinkage in the copra trade. It has been suggested in the New Zealand House of Representatives that the Island residents should be given representation in the Dominion Parliament. Mr. Massey proposes to visit Samoa during the recess, and it is hoped that 1922 will see the removal of the difficulties.

In July, the Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey, P.C., completed nine years as Prime Minister, and irrespective of party, the press and the people paid the highest tribute to his personality and achievements. Referring to Mr. Massey's participation in the Imperial Conference, his one-time opponent, Sir John Findlay, K.C., Ex-Attorney-General and Ex-Leader of the Legislative Council, declared "there is no man in New Zealand public life to-day who has the essential qualities of leadership except Mr. Massey." In welcoming his chief back to the Dominion, Sir Francis Dillon Bell, K.C., Acting Prime Minister, stated, "in his absence, Mr. Massey held the confidence of his colleagues, who were all proud of the place he has taken among the statesmen of the Empire.

He had grown in versatility and statesmanship as he had risen from private citizenship to his present great place."

There were no political developments in 1921, the Reform Party of forty-four members being firmly established in power, the thirty-two opposing members representing three bodies, the remnants of the once great Liberal Party, which had lost all its tried leaders at the General Election, a few Independents, and the Socialist Labour extremists. A new "Moderate Labour and Progressive Liberal Party" was organised, and in August commenced a series of propaganda meetings in the chief centres, which were well attended, and received support from prominent municipal representatives. The new political platform was calculated to attract the younger electors. An attempt made to test public opinion at the Auckland East bye-election, the only one held after the party's formation, was nullified by the defection of the candidate who stood as an Independent, and came out at the bottom of the poll.

On a want of confidence motion in the second session the Government triumphed with a majority of eighteen. The Ministerialists also won both the bye-elections at Patea and Auckland City East. A feature of the latter election was that the two highest places were gained by Mr. Clutha Mackenzie, a New Zealand ex-soldier, blinded on Gallipoli, and by Mr. Lee, who lost an arm in the war, and who put up an excellent fight for the Labour Party. The Hon. G. W. Russell, ex-Coalition Minister and Liberal candidate, received little support.

Early in the year Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G., proceeded to England on vacation, and His Honour Mr. Justice Sim was Acting Chief Justice. While in London Sir Robert Stout was made a member of the Privy Council, a well-deserved honour for one who has taken a prominent part in moulding the destinies of the Colony. Forty years ago he was Premier, and since then he has been Administrator and Acting Governor, and for many years Chief Justice.

The appointment of various Legislative Councillors having terminated, among those nominated to fill the vacancies were the Hon. Sir James Carroll, former Minister of the Seddon-Ward Cabinets, and the Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, G.C.M.G., for a few weeks in 1912 Prime Minister, and until recently the High Commissioner in London.

The prolonged absence of the Prime Minister in Europe and of the Hon. Sir W. H. Herries, K.C.M.G., Minister of Railways, recuperating his health in England, necessitated a re-allotment of portfolios, and the Hon. Sir William Downie Stewart was raised to Cabinet rank.

A diplomatic innovation was the action of the United States Department of State in making representations direct to the New Zealand Government regarding the release of 300,000 carcasses, for which the Dominion authorities refused an export licence until Armour & Co. complied with certain conditions. The New Zealand Government, however, firmly refused to be

influenced by diplomatic pressure, London newspaper agitation, or local farmers' petitions, and Armour's meat has remained in cold storage.

The New Zealand Parliament held two sessions in 1921, a short emergency one in March to arrange certain important matters before Mr. Massey's departure for the London Imperial Conference, and a second commencing just before Mr. Massey's return on September 30 to deal with current legislation and Imperial matters. Tariff revision and financial reconstruction formed the important business. Provision was also made for a consolidation of the laws, the creation of a Forestry Department, and the passing of a Maintenance Order Enforcement Act reciprocal with Great Britain.

The new Customs Tariff Bill approved by the House on December 9 passed through all its stages in seven days. To assist revenue it increased the taxation on luxuries. Out of 604 items it gave preference to Great Britain on 409 (200 more than under the old tariff), the increased favour to British manufacturers being enthusiastically approved. The tariff was divided into three categories—British, General, and Intermediate, the latter applying to foreign countries entering into reciprocal agreement with New Zealand. A special duty varying from 2½ per cent. to 25 per cent. is leviable on goods from countries having depreciated exchanges when the goods concerned compete with New Zealand industries, or are subject to a preferential surtax in favour of the British Dominions. The Minister of Customs has discretionary power to exempt countries—a provision inserted in favour of France and Belgium. Dominion manufacturers took strong exception to preference being given to Australia, as the Commonwealth Government had not granted it to New Zealand, and to enable the Dominion to negotiate for a reciprocal arrangement, the Prime Minister, by an amending resolution, had Australia placed on the same footing as countries outside the Empire. Mr. Massey declared it absurd that the two countries out together in the Pacific should not perceive that their interests in all things were identical. On December 9 the Australian House of Representatives passed a Bill extending preferential tariff treatment to New Zealand.

The Financial Statement delivered on November 4 disclosed a sound financial position. The revenue (34,260,960*l.*) exceeded the expenditure (28,128,730*l.*) by 6,132,230*l.* Compared with the previous financial year, there was an increase of 8,000,000*l.* of revenue and 4,346,000*l.* in expenditure, the latter being due to Railways, 1,905,000*l.*; Post and Telegraphs, 646,000*l.*; Education, 428,000*l.*; and Interest and Sinking Funds, 528,000*l.* The Public Works absorbed 3,141,000*l.* Loans for 1,474,000*l.* were paid off and others for 8,662,000*l.* were renewed, leaving the net Public Debt, 197,500,000*l.*, of which War Loans total 81,538,000*l.* The sum of 335,000*l.* was allocated for the New Zealand Division of the Royal Navy, of which a nucleus has been formed by the Imperial Government's presentation ship,

H.M.S. *Chatham*. The territorial defence forces have been reorganised, and the permanent establishments reduced.

Estimated revenue for the coming year was placed at 28,000,000*l.* (Customs, 4,900,000*l.*, Land and Income Tax, 7,700,000*l.*), plus 4,920,000*l.* cash balance, brought forward, giving an anticipated surplus of 3,653,000*l.* over estimated expenditure, 29,266,000*l.*, for the year 1921-22.

The seriously depreciated prices of wool and other staple products improved towards the end of the year, and there was then a growing feeling that the country had passed the worst of its troubles. Mr. Massey thought the new season promised to be one of the best for many years. It was stated that the Government was in earnest in its effort to economise. An Economy Commission of senior departmental officers had suggested methods to save money, and some far-reaching recommendations would require the consideration and sanction of Parliament before they could be made effective. The permanent and casual employees numbered 51,000 or 4.19 per cent. of the population, and salaries and wages formed the biggest item of the expenditure. It was evident that wages would have to be cut down or staffs reduced. Later, the Prime Minister said that 2,000,000*l.* had already been economised, and a further 1,250,000*l.* was expected. The revenue, moreover, had increased by 2,000,000*l.* The State's total revenue-producing assets exceeded 130,000,000*l.* Coincident with the fall in the cost of living, public service salaries would be cut, starting with Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament. The Governor-General had asked to be included. The State's finances were to be maintained in a sound position, and taxation would be reduced. Since the Budget had been compiled the financial outlook had improved. Even without the surplus brought forward from the previous year, the year 1921-22 would show a surplus.

In October the 1,221,447 white inhabitants had 664,819 open State Savings Bank accounts with 43,352,031*l.* in credit balances and 100,343 private Savings Bank accounts with 3,841,082*l.* to credit.

A Mortgages and Deposits Extension Bill extended the moratorium to June 30, 1922.

The Land Revenue (1,734,417*l.*) was a record. The division of large holdings into small freeholds, for which the country is eminently suited, was continued. Nearly 18,000 returned soldiers have been settled on the land or in dwelling houses and in commercial positions. Those trained for civil vocations have made excellent progress in their careers, and of 9,000 placed on the land only 266 have forfeited their leases. 17,839,970*l.* was advanced for: farms, 8,559,274*l.*, dwellings, 6,358,459*l.*, and current account, 2,922,057*l.*; 1,156,433*l.* had been repaid.

A Highways Bill provides for the construction and maintenance of 2,000 miles of arterial main roads. The construction of railway lines of paramount importance was pushed on, and English firms were given orders for a 3,500,000*l.* supply of loco-



motives and equipment for the State railways. A State Forestry Service, with a Forest Advisory Board, representative of officials, sawmillers, sawmilling employees, distributors, and others, has been created by Act of Parliament, establishing a School of Forestry and setting aside areas for State Forests.

For thirty-three years New Zealand enjoyed a favourable annual trade balance, but after a war period of unprecedented prosperity, economic conditions changed rapidly, and in seventeen months, while exports amounted to 68,000,000*l.*, imports reached 85,000,000*l.* The resulting pessimism of traders and producers was hardly justified, for, during 1914-19, the excess of Dominion exports over imports had totalled 60,559,584*l.*, and the important part New Zealand can take in international trade in the near future is indicated by her sales to the Department of Imperial Government Supplies, from March, 1915, to March, 1921, of a large variety of foodstuffs and raw materials, valued at 158,576,644*l.* The congestion caused by the heavy importation has been relieved, and the first nine months to September 30 disclosed a favourable trade balance of 1,063,852*l.* of exports (36,466,727*l.*) over imports (35,402,875*l.*). Improving produce prices were also reported. Many sheep-farmers have turned to dairying and mixed farming, so that, though sheep declined from 23,919,970 to 23,236,328, the cattle increased from 3,101,945 to 3,112,742, and pigs from 266,829 to 342,227.

The census of April, 1921, showed a population of 1,218,270 white (an 11 per cent. increase on 1917), and 49,000 Maoris. September quarter gave a net increase of 6,713 persons and an estimated population, under Dominion jurisdiction, of 1,294,793 persons (661,490 males and 632,853 females). A large number of immigrants under the ex-service men Oversea Settlement Scheme arrived in the Dominion. A unique distinction was the 3,000 increase in Maori population since the previous census.

During 1921, the export of butter and cheese reached the record value of 20,000,000*l.* and helped to tide over the financial stringency, but the high prices were not maintained at the close of the year. However, there commenced an improvement in wool for which the prices had not only descended to unprofitable levels, but the demand earlier in the year had entirely ceased, particularly for cross-breds, which constitute a large part of New Zealand's total production. The unloading of the enormous Imperial accumulations frightened buyers, and had caused a great slump in the market. A British-Australasian Wool Realisation Association, formed to adjust the disposal of accumulated clips, materially improved the wool-growers' position. After the half-year, competition grew and prices rose. At the Wellington December sales America stimulated the market by buying choice wools heavily at 1*d.* to 2*d.* above the improved October levels. Bradford and the Continent competed strongly for the remainder, and even inferior grades of coarse cross-breds appreciated in value. Over 90 per cent. of the 15,579 bales were sold, and spirited bidding caused the sale of 85 per cent. of the lots offered at Christchurch.

The Dominion's prosperity was seriously threatened by the diminishing net returns from its meat supplies, and in sympathy with reforms suggested by representative producers the Government, late in December, introduced legislation to create a Meat Pool. Despite the strenuous opposition of London firms, a Meat Pool Conference in Wellington of producers, export organisations, meat freezing companies and others, supported the principle of a compulsory Pool and a national scheme for marketing New Zealand meat. A committee was appointed to operate the scheme during the current season. It is proposed to create a purely co-operative organisation, managed and controlled entirely by the producers and their business experts with Government advice and financial assistance. A Board of Control in New Zealand, with a subsidiary London Associated Board, is to handle the whole Dominion output, stringently grade it, with separate brands and handlings eliminated, and market it all abroad as New Zealand produce, regulating supplies and effecting economies in working and freight costs.

During 1921, as the result of successful experiments in England, it was proved possible commercially to develop the 63,000,000 tons of limonite ore deposits at Parapara and the large quantities of titaniferous iron-sand on the Taranaki coast, the latter depending solely on the provision of sufficient cheap electricity. Efforts were made to acquire trawlers for the fishing industry; a new industry capable of growth was the manufacture of meat-flour; tobacco growing was attempted at Nelson; experimental shipments of fruit to the United Kingdom and to Honolulu were successfully made, and the honey, poultry, and other subsidiary industries showed much activity. Both in the North and in the South Island, various installations, forming parts of the great 20,000,000*l.* Dominion scheme of hydro-electric development, were commenced. The new direct American lines of steamers from San Francisco, and the Canadian Government steamers from Vancouver, were most successful. The Government did not favour a State and Producers' Line suggested by the Farmers' Union.

Other items of interest during the year were the reported discovery of gold in Westland; the completion of the great Otira tunnel; the fears of an eruption of Mt. Ruapehu, caused by rumblings; the closer co-operation of the churches and the exchange of pulpits by all denominations, save one; the Anglican Church's recognition of Ratana, the Maori miracle-worker and faith-healer; the operation of a system of crediting wages to prisoners for their labour; the re-opening of tourist traffic; the successful tours of South African and New South Wales Rugby footballers and the great enthusiasm displayed for all sports and pastimes, and the gift by 3,000 New Zealand wool-growers of 178,000*l.* (their share of Imperial Government's wool profits) to a relief fund for sailors (or dependents) who served during the war, between Great Britain and New Zealand.

PART II.  
CHRONICLE OF EVENTS  
IN 1921.

JANUARY.

1. The New Year Honours included five barons, five Privy Counsellors, two Companions of Honour, twenty-one baronets, and sixty-nine knights. The new barons were Sir William Beardmore, Bt.; Sir Ernest Cable; Mr. M. L. Vaughan-Davies, M.P.; The Right Hon. Sir H. B. Marshall, and Colonel J. Stewart-Mackenzie.

— Revocation of the order of maximum prices with regard to eggs.

2. The *Santa Isabel*, a Spanish twin-screw vessel of 3,000 tons, struck a reef off the Island of Salvora on the coast of Galicia, and only 56 out of 300 passengers and crew were saved.

3. The late Lord Glenconner left unsettled property of the gross value of 819,479*l.*

— An increase of 3*s.* 6*d.* per shift in miners' wages came into operation.

4. Lord Grey of Fallodon was presented with the Freedom of the City of Glasgow.

— The late Lady Wantage left estate valued at 1,300,000*l.*

5. Archdeacon J. H. Greig was appointed Bishop of Gibraltar.

7. The Prince of Wales visited the office of *The Times*.

— For the first time a woman was elected foreman of a jury at Dudley Quarter Sessions.

8. Lord Reading was appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Lord Chelmsford who was due to retire in April.

10. Increased telephone charges came into force, and were received with many protests by traders' associations in London and the country.

— Restrictions on the export of coal and on bunker supplies were withdrawn.

12. A bye-election at Hereford resulted in the return of Mr. S. Roberts (Co.-U.) by a majority of 2,259 over his Liberal opponent.

— The late Mr. D. M. Currie, who left a fortune of 996,000*l.*

bequeathed 270,000*l.* and large reversions to London and Scottish Charities.

12. Resignation of the French Government.

13. A bye-election at Dover resulted in the return of Colonel Sir Thomas Polson (Ind.) by a majority of 3,130 over the Coalition candidate. Sir Thomas Polson represented the "anti-waste" policy.

— Dr. E. G. Hardy was elected Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

14. A strike of Municipal Employees at Ilford, following the electrical engineers' dispute, stopped the light, power, and tramway services in that town.

15. Lord Stradbroke, the new Governor of Victoria, left England for Australia.

— M. Briand succeeded in forming a Cabinet in France.

17. Much damage was caused during the night by a severe gale which sprang up over the greater part of the United Kingdom.

18. Mr. S. P. Vivian was appointed Registrar-General in succession to Sir Bernard Mallet.

19. It was officially announced that the average level of retail prices on January 1 was 11 points lower than the highest recorded, *viz.*, 176 on November 1, 1920.

— The Municipal strike at Ilford was settled.

20. Six officers and 51 men lost their lives in the submarine K5 which was sunk with all hands at the western approaches to the channel.

21. The Secretary for Mines announced that the amount of the wages advance payable to colliery workers, would be 1*s.* 6*d.* for the month of February as compared with 3*s.* 6*d.* during January.

25. Dr. W. Temple was consecrated in York Minster as Bishop of Manchester.

26. An express from Aberystwyth to Manchester ran into a local train on the Cambrian railway near Newtown; 17 persons were killed and many injured.

— "Australia Day" was observed in London.

31. The Spring Session of National Assembly of the Church of England was opened at the Church House, Westminster.

## FEBRUARY.

1. The Degree of D.C.L. was conferred by diploma on the Queen in Convocation at Oxford.

— Retail prices were on the average 14 points lower than on January 1.

2. *The Times* announced that inland coal was to be de-controlled on and from March 1.

3. The inquest on the 17 persons killed in the railway collision of January 26 ended in a verdict attributing "great negligence" to the acting stationmaster at Abermule and to a signalman.

4. Two men named Field and Gray were executed at Wandsworth prison for the murder of Irene Munro at Eastbourne.

— General Sir Charles Monro was appointed Bath King of Arms.

5. The Archdeacon of Stow, Canon John Wakeford, was found guilty by Lincoln Consistory Court on charges of immorality at Peterborough.

6. Three lives were lost in a fire at Peterborough.

8. A proclamation was issued permitting the export of silver bullion, but prohibiting the export of gold and silver coin and gold bullion.

— Commendatore De Martino, the new Italian Ambassador, took up his duties in London.

9. The Duke of Connaught at Delhi inaugurated the two new representative Indian Chambers—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

10. *The Times* announced that an agreement had been entered into for the amalgamation of the banking business of Messrs. Fox, Fowler & Co. with that of Lloyd's Bank.

— The trawler *Wishful*, of Ramsgate, was sunk in collision, 9 of the crew being drowned.

12. Mr. Winston Churchill was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies in succession to Lord Milner; Sir L. Worthington-Evans, Secretary of State for War in succession to Mr. Churchill; Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty in succession to Mr. Long; and Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Agriculture in succession to Lord Lee.

14. The Prince of Wales was admitted an Honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons at the Hunterian Festival dinner.

— Revocation of about thirty orders of the Food Controller.

15. The King opened Parliament.

— Lord Milner was created a Knight of the Garter.

16. The first sitting of the New Indian Council of State took place at Delhi.

19. At a bye-election at Cardigan, Captain Ernest Evans (Co.-L.) was returned by a majority of 3,590 over the Independent Liberal candidate.

22. Convocation of Canterbury was opened.

23. The Duke of Connaught opened the Bombay Legislative Council.

24. *The Times* announced that Portland Prison was to be turned into a Borstal Institution.

25. Sentence of deprivation was pronounced by the Lincoln Consistory Court on Archdeacon Wakeford [*v.* Feb. 5].

26. Lord Milner was married to Lady Edward Cecil.

27. Two express trains came into collision near Chicago, 40 persons being killed and over 100 injured.

28. All restrictions on importations of sugar, and all regulations with regard to distribution, dealings, and prices, were withdrawn.

28. It was estimated that a representative household budget showed a reduction of 3s. in the £, compared with October, 1920.

### MARCH,

1. The King held a Levée at St. James's Palace.

— Sir John Lavery, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician, and Mr. William Strang, A.R.A., was elected a Royal Academician Engraver.

— The figure for the cost of living was 141 above that of July, 1914, having fallen ten points since February 1.

2. At a bye-election at East Woolwich, Captain Gee, V.C. (Co.-U.), defeated Mr. Ramsay Macdonald (Lab.) by a majority of 683. This involved the loss of a seat to the Labour Party.

3. At a bye-election at Dudley, Mr. James Wilson (Lab.) defeated Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, the new Minister for Agriculture, by a majority of 276.

4. Mr. Warren G. Harding was installed as President of the United States in succession to Mr. Wilson.

5. At a bye-election at Kirkcaldy, Mr. T. Kennedy (Lab.) was returned by a majority of 1,475 over the Coalition candidate.

7. The King held a Levée at St. James's Palace.

— At a bye-election in the Penistone division of Yorkshire, Mr. W. Gillis (Lab.) was returned by a majority of 576 over the Independent Liberal candidate, and 1,437 over the Coalition-Liberal candidate.

8. The Prince of Wales received the Freedom of the City of Glasgow.

— Señor Dato, Prime Minister of Spain, was assassinated in Madrid.

11. Mr. Bonar Law was installed as Rector of Glasgow University.

— The Rev. W. J. Carey was elected Bishop of Bloemfontein in succession to Dr. Chandler, resigned.

12. A fire in Union Street, Glasgow, caused 80,000*l.* damage.

17. Kronstadt surrendered to the Red troops.

18. The Grand National Steeplechase was won by Mr. T. McAlpine's Shaun Spadah.

19. Daily air services to and from Paris were resumed.

— A reduction of 3,597,180*l.* was made in the estimate of London County Council capital expenditure for 1921-22.

22. Miss Bertha Phillpotts, O.B.E., was appointed Mistress of Girton College, Cambridge.

24. Royal Maundy was distributed in Westminster Abbey.

— The London and North-Western Railway Company announced that it had entered a provisional agreement for the acquisition of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.

26. *The Times* announced that the Disposal Board had sold the Port of Richborough (Sandwich Haven) to the Port of Queensborough Development Co., Ltd.

27. The King conferred the Order of a Dame Commander of the British Empire on Miss Genevieve Ward, the actress.

— Milk was sold in London at 10*d.* a quart.

30. Cambridge won the University Boat Race after a very fine race in 19 minutes 45 seconds.

31. Prince Henry attained his majority. The King conferred upon him the Order of the Garter.

— Warriors' Day was observed in London and throughout the country.

— Sir Joseph Maclay retired from the position of Shipping Controller, and the Shipping Ministry ceased to exist.

— Mr. Austen Chamberlain was returned unopposed for West Birmingham at the bye-election necessitated by his appointment as Lord Privy Seal.

## APRIL.

1. Lord Stanmore was appointed Secretary-General of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

2. Lord Reading landed in India to take up the office of Viceroy.

3. "Summer time" came into operation.

5. The number of births during the first three months of the year was 61,000 less than in the corresponding period of 1920.

7. Sir William Sinclair Marris, K.C.S.I., was appointed Governor of Assam, India.

8. Annular eclipse of the sun.

9. Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, Minister of Agriculture, was returned at the Taunton bye-election by a majority of 4,704 over his Labour opponent.

12. Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence was appointed Lord Chief Justice of England in succession to Lord Reading.

14. Mr. Conrad J. Naef was appointed Accountant-General of the Navy in succession to Sir Charles Walker who had become Deputy Secretary at the Admiralty.

15. Dr. S. R. Dyer, Medical Inspector of Prisons, was appointed a Prison Commissioner.

16. A reduction of eight points in the official figure of the cost of living was announced by the Ministry of Labour for the past month.

— The appointment of Colonel George Harvey as United States Ambassador to London was confirmed by the Senate at Washington.

18. Mr. E. W. Hansell was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese of Coventry.

22. Mr. Balfour presided at the second annual dinner of the reunion of the British War Missions to the United States.

— Mr. Augustus John was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy.

23. The anniversary celebration of Shakespeare's birthday began at Stratford-on-Avon.

25. The Speaker of the House of Commons announced his resignation.

— Mr. F. G. Kellaway was re-elected at a bye-election at Bedford by a majority of 4,666 over his Labour opponent.

26. The Central Control Board issued orders relaxing the conditions governing the sale of spirits.

— The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council delivered judgment, dismissing Archdeacon Wakeford's appeal against a judgment of the Lincoln Consistory Court which found him guilty on charges of immorality [*v. Feb. 5*].

27. The Right Hon. J. H. Whitley was elected Speaker.

28. The Bank Rate was reduced from 7 per cent. to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. ; it had stood at 7 per cent. since April 15, 1920.

29. The race at Newmarket for the 2,000 guineas was won by Lord Astor's Craig an Eran, and the race for the 1,000 guineas by Mr. W. Raphael's Bettina.

30. The King conferred a viscounty on Lord Edmund Talbot on the occasion of his appointment as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He adopted the title of Viscount FitzAlan.

## MAY.

1. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the *Daily Mail* was celebrated by a luncheon at Olympia, at which 7,000 guests were received by Lord Northcliffe.

2. Opening of the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy.

— An earldom was conferred on Lord French on his retirement from the position of Viceroy of Ireland.

— Lord FitzAlan arrived in Dublin and was sworn in as Viceroy of Ireland.

4. Lord Eustace Percy (Co.-U.) was returned at a bye-election at Hastings by a majority of 6,248 over his Labour opponent.

5. The Prince of Wales received the honorary degrees of Master of Commerce and Doctor of Science in London University.

9. The Crown Prince of Japan landed at Portsmouth where he was welcomed by the Prince of Wales.

— Sir Ernest Rutherford was elected Professor of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution.

10. The Budget presented to the London County Council involved a *5d.* increase in the rates for the coming year.

12. Mr. Harvey, the new American Ambassador, was received by the King at Buckingham Palace and presented his credentials.

13. Miss Eleanor C. Lodge was appointed Principal of Westfield College (Hampstead), University of London.



14. A peerage was conferred on Mr. A. H. Illingworth, M.P., on his retirement from the office of Postmaster-General.

— At a bye-election in the Penrith and Cocker mouth division of Cumberland, Major-General Sir Cecil Lowther (Co.-U.) was elected by a majority of thirty-one over his Liberal opponent.

— Mr. A. T. Loyd (Co.-U.) was returned unopposed for the Abingdon division of Berks.

16. The Prince of Wales left London for a tour in Devonshire and Cornwall.

17. A viscounty was conferred on Mr. Walter Long, M.P.

— Sir Malcolm G. Ramsay was appointed Comptroller and Auditor-General.

19. The King and Queen were present at the first performance of the Royal Tournament at Olympia.

22. The Prince of Wales payed a visit to the Scilly Isles.

24. Sir Edward Carson was appointed a Lord of Appeal in ordinary, in succession to the late Lord Moulton.

25. Miss Olive Clapham passed the final Bar examination and became the first woman barrister.

26. Mr. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, arrived in London for the meetings of the Imperial Council.

29. The Admiralty sold 113 warships, including the *Dreadnought*, to a Sheffield firm for breaking up.

30. The King held a Levée at St. James's Palace.

— The American Ambassador unveiled in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral a bust of George Washington, given to the British people by various organisations in the United States.

31. An honorary degree was conferred on the Prince of Wales at Cambridge.

— The Hon. Charles Lawrence was elected Chairman of the London & North-Western Railway in place of Sir Gilbert Claughton, Bart., who had resigned.

## JUNE.

1. The cost of living was 9 points lower than on May 1st.

— The Rev. E. C. Pearce, D.D., was chosen as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University for the Academic year beginning on October 1.

— Mr. J. B. Joel's *Humorist* won the Derby by a neck from Lord Astor's *Craig an Eran*. Mr. J. Watson's *Lemonora* was third, 3 lengths behind.

2. The Rev. A. A. David, D.D., Headmaster of Rugby School, was appointed Bishop of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.

— Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, arrived at Plymouth.

3. The King's Birthday Honours included three new peers, sixteen baronets, and more than fifty knights. Earl Curzon of Kedleston became a marquis, Lord Birkenhead became a viscount, and the three

new barons were: Sir Henry Dalziel, Bart., Sir Ailwyn Fellowes, K.C.V.O., M.P., and Sir Marcus Samuel, Bart.

3. Mr. J. Watson's *Love in Idleness* won the Oaks by 3 lengths from Mrs. H. Nugent's *Lady Sleipner*. Lord Astor's *Long Suit* was third.

4. *The Times* announced that Lord Byng of Vimy had been appointed Governor-General of Canada in succession to the Duke of Devonshire.

6. The King opened the new Southwark Bridge over the Thames.

7. At a bye-election in St. George's, Westminster, Mr. J. M. M. Erskine (Ind. Anti-waste) was returned by a majority of 1,888 over the Coalition candidate.

9. A bye-election in the Heywood and Radcliffe division of Lancashire resulted in the return of Mr. Walter Halls (Lab.) by a majority of 305 over the Coalition candidate.

10. Mr. Thomas Brown, K.C., M.P., was appointed Solicitor-General for Ireland.

11. Sunday collection and delivery of letters was discontinued.

— General Smuts arrived in England from South Africa.

12. The following increased postal charges came into force: postcards  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ , foreign letters  $3d.$ , registered letters  $3d.$ , printed papers  $1d.$

14. The Ascot race meeting opened and the King and Queen attended in state.

— Mr. Arthur Meighen, K.C., Prime Minister of Canada, arrived in England.

15. The Rev. Samuel Heaslett was appointed Bishop of South Tokyo.

16. *The Times* announced that the Duke of Sutherland would represent the Colonial Office in the House of Lords in succession to Lord Londonderry.

— Mr. Felix Pole was appointed General Manager of the Great Western Railway Company.

17. At a bye-election in the East Hertfordshire Division, Rear-Admiral M. F. Sueter (Anti-waste) was returned by a majority of 6,776 over the Coalition candidate.

19. The Census was taken of Great Britain.

20. Major Sir Edward Coates, Bart., M.P., was appointed a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery.

21. The trial of Thomas Farrow and Walter Crotch, for conspiracy and fraud in connexion with Farrow's Bank, ended in sentences of four years' penal servitude on both men.

22. Alexandra Day was observed in London.

— Mr. Geoffrey Dawson was appointed Secretary to the Rhodes Trust.

23. The Bank Rate was reduced from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to 6 per cent.

24. The Duke of Marlborough was married to Miss Gladys Deacon in Paris.

26. The Royal Society of Medicine made the first award of its Gold Medal to Sir Almroth Wright for his services to medicine during the war.  
 — Mr. J. Watson's *Lemonora* won the Grand Prix at Longchamps.  
 27. Sir John Ross, Bart., was appointed Lord Chancellor for Ireland.  
 30. End of the driest June since 1813.

## JULY.

1. End of the coal strike.  
 — *The Times* announced that Mr. W. W. Vaughan, Master of Wellington College, had been appointed Head Master of Rugby School.  
 2. Dempsey knocked out Carpentier in the fourth round of the fight for the Heavy Weight Championship of the World at Jersey City, U.S.A.  
 4. The King and Queen of the Belgians arrived on a State visit to England, and were met in London by the King and Queen.  
 — Mr. A. J. Ashton, K.C., was appointed an additional Judge of the High Court of Justice of the Isle of Man.  
 8. End of the State visit of the King and Queen of the Belgians to London.  
 — The King opened the new King George V. dock.  
 9. Eton beat Harrow at cricket at Lords by seven wickets.  
 10. The temperature in London reached 91° in the shade.  
 11. The King and Queen spent several hours in Guernsey.  
 — A shade temperature of 93·4° was registered in London.  
 13. Owing to the long-continued drought the Metropolitan Water Board took measures for economy of water by reducing pressure in the mains.  
 14. Prince Henry was appointed aide-de-camp to Lord Cavan, Commander-in-Chief of the Aldershot Command.  
 15. A French aviator, Kirsch, attained a height of 10,000 metres (more than 6 miles).  
 — The Church National Assembly ended its summer session.  
 — Mr. Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada, was enrolled a Freeman of the City of London and was afterwards entertained at luncheon at the Mansion House.  
 16. The price of coal to domestic consumers in London was raised from 2s. to 5s. a ton according to quality.  
 — Lord Northcliffe left London on a world tour.  
 — The Aerial Derby was won by Mr. J. H. James, whose speed exceeded 163 miles an hour.  
 18. Much damage was done by a fire at a Hendon dope factory.  
 — The freedom of Edinburgh was conferred on Mr. Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada.  
 — Lord Gorell was appointed to succeed Lord Londonderry as Under-Secretary to the Air Ministry.

19. The King held an investiture at Buckingham Palace at which he conferred honours upon over 380 recipients.

— The list of Civil List Pensions granted in 1920-21 included the names of Mrs. Edith Bullen, Mr. W. H. Davies, and Mr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray.

— Lord Queenborough was married in New York to Miss Edith Starr Miller.

20. The King Edward VII. memorial statue in Waterloo Place was unveiled by the King in the presence of Queen Alexandra. Mr. Bertram Mackennal, the Sculptor, was afterwards knighted.

— At Hampstead the thermometer registered 145° in the sun.

21. Mr. J. G. Rodger, a Liverpool wool broker, left 60,000*l.* to hospitals and charities.

— The Bank Rate was reduced to 5½ per cent. from 6 per cent. at which it had stood since June 23.

22. "Chu-Chin-Chow" came to an end at His Majesty's Theatre, after a run of nearly five years.

23. Mr. F. B. Malim, Head Master of Haileybury, was appointed Head Master of Wellington College.

24. The price of milk in London was raised to 9*d.* a quart.

25. An official report on the Scottish Census gave the total population as 4,882,157, an increase of 2·5 per cent. in the last ten years. More than two-thirds of the increase consisted of females.

26. A reduction in rates was provided for in the estimates of the London County Council.

— Four men were killed and four others injured in an explosion at a Naval Ordnance Depot near Portsmouth.

— An International Conference on tuberculosis was opened in London.

27. The Prince of Wales unveiled a memorial near St. Margaret's Bay to the men of the Dover patrol who fell in the war.

— The Duke of Devonshire arrived in England at the end of his five years' tenure of the Governor-Generalship of Canada.

30. Mr. Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada, left London for Canada.

31. July in London was the driest July ever recorded.

— A tramway car accident at North Shields resulted in 5 persons being killed and 20 injured.

## AUGUST.

2. Death of Signor Caruso.

— A Peerage was conferred upon Sir Alfred Lawrence, K.C., Lord Chief Justice of England.

— Mr. T. B. Hohler, C.B., C.M.G., was appointed British Minister to Hungary.

4. Lord Byng of Vimy left England for Canada to take up his duties as Governor-General.

— The seventh anniversary of the declaration of war.

— Two persons were killed and about 20 injured through the overturning of a motor omnibus in London.

5. Mr. Denis Henry was appointed Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland.

6. An express train came into collision with a local train at Selby and several passengers were injured.

— A bronze statue of Mr. Lloyd George was unveiled at Carnarvon by Mr. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia.

7. The Prime Minister, Lord Curzon, and Sir Robert Horne left London for the meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris.

8. Great damage was done by a fire which broke out at an East-end timber yard after a disturbance by unemployed.

— Canon Alexander Nairne was appointed Canon of Windsor.

9. Sir William Plender was appointed Independent Chairman of the National Coal Board.

— Opening of the Dublin Horse Show.

10. 250*l.* compensation was awarded to Mrs. Gooding of Littlehampton who had been twice imprisoned for offences of which she was innocent, *viz.*, publishing libellous letters and postcards.

15. Government control of the railways of the United Kingdom came to an end at midnight.

16. King Peter died at Belgrade after a long illness.

17. Communist riots occurred in Sheffield.

20. The King and Queen arrived at Balmoral.

— Week-end railway tickets were revived.

22. The Marquess of Milford Haven was promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet on the retired list.

— Lord Ashton was appointed Constable of Lancaster Castle.

23. Preliminary figures of the census in England, Scotland, and Wales, gave the total population as 42,767,530, or an increase of 2,000,000 since 1911.

— A reduction of 6*s.* a week in the wages of agricultural workers was decided on by the Wages Board.

24. The airship R38 broke in half while flying over Hull and was wrecked by explosion, falling into the Humber; only 5 men were saved out of a total complement of 49.

25. The Peace Treaty between the United States and Germany was signed in Berlin.

— At a bye-election at Caerphilly Mr. Morgan Jones (Lab.) was elected by a majority of 4,741 over the Coalition candidate.

— Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, left London on his journey home.

26. At a bye-election in the Abbey division of Westminster, Brigadier-General Nicholson (Ind.-Cons.) was elected by a majority of 1,234 over the first of the two rival candidates ;—there was no Coalition candidate.

27. Mr. John Lamb, C.B., was appointed Under-Secretary for Scotland.

— Two persons were killed and 14 injured as the result of a collision between a motor-coach and a private car on the borders of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire.

29. Sir James Masterton-Smith, K.C.B., was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

30. Mr. N. F. B. Osborn was appointed Director of Finance at the War Office in succession to Sir William Perry.

31. The official termination of the war took place at midnight.

— Official figures of the cost of living showed a fall of 2 points during August, but were still 120 per cent. above the pre-war level.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. The new Licensing Act came into force with extended hours for the sale of drink.

2. Resignation by Sir Thomas Holland of his office as member for Commerce of the Council of the Governor-General of India.

4. The Musical Festival of the three Choirs of Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester began at Hereford.

5. Opening of the fifty-third annual Trades Union Congress.

— The second assembly of the League of Nations opened at Geneva.

6. Mr. Seward Pearce was appointed Second Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions.

7. The price of household coal was reduced in the central London area by from 5s. to 4s. per ton.

— The British Association met at Edinburgh, Sir Edward Thorpe being President.

— Lord Londonderry's Polemarch, against whom odds of 50 to 1 were laid, won the St. Leger stakes at Doncaster.

8. A return was published showing that on August 1 there were 2,709 fewer people employed in Government offices than on July 1.

9. The personal estate of the late Colonel James Smith Park of Glasgow was sworn at 1,219,908*l.*

— Mr. H. J. Wilson was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in succession to Sir James Masterton-Smith who had been appointed Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies.

10. Five apprentices were killed by an explosion in the ex-German submarine *Deutschland* at Birkenhead.

— Between 30 and 40 people were killed and 60 injured in an accident to a French express near Lyons.

11. Admiral of the Fleet Lord Milford Haven died suddenly in London.

12. The price of the 4 lb. loaf was reduced in London to 1s.

— *The Times* announced the appointment of Rear-Admiral Sir Allan F. Everett as first Naval member of the Australian Naval Board.

— Becket beat McCormick for the Heavy Weight Boxing Championship of Great Britain.

14. The meeting of the British Association at Edinburgh was concluded.

— Sir Philip Dawson (Cons. and Anti-waste) was elected by a majority of 847 in a bye-election at West Lewisham. His opponents were a candidate of the Anti-waste League and an Independent Liberal.

15. Two men were killed and two others seriously injured by an explosion at Woolwich Arsenal.

16. One man was killed and 8 others injured by an explosion at a Bermondsey foundry.

17. The *Quest*, under the command of Sir Ernest Shackleton, sailed from London on a voyage to the Antarctic.

20. The late Sir James Horlick, founder of Horlick's Malted Milk Co., left estate of the gross value of 450,481*l.*

21. A great explosion occurred at Oppau, near Mannheim, at the factory of the Badische Anilin und Sodafabrik, many hundreds being killed and injured.

22. The Norwegian steamer *Salina* was sunk in a collision off the Goodwin Sands, 12 of her crew being drowned.

23. At a bye-election at Louth (Lincolnshire), caused by the death of Mr. Wintringham, Mrs. Wintringham (L.) was elected by a majority of 791 over the Conservative candidate; a Labour candidate also stood. Mrs. Wintringham was the second woman to become a member of Parliament.

26. Two British officials were killed in an attack on a British post in the Sudan.

27. A Baronetcy was conferred upon Alderman James Roll, Lord Mayor of London.

28. The Grands Magasins au Printemps in Paris, which had just been completed, was entirely gutted by fire.

— Lieutenant John Macready broke the world's height record in a biplane; he reached the height of 40,800 feet.

29. Sir John Baddeley was elected Lord Mayor of London for the coming year.

30. *The Times* announced the appointment of Dr. G. Sharp as Archbishop of Brisbane.

## OCTOBER.

1. The official index figure of the cost of living stood at about 110 per cent. above that of July, 1914, having fallen 10 points during September.

3. "Summer time" came to an end and normal time was restored.

— Many improvements were effected in railway services, and later trains began to be run by the Tube railways.

4. A jury at Hull, holding an inquest on the bodies of 33 men who lost their lives in the disaster to the airship R38 [v. August 24], found that they met their deaths accidentally through the breaking of the airship owing to some cause or causes unknown.

— The thermometer rose to 81° in the shade in the South of England, this being the warmest October day for sixty-two years.

5. At a bye-election in West Houghton, Councillor R. J. Davies (Lab.) was returned by a majority of 4,009 over the Coalition-Liberal candidate.

— The thermometer rose to 84° in the shade in London, and the day was the warmest October day experienced in London since reliable meteorological observations began.

— A collision took place in the Batignolles tunnel near the St. Lazare Station, Paris, and some coaches and one of the trains caught fire. About 100 casualties were reported.

6. *The Times* stated that wholesale prices were only 80 per cent. above the 1914 level, but that retailers in many places were still charging 120 per cent. above the basic figure.

— A shade temperature of 84° was again registered in London.

7. The estate of the late Sir Ernest Cassel was sworn at 6,000,000*l.*, the estate duty payable being 2,400,000*l.*

8. A further fall occurred in food prices, meat being reduced by 4*d.* to 7*d.* a pound.

9. The Laird Line vessel *Rowan*, bound from Glasgow to Dublin, sank after collision in the North Channel with the loss of 25 lives.

13. Colonel S. H. Wilson, R.E., was appointed Governor of Trinidad.

14. Kid Lewis beat Johnny Basham in the twelfth round of a boxing match at the Albert Hall for the Middle Weight Championship of Great Britain and Europe.

15. Sir Eustace Fiennes, Bart., was appointed Governor of Leeward Islands.

— Resignation of Sir Eric Geddes as Minister of Transport.

17. The price of bread in London was reduced to 11*d.* a quartern.

— General Pershing placed the United States Congressional Medal on the tomb of the unknown British warrior at Westminster Abbey.

18. The temperature rose to 76° in the shade in London.

— The county of Monmouth, formerly included in the See of Llandaff, became a separate diocese.

20. A proposal to admit women students to limited membership of Cambridge University was defeated in the University Senate by 908 votes against 694.

21. Lord Haig unveiled a memorial at Euston Station to the 3,719 men of the L.N.W.R. Co., who fell in the war.



22. A woman was killed and many persons were injured by the collapse of a roof at a concert hall at Walsall.

— The late Mr. W. J. Chrystal, chemical manufacturer, left estate valued at 1,145,160/.

23. A gale in the North Sea caused considerable damage to shipping.

24. Mr. Arthur M. Hind was elected Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford.

25. The House of Lords delivered considered judgments holding that under the Gaming Act of 1835, the loser of a bet on a horse race who had paid his loss by cheque might recover the amount from the winner in an action at law.

26. The Prince of Wales sailed in the *Renown* on his visit to India. The King and Queen bade him farewell at Victoria.

— Mr. R. V. Bankes, K.C., the Metropolitan police magistrate, was found shot dead in bed.

— Mr. J. A. de Rothschild's Milenko won the Cambridgeshire Stakes at Newmarket.

28. Mr. W. Valentine Ball, O.B.E., was appointed a Master of the Supreme Court.

30. M. Poincaré, accompanied by Madame Poincaré, arrived in London.

31. Canon E. A. Burroughs was appointed Dean of Bristol.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The Prince of Wales opened the first session of the newly constituted Maltese Parliament.

— The index figure of the cost of living was 103.

— In consequence of an abnormally high tide the Thames flooded its banks at many places up to Putney.

3. The Bank Rate was reduced to 5 per cent. from 5½ per cent. at which it had stood since July 21.

4. Dr. S. E. Morison was appointed Professor of American History in Oxford University.

— Mr. Takashi Hara, Prime Minister of Japan, was murdered at the Tokio railway station.

5. Dr. S. M. Taylor was appointed Canon of St. George's, Windsor.

6. A gale caused great damage to shipping; 16 lives were lost by the sinking of a steamer in the North Sea.

7. Kinnaird Castle, the seat of Lord Southesk, was practically destroyed by fire.

— Lord Peel was appointed Minister of Transport (unpaid) in succession to Sir Eric Geddes.

9. Lord Mayors and Mayors for the next year were elected in England and Wales; four women Mayors were elected.

10. *The Times* stated that Brigadier-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce would lead the expedition to climb Mt. Everest in 1922 [*v.* Nov. 21].

11. Throughout the United Kingdom and in the Empire generally, Armistice Day was solemnly commemorated by the observance of the two minutes' silence.

— At a bye-election at Hornsey, Lord Ednam (Cons.) was returned by a majority of 2,016 over the Independent Liberal candidate.

12. Opening of the Washington Conference on the limitation of armaments.

13. Mr. R. L. Wedgwood was appointed General Manager of the North Eastern Railway in succession to Sir A. K. Butterworth.

15. Dr. A. C. Pearson was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in Cambridge University.

— The Cambridge Union Society celebrated its centenary by a dinner and debate at which the Duke of York was present and spoke.

16. The quarterly returns of the Registrar-General for July, August, and September showed a fall in the birth-rate as well as in the death-rate.

— The estate of the late Mr. William Morton of Birmingham was sworn at 576,302*l.*

17. The Prince of Wales landed at Bombay on his visit to India.

— Mr. Samuel Pope was appointed a Metropolitan Police Magistrate in place of the late Mr. Ralph V. Bankes, K.C.

18. Colonel S. H. Wilson was appointed Governor of Trinidad.

— One hundred and seventy-nine pounds was paid for an autograph letter of Robert Burns.

— Dr. C. A. H. Green, Archdeacon of Monmouth, was elected as the first Bishop of the new diocese of Monmouth.

20. The Duke of Atholl was appointed Lord Chamberlain, in the place of the late Lord Sandhurst.

21. Brigadier-General the Hon. Charles Bruce accepted the post of Chief of the Mt. Everest Expedition, to leave England on February 1.

— Four machine-guns and about a dozen rifles were stolen from a store at Victoria barracks, Windsor, but were recovered later; other arms stolen from the Guards' barracks at Chelsea were also recovered.

22. It was officially announced that Princess Mary was betrothed to Viscount Lascelles, eldest son of the Earl of Harewood.

— A Treaty was signed between Great Britain and Afghanistan.

26. In a collision between two passenger trains at Birmingham two men and a baby were killed, and eight persons injured.

28. The Molteno Institute for research in parasitology was opened at Cambridge University by Lord Buxton.

29. In pursuance of the provisions of the Dentists Act, the Dental Board was constituted with Mr. F. D. Acland, M.P., as Chairman.

30. Sir Henry Lambert succeeded Sir W. H. Mercer as Senior Crown Agent for the Colonies.

— Landru was condemned to death at Versailles on a charge of murdering ten women and the son of one of them.

## DECEMBER.

1. Penny fares were re-introduced on the tramways and omnibuses of London; the lowest charge had previously been 1½d.

— The average level of retail prices was estimated at about 99 per cent. above that of July, 1914.

3. An Irish Mail Steamer bound from Holyhead to Kingstown came into collision with the schooner *James Tyrrel*, which was sunk with the loss of three of her crew.

5. The King visited the Smithfield Club Show where his exhibits won several prizes.

— *The Times* announced the appointment of Sir Borlase Childs as Assistant Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis, in the place of Sir Basil Thomson.

6. A slight fall took place in the prices of some qualities of household coals.

— Lord Sinha resigned the Governorship of Bihar and Orissa owing to ill-health.

— A General Election in Canada resulted in the overwhelming defeat of Mr. Meighen, the Prime Minister, and the Conservative Party.

8. The Board of Trade appointed Mr. H. F. Carlill to be Inspector General in bankruptcy.

— Mr. David J. Owen was appointed to the newly created post of General Manager of the Port of London Authority.

9. A baronetcy was conferred on Sir Francis Dunnell, and knight-hoods on Mr. H. A. H. Steward and Mr. C. F. Higham, M.P., in recognition of their services to the Ministry of Transport.

10. The Nobel Peace prize for 1921 was divided between M. Branting, the Prime Minister of Sweden, and M. Christian Lagneau, Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Bureau, Geneva.

11. The Rev. P. M. Herbert was appointed Suffragan Bishop of Kingston-upon-Thames.

12. The estate of the late Sir Joseph Savory was sworn at 188,423l.

13. An order in Council was published announcing that Grand Juries would be restored after December 22.

— The certificate of naturalisation granted to Sir Edgar Speyer, Bart., was revoked, and his name was struck out of the list of the Privy Council.

15. At a bye-election in the South-east Southwark division, Mr. T. E. Naylor (Lab.) was returned by a majority of 3,925 over the Liberal candidate. An independent Conservative also stood.

16. *The Times* stated that the coal exports of South Wales were now up to 80 per cent. of the pre-war quantities.

17. Owing to an abnormally high tide the low-lying districts of Hull were flooded and considerable damage was done to property; there was no loss of life.

18. M. Briand, the French Prime Minister, arrived in London to discuss with Mr. Lloyd George the payment of the German indemnity.

19. A report of the Ministry of Pensions for 1920-21 showed that awards of all kinds in operation at the end of the year numbered 1,760,000.

21. The English and Welsh railway companies announced reductions in rates for coal, iron and steel, lime and limestone, to take effect on January 1.

— Dr. St. Clair Donaldson, formerly Archbishop of Queensland, was enthroned as Bishop of Salisbury.

22. General the Earl of Cavan was appointed to succeed Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson as Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

23. The Central Railway Wages Board agreed to the reduction of railwaymen's wages by 4s. per week to take effect from January 1.

24. Colonel Robert Johnson was appointed Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Royal Mint.

25. Christmas Day. Four people were burnt to death by a fire in a house at Sheffield.

26. Mr. Lloyd George left London for Cannes.

27. A gale reaching a velocity of 50 to 60 miles an hour blew over Southern England.

29. The King of Norway, who was staying privately at Sandringham, opened Norway House in Cockspur Street.

30. The Earl of Lytton was appointed Governor of Bengal in succession to the Earl of Ronaldshay who was due to vacate the office in March, 1922.

— The record billiard break of 1,109 unfinished was made by Newman in London.

31. The average retail level of prices was about 92 per cent. above that of July, 1914. The corresponding figure at the beginning of 1921 was 165 per cent.

— The rainfall in London during 1921 amounted to about 14.6 inches, or less by 1.5 inches than any London record for 150 years past. Drought prevailed throughout the country during the greater part of the year.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1921.

### LITERATURE.

(Books marked with an asterisk are further noted at the end of this section.)

THE following analysis of books published in the United Kingdom during 1921 is taken from the *Publishers' Circular*, by kind permission of the Editor, Mr. R. B. Marston. New books and new editions together show a total of 11,026, an increase of twenty-two on the output for the previous year. Production was more evenly distributed than usual over the whole year, and prices showed a tendency to fall.

#### CLASSIFIED ANALYSIS OF BOOKS PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1921.

Classes of Literature.	New Books.		
	New Books.	Translations.	Pamphlets.
Philosophy - - - - -	205	18	10
Religion - - - - -	563	36	69
Sociology - - - - -	536	15	220
Law - - - - -	131	3	59
Education - - - - -	173	1	66
Military and Naval - - - - -	229	2	55
Philology - - - - -	127	1	6
Science - - - - -	447	12	63
Technology - - - - -	450	7	171
Medicine, Public Health, etc. - - - - -	269	7	56
Agriculture, Gardening - - - - -	127	1	58
Domestic Arts - - - - -	47	—	2
Business - - - - -	125	—	30
Fine Arts - - - - -	219	2	17
Music (Works about) - - - - -	53	7	5
Games, Sports, etc. - - - - -	112	1	10
Literature - - - - -	292	16	19
Poetry and Drama - - - - -	385	25	81
Fiction - - - - -	967	51	4
Juvenile - - - - -	483	7	50
History - - - - -	388	16	36
Description and Travel - - - - -	392	11	64
Geography - - - - -	106	—	7
Biography - - - - -	303	28	15
General Works - - - - -	190	—	—
<b>Totals - - - - -</b>	<b>7,319</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>1,173</b>
		<b>8,757</b>	

A noteworthy change in the periodical press took place when the *Westminster Gazette* entered upon a new phase as a twopenny morning paper. *Form*, once a quarterly, was revived as a literary and artistic monthly, and the *Bookman's Journal and Print Collector* began to appear monthly instead of weekly, as an illustrated magazine. New publications included *Fanfare*, a mainly musical review, edited by Leigh Henry, obviously an organ of the artistic Left; *Looking Forward*, edited by Hamilton Fyfe, who also bore witness to his new outlook on life in his *Making of an Optimist*; and *The Beacon*, a journal of education, religion, and art, intended to lighten the darkness of our materialism. The two last were eventually amalgamated. Abroad a journal formerly of great prestige disappeared when Maximilian Harden's *Die Zukunft* ceased publication in September after a career of twenty-nine years.

The obituary for the year included several prominent literary figures: Mrs. Florence Barclay, author of *The Rosary*; Mrs. Lovett Cameron; Mrs. Molesworth, dear to generations of children; Richard Bagot, the Anglo-Italian novelist; H. B. Marriott Watson, a romancer of great gifts; E. W. Hornung, creator of *Raffles*; Sir W. B. Richmond, who exchanged brush for pen to write *The Silver Chain*; that prince of translators, Alexander Teixeira de Mattos; Austin Dobson, most graceful of versifiers and essayists; F. W. Bourdillon, author of charming lyrics; two playwrights of repute, Charles Haddon Chambers and Cosmo Gordon-Lennox; C. E. W. Jerningham, who was "Marmaduke" of *Truth*; such scholars as Professor Henry Jackson and W. Warde Fowler; and a famous publisher, Elkin Mathews.

It is probably for its contributions to biography that the literary work of 1921 will be remembered, and recent efforts in that field have shown in depicting the living person behind the public figure a skill and understanding that promise new riches for our literature. Autobiography displays the same praiseworthy impulse towards frankness and away from formalism. This spirit has inevitably its evil counterpart. "Reminiscences" which are mere jets of random garrulity, not far on the right side of defamation, together with less offensive but uncharitably analytic studies of prominent contemporaries, have added new terrors to social intercourse, public life, and casual reading. Important additions have been made to the records and reminiscences of the war, and any work of definite quality has been sure of its readers, despite the general weariness as to war books. The flood of self-exculpatory war memoirs seems stayed, as far as this country is concerned, but shows no sign of abating in Central Europe. Since peace proved to have her defeats none the less than war, the inner history of the Versailles Conference is still being told by personages of varying prominence, with proportionate acrimony. What actually occurred is nearly obscured by the cloud of witnesses.

The stresses and problems of the times naturally evoked numerous political and sociological books during the year, and these included at least one work of international importance in Lord Bryce's *Modern Democracies*.

It was more surprising to see the number of sumptuous and costly volumes issued within the last twelve months on the pictorial arts and

their exponents. The general interest in musical matters also called forth many volumes of study, criticism, and biography. The year's travel volumes are of minor importance. Those whose wanderings are more restricted may console themselves with several excellent works in rediscovery of the wonders, great and small, of inexhaustible London; the demand shows a widespread and praiseworthy interest. The first volume of a monumental work on the splendid relics of a home of kings whose history was ended before ours began has appeared in Sir Arthur Evans' *Palace of Minos*, a book of the foremost significance in archæology. The year's output of books on the theory of Einstein and the personality of its author is a striking proof of the interest that even a public bewildered by too many "popular expositions" still takes in both. Several familiar names are represented by collected essays gathered from various periodicals. And if the Scriptures of posterity are to comprise a Metabiological Pentateuch, 1921 may inherit peculiar glory as the year in which Mr. G. B. Shaw issued his version, otherwise known as *Back to Methuselah*. Poetry and poetic dramas of considerable merit added to the year's achievements.

Though the figures are slightly below those of 1920, works of fiction are too overwhelming in number alone for any generalisation. The strength and subtlety of the work done by women novelists are again conspicuous; it will be noted, too, that many recent novels make a woman their central figure. It would appear that the reader must bring himself to accept as a virtue in contemporary authors the trick of breaking off the story at any moment without even a consolatory "to be continued," of deserting the characters, as it were, at the big scene in Act II. and defrauding the reader of Act III. Mr. Swinnerton's *\*Coquette*, Mr. Walpole's *\*Young Enchanted*, Mr. Brett Young's *\*Black Diamond* were gross examples. Sally Minto, Henry and Millicent Trenchard, and Abner Fellows were surely not brought so painfully to the crisis of their fortunes to be there summarily abandoned. As a work of pure imagination Mr. de la Mare's *\*Memoirs of a Midget* was the year's triumph. There must have been many people to whom the award of the Hawthornden Prize to Romer Wilson's *Death of Society* seemed a case for astonished comment. Messrs. Wells, Bennett, Conrad, and Kipling refused us any new fiction. Mr. Compton Mackenzie postponed the continuation of the story of Michael Fane and Sylvia Scarlett; but Sir Hall Caine and Miss Marie Corelli did what they could in compensation, after their kind.

The work of introducing our public to the Scandinavian fiction of Hamsun, Bojer, and Buchholtz was continued by their active publishers. We were indebted to a Frenchman, M. Abel Chevalley, for the most interesting study of recent English fiction, *Le Roman Anglais de notre Temps*.

Although any more detailed list of the books of 1921 must needs be incomplete, a brief reference to the most conspicuous of those belonging to the classes sketched above may have its value. In biography Mr. Lytton Strachey's *\*Queen Victoria* made an immediate impression which is likely to be equalled by its future influence. Mr. W. R. H. Trowbridge's *Queen Alexandra: A Study of Royalty* displayed no similar qualities, but presented a pleasing outline of a gracious and well-loved personality. Specially fortunate in their subject were such books as *Our Prince*, by

Mr. Edward Legge, and *Edward, Prince of Wales*, by Miss G. Ivy Sanders, dealing with the boyhood, war-record, and world-wide voyagings of the heir to the throne. If the fact that the work also deals with a royalty, albeit fallen, will excuse the juxtaposition, mention may here be made of Lady Norah Bentinck's first-hand impressions of Wilhelm II. in Holland in *The Ex-Kaiser in Exile*. Political biographies included the first two volumes of Lady Gwendolen Cecil's *\*Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, Mr. Lucien Wolf's able *\*Lord Ripon*, Mr. William Stewart's study of a figure of humbler rank but high significance in his *J. Keir Hardie*, and the tribute paid by another talented daughter to a famous father in *D. A. Thomas, Viscount Rhondda*. In view of their political interest Mr. Laurence Housman's essays in biographical drama, *Angels and Ministers*, introducing the great figures of the Victorian age, may be added to this list. An estimate of Lord Kitchener's achievements is furnished by Lord Esher in his *\*Tragedy of Lord Kitchener*; a famous editor's elusive character was commemorated in *Sir Edward Cook*, by Mr. J. Saxon Mills; and two renowned Churchmen in *Canon Barnett*, by his wife, and the Bishop of Manchester's *Bishop Percival*. The life of a young administrator in Mesopotamia, *\*James Saumarez Mann*, edited by his father, and a remarkable life of *Jack London*, by Charmian London, also deserve mention. Mr. E. V. Lucas's classic *Life of Charles Lamb* appeared in a fifth augmented edition. Old accusations against Lord Byron were revived and, according to the author, brought home, in a reissue of *Astarte* by the poet's descendant Ralph, Earl of Lovelace, but criticism did not find his position impregnable. The life of another literary personage, treated from an entirely new point of view, was that of *\*Goethe*, by Herr Emil Ludwig; while the same writer's life of *\*Bismarck* appeared in a new edition.

It could not be expected that the author of *The Mirrors of Downing Street* would refrain from following up his triumph or would lack imitators. *The Glass of Fashion*, however, showed the Gentleman with a Duster in a tediously denunciatory mood, and though his formula was borrowed for *Mirrors of Washington*, anonymous, and *Makers of the New World*, by "One Who Knows Them," the ingredients were impure. Mr. E. T. Raymond wisely cast back a generation, and his *Portraits of the Nineties* had considerable merit. *Authors and I*, by Mr. C. Lewis Hind, once editor of the *Academy*, also had certain virtues, but the main quality of Mr. Hesketh Pearson's *Modern Men and Mummies* seemed to be cheery familiarity.

Only a selection can be given from the many interesting volumes devoted to autobiography and reminiscences. Sir William Robertson gave the sober narrative of an unprecedented career in *\*From Private to Field-Marshal*. Dr. Ethel Smyth's *Streaks of Life* confirmed the reputation recent years have brought her. The engaging qualities of Lord Frederic Hamilton's *Here, There, and Everywhere* set an example to mere purveyors of "indiscretions." Lord Shaw of Dunfermline cast memoirs of exceptional interest into the pleasing form of *Letters to Isabel*, and Sir Sidney Colvin's long-awaited *Memories and Notes of Persons and Places* disappointed only those who had expected a more lengthy chronicle, while a famous artist and war-correspondent related an eventful life-history in *Villiers* :



*His Five Decades of Adventure.* By his own standards the late editor of the *American Ladies' Home Journal* was probably entitled to the satisfaction his own story gave him in *Edward Bok: An Autobiography*; but unless the title of *While I Remember* referred to some personal dread of aphasia, it is hard to find any reason for Mr. Stephen McKenna's complacent record of memories he has in common with thousands of his generation. German and Austrian notabilities provided documents of much interest to English readers. Bethmann-Hollweg's *Erinnerungen* were a further revelation of the divided mind which so often consented to the wrong road while remaining uneasily conscious of the right. His work was largely a reply to Ludendorff, who accused the politicians of having been the worst enemies of the military, and it proves that the latter had their own way even when the politicians felt it to mean disaster. The ex-Chancellor's volumes also proved him to have had at least the virtue of loyalty to his fallen master. In *Erlebtes* Freiherr von Schön, Ambassador in Paris on the outbreak of war, showed himself sensitive to nothing but the most trivial side of the greatest events. The *Daily Telegraph* incident, and Ballin's interview with the Kaiser in 1918, provided the only pages of any value. Baron von Eckardstein's *Ten Years at the Court of St. James*, on the other hand, was an admirable account of Anglo-German social and diplomatic relations in the years prior to the War, the tone of the book explaining why he and his MS. underwent some official persecution in Germany during hostilities. The *Memoirs of Count Witte* referred to a Russian past that can hardly be expressed in terms of time, and Prince Ludwig Windisch-Graetz dealt in *My Memoirs* with the last years of another shattered Empire. Some relief was to be found in the piquant recollections, *Zwischen Politik und Diplomatie*, of Hetta Gräfin Treuberg, whose hospitality united in her salon in the autumn of 1915 the most varied and interesting society then in Berlin.

The publication of the general *History of the Great War*, by Mr. John Buchan, began during the year, and the work should prove of great value. Sir Julian Corbett contributed to the *Official History* his indispensable *\*Naval Operations*, Vol. II.; a full account of the preparation and execution of the most daring of naval exploits was given in *The Blocking of Zeebrugge* by Captain A. F. B. Carpenter, V.C.; and the experiences narrated in *\*The Fighting at Jutland* by men of all ranks present at the engagement afforded a wonderful picture of that battle of giants. The numerous divisional and regimental histories published included those of the *Second Division*, by Mr. Everard Wyrall, the *Twentieth (Light) Division*, by Captain N. E. Inglefield, the *Thirty-Fourth Division*, by Lieut.-Colonel J. Shakespear, and the *Fifty-First (Highland) Division*, by Major F. W. Bewsher. The extraordinary adventures of an enterprising prisoner of war and his comrades as recounted in Mr. A. J. Evans's *The Escaping Club* surpassed anything in fiction. *The Secrets of a Kuttite*, by Captain E. O. Mousley, R.F.A., is an account of heroic endurance during the siege of Kut, and the terrible march over the desert to a weary captivity. With pen and brush Sir William Orpen gave in *\*An Onlooker in France* his brilliant impressions of things seen on the Western Front. Several important productions came from the defeated countries. The incorrigible Ludendorff again assailed the politicians in *Kriegführung und Politik*, and

blamed internationalism, pacifism, and defeatism at home, and such representatives thereof as Michaelis, Lichnowsky, and Hertling, for the overthrow of the Central Powers. The contents of Liman von Sanders' *Fünf Jahre Türkei* emphasised the suggestion of penal servitude and transportation conveyed by the title; no German general had a less enviable lot. Some terrible pictures of the collapse of Austria-Hungary and the disintegration of its armies were given in Karl Friedrich Nowak's *Der Sturz der Mittelmächte*; von Kühlmann apparently made long and futile efforts to communicate with this country, to which he was no real enemy. The diary notes which Philip Scheidemann, the Social Democrat, reproduced in *Der Zusammenbruch* were chiefly noteworthy for the account of the 1917 Stockholm Conference. Max Weber's *Gesammelte Politische Schriften* suffered to a great extent from the restraints of war-time. In *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Ententepolitik der Vorkriegsjahre*, B. von Siebert, formerly a member of the Imperial Russian Embassy in London, gave without commentary the telegrams and letters exchanged for the most part between St. Petersburg and the Russian representatives in the other capitals of Europe from 1909-14. The case for Britain could hardly be more strongly stated than it was here; but the evidence of the book was against any wilful war policy on the part of any Power; rather did it prove a complexity of precautions against a general outbreak, such as became a mass of obstacles to reasonable movements in a time of crisis.

Some important additions were made to the many publications concerned with the Treaty of Versailles. M. André Tardieu entitled his work *The Truth about the Treaty*, and the American delegates, under the editorship of E. M. House and C. Seymour, Litt.D., presented the world with *What Really Happened at Paris*. Another American account is from the pen of Mr. Robert Lansing, *\*The Peace Negotiations*, which is described as "a narrative from inside by one of the delegates." Somewhat different in character, because it is strictly scientific, is *\*A History of the Peace Conference of Paris* in five volumes, written by several hands, edited by Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, and published under the auspices of the Institute of International Affairs.

At the head of the year's works on political and social questions came Viscount Bryce's *\*Modern Democracies*, universally acclaimed as a masterpiece. Mr. H. G. Wells in *\*The Salvaging of Civilisation* made an appeal for world-wide efforts to avert the disasters that the armed States of today are preparing for themselves, and Mr. J. A. Hobson in *Problems of a New World*, like Mr. Graham Wallas in *\*Our Social Heritage*, discussed less fervidly the changes of the future. Mr. Philip Snowden's *Labour and the New World*, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's *Socialism, Critical and Constructive* are sufficiently described by their titles. Mr. G. D. H. Cole's *The Future of Local Government* left an impression of dire complexities to come. A sinister interest attached to L. Trotsky's *Defence of Terrorism* on democratic principles equally applicable to any of the misdeeds of past autocracies. Mr. G. B. Shaw's pamphlet, *Ruskin's Politics*, was the printed version of an excellent address. *How England is Governed*, by Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, *The Pageant of Parliament*, by Mr. Michael MacDonagh, and *\*The Pageant of England, 1900-20*, by Mr. J. R. Raynes, came from men of unusual qualifications for the works they had undertaken. Sir Valentine

Chirol's *India Old and New* was specially valuable for its chapters on the personalities and the issues of the present time of political travail in India. Professor A. C. Pigou's *Economics of Welfare* dealt with the most pressing economic questions of our time, but might with advantage have been less abstruse, as was shown by the same author's briefer treatment of part of his theme in his *Political Economy of War*. In Germany Oswald Spengler issued *Pessimismus?*, a brief elucidation of his famous work on the future of Western civilisation, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, in reply to some criticism of its title and doctrine, while the political history of non-Socialist parties in Germany came from Dr. Robert Riemann in his *\*Schwarzrotgold*.

Of works of travel *The Secret of the Sahara-Kufara*, Mrs. Rosita Forbes' account of her daring journey to the holy places of the Senussi, undoubtedly gained most publicity, though the scientific value of the book is much smaller than its appeal as an adventure. Monumental in its scope was Sir A. Stein's account of his researches on the borders of India and China in his *Serindia*. A refreshingly unassuming narrative of her experiences in Algeria and Tunisia was told by the Hon. Emily Ward in *Three Travellers in North Africa*. *Tahiti* contained George Calderon's exquisite description of his life in the enchanted isle he left for a soldier's grave. Captain Evans told afresh an immortal story in *South with Scott*. Mr. Stephen Graham's *Europe—Whither Bound?* was the result of a journey through the capitals and the study of the post-war conditions prevailing there. Mr. Norman Douglas produced a characteristic travel book, very different from those already noted in his *\*Alone*. Sir Joseph Broadbank's *History of the Port of London* was in every respect worthy of its great theme, while to the story of the social heart of the capital Mr. Charles T. Gatty's *\*Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury* made many alterations and additions. *More About Unknown London*, by Mr. Walter G. Bell, and *Old London Town*, by Mr. Will Owen, were representative of books written to meet the popular interest in the past of the city, while *A London Mosaic*, by Mr. W. L. George, treated in picturesque, perhaps overwrought, manner, some aspects of its life to-day.

The year was distinguished by several fine volumes concerned with art and artists. Mr. E. V. Lucas was responsible for the tomes of *Edwin Abbey*, on a rather portentous scale recalling some of the artist's later performances; Mr. E. D. Fridlander had to deal with a very different figure in his *Matthew Maris*; Mr. C. H. Collins Baker's *Crome* marked that master's centenary; and due tribute was paid to a famous son of Sweden in Dr. Karl Asplund's *Anders Zorn; his Life and Work*. Mr. Geoffrey Holme edited a *Studio* volume, *The Norwich School*, and Sir Martin Conway dealt with *The Van Eycks and their Followers*. Mr. Edward Hutton and Mr. Frank Brangwyn joined forces in producing *The Pageant of Venice*. Another fine biographical and critical monograph, *The Etched Work of W. Lee-Hankey, R.E., from 1904-1920*, by Mr. Martin Hardie, included over 180 reproductions of the artist's work. Mr. Edmund J. Sullivan in *The Art of Illustration*, and Mr. Joseph Pennell in his augmented edition of *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen*, treated an art in which they are masters. Mr. Kineton Parkes published an excellent study, *Sculpture of To-day*. Though strictly a scientific book dealing with mice, rats, hares, rabbits,

deer, and whales, Mr. A. Thorburn's second volume of *\*British Mammals* deserves mention among art books because of the beautiful illustrations it contains. Mr. C. Lewis Hind included some entertaining memories and reflections in his *Art and I*, and Mr. Max Beerbohm published a collection of his own drawings under the title of *A Survey*. The caricaturist himself was the subject of a rather adulatory volume in Mr. Bohun Lynch's *Max Beerbohm*.

Indeed, Mr. Lynch's hero was well in the public eye during 1921, for a further volume of his essays and stories, *And Even Now*, was one of the year's successes. To serious literature no more notable contribution was made in the form of collected papers than the Earl of Rosebery's *Miscellanies; Literary and Political*. Mr. Edmund Gosse and Mr. Clutton Brock gathered their contributions to the periodical press into *Books on the Table* and *More Essays about Books* respectively; Mr. A. B. Walkley formed a similar volume in *Pastiche and Prejudice*, and Mr. Robert Lynd in *The Pleasures of Ignorance*. Mr. Stephen Paget was gently reactionary in *I Have Reason to Believe*, while *Urbanities*, *The Sunny Side*, and *Light Articles Only* displayed the happy talents of Mr. E. V. Lucas, Mr. A. A. Milne, and Mr. A. P. Herbert. A second volume of *Prejudices* came over the Atlantic from Mr. H. L. Mencken, whose fellow-countrymen evidently reward him richly for caustic observations on America and Americans that would be deeply resented from other quarters.

The figures given for the year's poetry are misleading, as they represent a considerable amount of verse hardly publishable on its merits. However, the output of recognised writers was quite copious. Mr. de la Mare's *The Veil* was woven of his subtlest genius; Mr. W. J. Turner responded memorably to classical influences in *Paris and Helen* and *In Time Like Glass*. The second volume of Mr. J. C. Squire's collected *Poems* appeared, and the skilful but over-intellectualised work of Mr. J. Middleton Murry was represented in *Poems, 1916-1920*. *Shepherd Singing Ragtime* was the title of Mr. Louis Golding's highly individual volume; Mr. Edward Shanks was less challenging in *The Island of Youth*; and Mr. John Drinkwater's *Seeds of Time* suffered from formalism and didactics. High praise was awarded to Mr. Thomas Moul's experiments in *Down Here the Hawthorn*. *The Return*, by Margaret L. Woods, and *Hymen* by H. D., were also distinguished works. Sir William Watson's *Ireland Unfreed* contained political verse of his usual fire. From the United States came Mr. Edgar Lee Master's effort in the form of *The Ring and the Book*, entitled *The Domesday Book*; and Mr. Bernard Gilbert chose to follow the lines of the American author's *Spoon River Anthology*, with amazing structural scrupulosity, in *Old England*, which he called a God's-eye view of an English village. The year saw a profusion of anthologies, the most successful being Sir Algernon Methuen's *Modern English Verse* and Mr. J. C. Squire's *Selections from Modern Poets*, which was followed by his *Book of Women's Verse*. Sir Henry Newbolt mingled verse and prose in *An English Anthology*; Mr. L. S. Wood was responsible for a charming *Book of English Verse on Infancy and Childhood*; and Mr. Louis Untermeyer revealed fresh horizons in *Modern American Poetry*. Poetic drama received striking additions in Mr. Gordon Bottomley's *Gruach* and *Britain's Daughter* and Miss Clemence Dane's *Will Shakespeare*, but Mr. W. B.

Yeats's *Four Plays for Dancers* were too insubstantial for any permanence. Reference to an exceptionally brilliant volume of light verse, *Parodies Regained*, by "Evoc" of *Punch*, may conclude this section.

The absence of several famous names from the list of the year's novelists has been remarked upon above, and mention has already been made of Mr. Walter de la Mare's *\*Memoirs of a Midget* and Romer Wilson's *The Death of Society*. Mr. A. S. M. Hutchinson achieved with *\*If Winter Comes* one of the most emphatic successes of recent years here and in America. Mr. John Galsworthy brought his Forsythe epic to a close with *\*To Let*, and another study of a family and a period, *Privilege*, was the work of Mr. Michael Sadleir. Mr. Compton Mackenzie supplied the pleasant comedy of *\*Rich Relatives* as a corollary to his *Poor Relations*. Several authors published both a novel and a set of short stories: Mr. Hugh Walpole was not particularly happy in either *\*The Young Enchanted* or *\*The Thirteen Travellers*; and the same may be said of Mr. J. D. Beresford in *Revolution and Signs and Wonders*; Mr. Eden Philpotts did himself more justice in *Eudocia*, a historical romance of an ancient Empire, and *Told at the Plume*, in which he returned to the county with which his best work is associated. Two unusually successful collections of short stories, *\*Where the Pavement Ends*, by Mr. John Russell, and *The Trembling of a Leaf*, by Mr. W. Somerset Maugham, both dealt with dark fates and passions in the islands of the Pacific. Sir Hall Caine's *The Master of Man* and Miss Marie Corelli's *The Secret Power* doubtless fulfilled all expectations. Mr. W. J. Locke followed his most popular formula in *The Mountebank*, but the author of *Elizabeth* surprised her readers with her disturbing *\*Vera*. Of Mr. F. Brett Young's two novels, *\*The Black Diamond* and *\*The Red Knight*, the former was the better example of his powers; the books had not the relation of contrast suggested by the title. Mr. Stephen McKenna resumed his trilogy in *The Secret Victory*, its flashy qualities bearing ill any contrast with the honesty and humour of Mr. Conal O'Riordan's series, *\*Adam and Caroline*. Miss May Sinclair put an egoist on the rack in *\*Mr. Waddington of Wyck*, and Miss V. Sackville-West's *A Dragon in Shallow Waters* and Miss Eleanor Acland's *Dark Side Out* had some affinity of strength and sombreness. Studies of women by men included the unfortunate *\*Women in Love* of Mr. D. H. Lawrence, the *\*Coquette* of Mr. Frank Swinnerton, and Mr. W. L. George's unequal *Confession of Ursula Trent*. Among women novelists who dealt with their own sex were Miss Rose Macaulay, whose *\*Dangerous Ages* again set wit blowing the mort over folly; Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith in her fine *\*Joanna Godden*; Miss Ethel Sidgwick in *Madam*; Miss Violet Meynell, still betrayed by subtleties, in *Antonia*; Miss Dorothy M. Richardson, pursuing her tiring and unrewarding method in *Deadlock*; and Mrs. Beatrice Kean Seymour in *\*Intrusion*. A first novel, *\*Way of Revelation*, by Mr. Wilfrid Ewart, showed considerable talent, especially in its war episodes; and other works of distinction included Sir Harry Johnston's *The Man Who Did the Right Thing*, Mr. Oliver Onions' fantasy, *\*The Tower of Oblivion*, Mr. Aldous Huxley's mischievous *\*Crome Yellow*, and Mr. John Paris' *\*Kimono*. Mention should also be made of Mrs. Virginia Woolf's *\*Monday or Tuesday*. America sent us Mr. James Branch Cabell's *Jurgen*, a mediæval fantasy suppressed in the Land of Liberty for some freedom

of expression appropriate to the period. Mr. Sinclair Lewis's *\*Main Street* and Mr. Sherwood Anderson's *Poor White* afforded other reasons for believing that the earthly paradise is not accessible merely by an Atlantic crossing. Some excellent examples of the short story formed Miss Willa Cather's *Youth and the Bright Medusa*. In France the Goncourt prize for 1921 was awarded to a negro, M. René Maran, for his *Batouala*. M. Marcel Proust added the volumes of *Le Côté de Guermantes II*, *Sodome et Gomorrhe I* to his colossal *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, which will now far exceed the limits originally planned.

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Of the above books the following have been deemed suitable for special notice:—

#### GENERAL LITERATURE.

**Modern Democracies**, by Viscount Bryce, two volumes (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). Shortly before the outbreak of war Lord Bryce had completed a series of visits to France, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Spanish America, Australia, and New Zealand, with the object of making a comparative study of popular Governments in their actual working. He proposed to consider, not contemporary politics, but the frame of government in each instance, its virtues, and the abuses manifest or possible to which it was liable; and these volumes aim at giving the facts alone, in order that future discussion and opinion may have the solid basis Lord Bryce found lacking in past controversy. The country in which the author has himself held political office is naturally excluded from a survey of which the impartiality must be above suspicion. The first volume opens with the considerations applicable to government in general, and goes on to describe the republics of antiquity, dealing with the Athenian State in a manner that should be the model for all educational works involving some explanation of its institutions. The illuminating chapter on the Spanish-American Republics should correct many idle notions of their instability and inefficiency. The central government and local government of France, judicial and civil administration, public life, and the effects of democracy in that country are carefully studied. It is, perhaps, in the institutions of Switzerland that Lord Bryce finds European political life at its highest; he treats them in detail, with open admiration. An examination of Canadian government, public opinion, and politics concludes the first volume. In the important chapters concerning the United States the author considers the beginnings of democracy in North America, the State, Local, and Federal constitutions, the party system (so much of a mystery to English people), the actual working of the National and State Governments, and of the latter independently, judicial and civil administration, public opinion, and recent movements for reform. Here, as elsewhere, he is outspoken on the machinations of the money power and the influence of the Press; and the United States is known to listen with no ordinary respect to the comments of Lord Bryce. On the younger nations of Australia and New Zealand, where democracy has made so many striking experiments, his

observations are equally valuable. The second volume closes with an examination of democratic institutions, based on this masterly survey, with remarks on the phenomena they have in common, and with reflections on the present and future of democratic government in the light of past developments and present tendencies. Lord Bryce's scholarly, fluent, and agreeable style holds the reader's attention as surely as does the importance of his matter, and the work is certain to be the standard treatise on its subject for a long time to come. Unquestionably "Modern Democracies" was one of the great books of the year.

**Queen Victoria**, by Lytton Strachey (Chatto & Windus). The wits of our day are inclined to use at the expense of the Victorian era the intellectual freedom it won for them, and there were those who expected Mr. Strachey to deal even less mercifully with the subject of this work than he had already dealt with less eminent Victorians. If they expected an assault on a monarch who stiffly symbolised an epoch, what they received was a sympathetic portrait of a woman who had to school herself to be a Queen. In the first place the degenerates and debauchees sketched in Mr. Strachey's section on "Antecedents" give us sufficient reason to be thankful that the Crown fell to none of them, but to Victoria. The author lets glimpses of a bright ingenuous character show through the chronicle of her austere girlhood, and notes early signs of the self-will that ripened into such authority. Then the young Queen falls under an influence far different from that of the rigid Baroness Lehzen; the charm of the ageing Lord Melbourne exerts its empery, and Melbourne himself is captive to the combination of girlhood and queenliness. The passages in which the author lingers over the relations of Victoria and her "dear Lord M." are of singular delicacy and intimacy, veracious yet subtly romantic. "Marriage" is the section that follows. Mr. Strachey's portrait of the Prince Consort is bold and convincing, and the character and performance of Albert receive a prominence too long denied them. We are shown how scrupulously the pupil of Stockmar obeyed the teachings and regular promptings of his master. The Prince Consort won the limitless devotion of the Queen and had no timorous notion of his own position in the scheme of things; from the reorganisation of the royal household on the approved Teutonic lines he was not long in proceeding to deal with English public affairs on similar principles. Palmerston, backed by a vast popularity, long withstood him, but Albert had the Crown on his side and honours were fairly even. In fact Mr. Strachey suggests that, had Albert lived, he might have acquired such authority as to allow him to come near converting England "into a State as exactly organised, as elaborately trained, as efficiently equipped, and as autocratically controlled, as Prussia herself." Instead, Mr. Strachey's "Widowhood" has to show Victoria struggling to carry on her husband's work and apply his ideals, her labours and seclusion bringing her nothing but unpopularity. The elements of the change from this position to the popularity which crowned her later years are analysed with rare insight. Her relations with Gladstone and Beaconsfield are the subject of another section. However cynically Disraeli carried out his work of restoring the Queen to the foreground of public life, investing her and her throne with a new prestige as the embodiment of prosperity and Empire, he

did her a great service. Mr. Strachey concludes with a few pages on the Queen in her old age and takes leave of her in a passage of real tenderness and imaginative beauty. His work deserves its immediate recognition as a masterpiece of biography; it was the book that received most attention during the year.

**Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury**, by Lady Gwendolen Cecil, Vols. I. and II. (Hodder & Stoughton). In the first two of the four volumes in which she has written the life of her illustrious father, Lady Gwendolen Cecil does not trace his career beyond 1880 and the beginning of his leadership of the Conservative Party. The main political interest of the book will therefore lie in the volumes yet to be issued, but in the picture now before us of Lord Salisbury's schooldays, his early journalism, his special fortune as a son and as a husband, his inner life and private interests, and his relations with Disraeli (rich in contemporary parallels), there is work of the rarest biographical skill, such as can more than bear the inevitable comparison with that of Lord Morley and Mr. Winston Churchill. Lady Gwendolen Cecil's writing has a subtle and sympathetic quality which many a novelist of reputation might envy; her sense of humour and situation is an unfailling refreshment; and the information at her disposal combines with these unusual gifts to make even the oft-told story of the Congress of Berlin vivid with personal interest and illuminative detail. The legend of Lord Salisbury's absence, obtuseness, or indifference persists, as the suggestion of a vaguely benevolent pachyderm survives in the Tenniel cartoons. But the reader of these volumes will feel that in that cloud Lord Salisbury's personality, keenly sensitive but stubbornly independent, even in boyhood, deliberately shrouded itself from some of the manifold annoyances of public life. The correspondence in this work, like many an incident it records, reveals a statesman who could see all and say very little, who took the measure of Bismarck by letting Bismarck underrate him, and whose "unproclaimed and undetected irony" was one of the most precious of his assets.

**Life of the First Marquess of Ripon**, by Lucien Wolf, two volumes (John Murray). Lord Ripon's career was worthy of the commemoration it here receives. Few statesmen have had so lengthy and varied an experience of high office, and still fewer have shown such industry and capacity in every sphere. Lord Ripon received an unorthodox education at home, and most of what he learnt was the fruit of his own undirected but unhampered reading. A short experience of the revolutionary Europe of 1848 brought him into sympathy with the Christian Socialist movement and the ideals of Hughes and Maurice. The latter found Ripon's views somewhat too advanced, but Hughes remained his warm friend until the social division over the Home Rule question. The Radical principles which Ripon held at the beginning of his Parliamentary career were modified in later life, and he eventually held Cabinet rank under six Liberal Prime Ministers, as Secretary of State for War, President of the Council, Secretary of State for India, First Lord of the Admiralty (in which office he defended the Navy against the rash economy of his leaders), Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Privy Seal. His conversion to Roman Catholicism at the age of forty-



seven roused no little indignation among the public, then excited over the Papal claims, and some dismay among his colleagues. Gladstone's characteristic letters on this step are of peculiar interest, and in this connexion it is noteworthy that Ripon's retirement in 1908, on the pretext of ill-health, was really due to the dispute about the Eucharistic Procession which the Roman Catholic Church purposed holding in Westminster that year. Correspondence hitherto unpublished sheds valuable light on the period when Liberals were at odds as to their leader in succession to Gladstone. Every one seems to have discussed the question with Ripon, who eventually developed a warm allegiance to Campbell-Bannerman, confirmed by their common opposition to the Boer War, and ended his political career as leader of the House of Lords under that Premier. In Mr. Wolf's eyes, Lord Ripon's claim to greatness rests upon the Indian reforms of his Viceroyalty of 1880-84. While Lord Ripon perhaps shares with others the credit for his Indian schemes, his fine character and honourable career amply entitle him to the gratitude of his countrymen, and Mr. Wolf has raised to his memory a fitting monument.

**The Tragedy of Lord Kitchener**, by Lord Esher (John Murray), was not the tragedy of the *Hampshire*. In the author's view it was the tragedy of a man who had achieved great things and was credited with gigantic powers, brought when past his prime to a task beyond the strength of any one man, by which he found himself overwhelmed. It was the tragedy of Lord Kitchener's inability to live up to the legend which had gathered about him. Lord Esher is not at a loss to find reasons why he should have failed which do the great Field-Marshal no apparent injustice. Time had dealt with him as with all mortals, and long experience of practical dictatorship had cost him some virtues as a colleague. His past successes had been based on long and detailed preparation, and he found himself confronted with the need for colossal improvisations. The administrative work alone was crushing, and his nature and experience did not fit him for working with bodies of politicians, who sought in him the kind of genius which had never been his and failed to employ the qualities he did possess. There were flashes of the Kitchener of legend, as when he prophesied the length of the war and foresaw the number of divisions it would require, when he freed the hands of the British Red Cross and transformed the medical service with a few words, and when he spoke at the Calais Conference. Against these the author alleges that mistaken loyalty to his subordinates which brought about the shells scandal, his retention of French against his better judgment, his hesitation over the use of the Territorials and over conscription, and his responsibility as regards the Dardanelles and Salonika expeditions. Lord Esher's delineation of his central character roused considerable controversy, though it is evident that he has not attempted to belittle Lord Kitchener, but has aimed at doing him the justice of pointing out how far what was demanded of him transcended what should have been expected. To the man "who stamped with his foot upon the ground, and armies rose," due honour is paid. Lord Esher's sketches of the other conspicuous figures of the time add to the historical interest of his work.

**From Private to Field-Marshal**, by Sir William Robertson, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., F.C.V.O., D.S.O. (Constable & Co., Ltd.). Sir William here gives his own story of a career unique in the history of the British Army with almost the sobriety of an impersonal report, and even when he touches on those questions of the conduct of the Great War on which his attitude cost him much sacrifice, his sense of injury does not overcome his austere sense of discipline. The author's humour often sheds a refreshing beam, but the qualities of the book as a whole are solid rather than engaging. He has aimed at telling his life-story from the day in 1877 when he took the Queen's shilling at Worcester, when he was three months under age, to the relinquishment of his post as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Occupation in Germany. Sir William does not say why he enlisted, but his account of Army life as he first knew it amply explains why he came near deserting. For instance, he spent three weeks in the guard-room (not beyond reform even to-day) for a single "crime," a mere inadvertence. Nevertheless, he made his way through the non-commissioned ranks, and in 1884 was given the chance of a commission which he had to refuse, as he could not afford it. Three years later he accepted, this consideration being of less importance in India, whither he was posted. There his strength of character held out against the endless embarrassments of having to deny himself even the most commonplace diversions of his fellow-officers. Work was his recreation, and the mastery of five Eastern languages thus acquired won him a Staff appointment. It is perhaps in his reminiscences of Indian life and scenery that Sir William most warms to his subject. In 1895 he gained his D.S.O. in the Chitral campaign, in which he was severely wounded, and a little later his own studies qualified him to enter the Staff College of which he was to become Commandant, both appointments being without precedent. He graduated in 1898 and left the War Office for Headquarters Staff in South Africa, where he added to his distinctions and learned many lessons. The responsibilities of the Aldershot Command occupied him until 1910, when he began his three years' reign as Commandant of the Staff College. In this post, as in his duties as Director of Military Training at the War Office, he faced the likelihood of a war with Germany, and foresaw its probable initial manœuvres. He crowned invaluable services in organisation during the Great War by acting as Chief of the Imperial General Staff from 1915 to 1918, and special interest attaches to his account of his relations with Kitchener over the conditions on which he accepted the appointment. The disagreement with Mr. Lloyd George which brought about Sir William's supersession naturally occupies some space, but Sir William maintains the rightness of his own point of view without resentment, though he obviously regards the politicians as having sought their own aggrandisement regardless of their military advisers. If he was a Westerner, he did much to bring about victory in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

**The Salvaging of Civilisation**, by H. G. Wells (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Civilisation is in danger of committing suicide, says Mr. Wells, who brings all his indisputable force and brilliance to his exposition of the sources of this danger and his plan for the rescue of the world. No fault

can be found with Mr. Wells's statement of the facts. The Great War did, as he says, reveal an unsuspected accumulation of destructive forces and a profound incapacity to deal with and restrain them, and war has indeed become "a terror and a threat to the entire species." Mr. Wells thinks we can put no trust in the authority of the League of Nations, and returns to that project of a World State which has been stated or implied so often in his works. It is to be brought about almost by an act of faith on the part of the component powers, and the whole world is to school itself on a new and perfected system until the spirit of patriotism is enlarged beyond the confines of any single nation. The new education will be founded on the scriptures of the World State contained in the great Bible of Civilisation, comprising world history, selections from the world's literature, and prophecies on a sound scientific basis. The college, the newspaper, and the book will cease to be agencies for the darkening of counsel and the strengthening of human prejudices, and become the organs of enlightenment and brotherhood among men. Mr. Wells is confident that with a little less mistrust and a little more knowledge the World State could be formed to save civilisation from confusion and disaster. His sincerity and critical power cannot be gainsaid, but his constructive policy suffers from being romantic and grandiose. That he is no friend of hasty subversive policies is evident enough, and he uses his observations in Russia to emphasise the evil of power unaccompanied by knowledge.

**Our Social Heritage**, by Graham Wallas (Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), bears a title which is apparently meant to include all that we have gained and have become, "all we have and are," as a result of our organisation in such societies as the civilised communities of the modern world. The author gives a disturbing picture of London after a cataclysm depriving us of this heritage, to show why and how humanity would perish if it were lost. The chapter on the mental training which is to fit the citizen to use and keep it is vigorous and eloquent, and there was never more need of such an indication of the gulf between mental training and memorising. In considering the difficulties which arise when men trained and banded in a common calling set the welfare of their group above that of the community, Mr. Wallas is led to animadversions on the methods and mentality of the legal profession, from which he may be suspected of feeding fat some ancient grudge against lawyers. Mr. Wallas's work never lacks lively phrasing, contemporary instances, and general humanism. It is only on the ancient problem of the liberty of the individual that one finds him approaching the card-index, brass-inscribed, and expert-ridden system of society. No system which aims only at the production of the impeccably docile social unit should be mistaken for liberty.

**The Fighting at Jutland**, edited by H. W. Fawcett, R.N., and G. W. W. Hooper, R.N. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.), gives the first-hand narratives of forty-five British officers and men who took part in the great battle. They were written in most cases soon after the action or from notes made during the fight, each man giving what he saw from his own particular angle, and have been arranged in practically the order of the events they describe. Controversial matters, the conduct of the battle,

and the extent to which it was a victory, are excluded. Each of the three sections of the book deals with one phase of the action. Phase I. covers the Battle Cruiser action between 3.50 P.M. and 5.50 P.M. on May 31, 1916, and contains the tragic stories of the loss of the *Indefatigable* and the *Queen Mary*, and such minor disasters as the cordite fire in Q turret of the *Lion*. Phase II. is the Battle Fleet action from about 6.0 P.M. to 9.0 P.M., opening with the thrilling incidents at "Windy Corner" and relating the dramatic destruction of the *Defence*, the disablement of the *Warrior*, and the loss of the *Invincible*. The night action described in Phase III. includes the remarkable adventures of the 4th Destroyer Flotilla led by the hapless *Tipperary*, the collision of the *Broke* and the *Sparrowhawk*, the escapes of the latter as she lay minus bows and stern, and the return of the fleet to harbour at dawn on June 1. The work concludes with the King's Message to the Grand Fleet and four appendices giving the British casualties, an explanation of the course of the battle, a chronology of its principal events from the Jutland Despatches, checked by the accounts of Jellicoe and von Scheer, and a summary of the strength and losses of the two fleets. There are forty-five photographs of ships before and during the battle, and of the damage they underwent. Especially striking is that of "the mushroom-shaped cloud of smoke about 600 to 800 feet high" in which the *Queen Mary* vanished with 1,266 men. There are also excellent plans and numerous sketches by a naval officer. It is curious to realise how little the men actually fighting the battle can see of the enemy, and how little they know of the fortunes of other vessels and even of their own. No other record of sea fighting can give the reader such a vision of its actualities or reveal to him so fully the magnificent conduct of the men who at Jutland held in their hands the safety of the nation and the Empire.

**Naval Operations, Vol. II.**, by Sir Julian S. Corbett (Longmans, Green & Co.). Sir Julian Corbett's work forms part of the Official History of the Great War, but the Admiralty does not accept responsibility "for his reading or presentation of the facts" in the official documents to which he has had access, and the second volume shows this disclaimer to be by no means superfluous. This volume covers the period from November, 1914, to the second battle of Krithia, Lord Fisher's resignation, and the formation of the Coalition Government in May, 1915. (The first volume was noticed in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1920, p. 28.) Perhaps it will lay the correct emphasis upon what the author regards as the chief factor in the situation, to quote his narrative as that of "the progression of events which had begun with the failure to intercept the *Goeben*" and "the tragedy which had its origin in what seemed at the time so small a thing." Otherwise the most evil influence on our naval policy appears to have been an unworthy fear of a highly improbable invasion. Such glimpses as the reader obtains of Lord Fisher's great plan for an offensive against the enemy's North Sea ports, which decided our whole building programme, and roused huge enthusiasm in all who helped to further it, increase the tragedy of the events which wrecked when it was so near realisation. Sir Julian begins with the redistribution of our forces in home waters on the old principle of meeting any invader at sea, the formation of auxiliaries

and patrol areas against the developing submarine attack on army communications and the Grand Fleet base, and describes the bombardments on the Belgian coast both to reduce that menace and to relieve pressure on the French. Chapter II. gives a valuable account of von Ingenohl's raid on the east coast, and reveals how, in spite of our admirable dispositions and correct manœuvres, the chances of violent weather, a notable misunderstanding of one signal from the *Lion*, and the ill-luck of Keyes's submarines, allowed him to escape unpunished. We learn that the Germans mourned their lost opportunity of tackling two detached squadrons with a superior force. The chapter closes with a welcome tribute to the heroism of the men who cleared up the minefield which was the most disturbing achievement of the raiding vessels. Chapter III. is of great historical importance, as it deals with the inception of the Dardanelles expedition, which is treated fully and at great length in this volume. The fine Dogger Bank action is the subject of the next chapter, and Sir Julian makes it a gallant story. No less interesting is the account (in Chapter XIV.) of the naval part of our African campaigns, the blockade of the *Königsberg*, and the pursuit of the German vessels still at large, including the *Karlsruhe*, not yet known to be lost. The chase of the *Dresden* outdoes fiction, and the author makes it clear that her regular violations of Chilean neutrality justified our own action in destroying her in Chilean waters. We return to home waters and stories of "the deliberate and organised lawlessness" of the submarine campaign, the devices and exploits which countered it, the menace to the Grand Fleet, the end of Weddigen, and the hazards and endurances of our own submarines in the Bight and the Baltic. Sir Julian Corbett's volume, worthy in every respect of the Service whose deeds it records, comes to a close with the story of the resignation of Lord Fisher. Three appendices give the organisation and composition of our fleets at home and abroad, and there is a useful index. There are twelve plans in the body of the work and five more in the pockets of the covers.

**Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury**, by Charles T. Gatty, two volumes (Cassell & Co., Ltd.). Mr. Gatty's exploration of the documents at Eaton Hall has enabled him to compile a work remarkable alike in its topographical and human interest and in the importance of the considerations to which it gives rise. He has produced an entirely revised and authoritative version of how the great manor, once the fields and marshes by the streams of Tyborne and Westborne, and now Mayfair, Belgravia, and Pimlico, came into the hands of the Grosvenor family and gave them the vast revenues they still enjoy. The estate was once part of the Manor of Eia, which belonged to the Abbey of Westminster until the Dissolution under Henry VIII., who disposed of portions of it as he thought fit. In the reign of James I. the Manor of Ebury, 1,090 acres in extent, became the property of the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, who sold it in 1626 after his imprisonment for corruption. Hugh Awdeley, of ill repute, perhaps unmerited, as a miser and usurer, bought it for 9,400*l.* and left it to his niece's sons, Alexander and Thomas Davies. Alexander bought out his brother and bequeathed the estate, with encumbrances certain to disappear, to his daughter Mary, aged seven months—that Mary who has long been represented

as a dairyman's beautiful daughter who won the heart of Sir Thomas Grosvenor. Though even her beauty is an unfounded legend, the history Mr. Gatty discloses is more interesting than the pleasant old fiction. After the fashion of the times, Mary's mother exhibited her as an heiress, and set her in the marriage-market at the age of eight, when the sum of 5,000*l.* won her as the future bride of the ten-year-old son of Lord Berkeley of Stratton. Lord Berkeley failed to provide an adequate settlement, and the match fell through. Sir Thomas Grosvenor, already a rich landowner, aged twenty, became Mary's husband on the same terms in 1677, when she was twelve, allowing her to stay with her mother until she was fifteen; and thus the Ebury estate came to the Grosvenors. In 1700 Mary was left a widow with a great fortune and three sons. Her life was unhappy, a change of religion had increased its difficulties, and she was mentally deranged. She lived on until 1730, her sons holding the baronetcy in turn, the youngest becoming the ancestor of the present Duke of Westminster. It was the sons who really began the development of the Grosvenor estate. Mr. Gatty has written at his leisure, introducing much matter that may seem extraneous, although his excursions down the by-ways of his story usually result in some contribution to its interpretation or pictorial detail. The work is nobly furnished with maps and illustrations.

**Alone**, by Norman Douglas (Chapman & Hall, Ltd.). As his wanderings took place during war-time, Mr. Douglas takes rather astonishing pains to show how his attempts to put his gifts at his country's service were frustrated by the various Government departments. This introduction certainly proves that he follows his expressed principle of not forgiving his enemy without having hit him back. Mr. Douglas fled into Italy from a Riviera changed for the worse beyond the recognition of J. A. Symonds, left reluctantly the Paradise he found at Levanto for Siena and Pisa, and his own summary of his other journeys is "nine times in Rome, twice in Florence and Viareggio and Olevano and Anticoli and Alatri and Licenza and Soriano, five times at Valmontone, thrice at Orvinio." He describes these papers most fittingly as "travel pages that register nothing but the cross-currents of a mind which tries to see things as they are," and these cross-currents of fancy, prejudice, scholarship, and opulent invective are of more importance to him and to his reader than the incidents of travel. The author is anything but Alone; he elects his friends among the country folk and makes peasant boys his companions; and he peoples his pages with individuals and eccentrics, known or imagined, the predatory O—, M. M., the "sultry and self-centred" Mrs. Nichol, divers landladies, and Ouida. An old book on "Nooks and By-ways of Italy" gives him the constant and congenial society of its author, Craufurd Tait Ramage, LL.D., whom he restores to life, complete with umbrella. The reader who follows Mr. Douglas's digressions into mineralogy, afforestation, literary criticism, natural history, expletives, archæology, dermatology, cookery, and legal injunctions, will think of Samuel Butler and recognise an even more tricky and independent spirit. The liveliness and unconventionality of the book pervades even the index.

**An Administrator in the Making: James Spumarez Mann, 1893-1920**, edited by his father (Longmans, Green & Co.). After the few pages describing his childhood and Dulwich schooldays, Mann's too brief career is told almost entirely in his own unpretentious, vivid, and humorous letters. His Oxford days, as a Balliol scholar allowed him to show his versatility in study, athletics, and music, and he worked devotedly for the Balliol Boys' Club, and was a member of the O.T.C. In August, 1914, he took a commission, and went to France in the following June. A year later a severe leg wound incapacitated him for further service in the line, and, after convalescence in his beloved Oxford, he began in May his successful work with a Cadet Training Battalion at Cambridge. The lapse of months in England found him sensitive to the deterioration of the ideals with which the country entered the war, and thinking of "a political job in Persia," but in August, 1917, he returned to France to do valuable work as a counter-battery Intelligence Officer. His descriptions of this work, of incidental expeditions in the fighting zone, of the German break-through in 1918, and of educational efforts after the Armistice (all besprinkled with comments on Henry James or matters musical) are of unflinching interest. His activities brought him mention in despatches and the Croix de Guerre. After demobilisation he shared his time at Oxford between the Boys' Club and the study of Arabic, and in July, 1919, he went off to serve under the British Administration in Mesopotamia, soon to find himself Assistant Political Officer in charge of a district "about the size of Oxfordshire." His daily round, his relations with the Arabs, the amazingly diverse questions he had to settle, the sinful city of Najah, and his longing for some one with whom to share the humours of life in Umm al Ba'rur, make up the delightful chronicles he sent to his family and friends. Experience of the virtues and the necessity of firm and just government modified his early sentimental nationalism, and his grasp of the position in Mesopotamia attracted official attention and praise. His district was a buffer between two violently disaffected areas, and unrest inevitably spread. His personal influence protracted the negotiations with the sheiks in revolt, but the British officers were besieged in Kufa, and on July 22, 1920, Mann fell a victim to a sniper. Appreciations by University friends, Commanding Officers, and administrative superiors are given, and an appendix of specimens of Mann's verse and prose concludes the volume, which is well illustrated with photographs. Happy is the land whose young men can hold authority, in the words of Professor Gilbert Murray, with such "disinterested heroism, inspired and indefatigable kindness."

**Schwarzrotgold. Die politische Geschichte des Bürgertums seit 1815**, by Robert Riemann (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Leipzig), is an eminently readable book on the development of democratic forces, mainly in Germany. It is especially worthy of note that the author takes a view of German history in the nineteenth century which has been current out of Germany both before and during the war. Democracy was beginning to stir after 1815; despite Metternich and the system for which he stood, democratic forces were growing apace until in 1848 they showed that they were a power to be reckoned with. Had

the road been clear, Germany might have developed into a democratic State sooner. But the road was not clear: Bismarck stood in the way. This man of blood and iron was strong enough to strike terror into the heart of Democracy, which he filled with a spirit of servility, and to deflect the course of German history. Germany became a military State, a structure based on force, and force only, of which Bismarck was the crafty architect. Herr Riemann clearly narrates the trend of events to prove his thesis; he shows how Bismarck shrank from no step, whether right or wrong, if only it served his purpose. The notorious Ems telegram is a case in point; Herr Riemann asserts that it was a forgery. He traces Bismarckian policy in the struggle with the Catholics and the Socialists, shows how reaction was firmly established in the saddle in Prussia, and how William II. was the incompetent successor of Bismarck. The disappearance of the ex-Kaiser from the political Stage gave Democracy a new chance, and Herr Riemann maintains that the Germany of the future will be democratic and progressive to a high degree. Herr Riemann has written an interesting book full of ideas.

**A History of the Peace Conference in Paris**, edited by H. W. V. Temperley, five volumes (Henry Frowde and Hodder & Stoughton). These five volumes contain a permanent and comprehensive record of every question, large or small, which has arisen out of the settlement of the New Europe. The story is told in a scholarly, impartial, and detached way, and its thoroughness does credit to the editor of the monumental work. The first three volumes deal with the German Peace Treaty in all its aspects—what led up to the war, the course of the war, the Armistice, the Peace Conference, and the Treaty itself, which is printed in full and analysed down to the minutest detail. The last two volumes deal in the same exhaustive fashion with the other Peace Treaties—the Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian. For those who desire to understand the problems arising out of the Treaties, the work will be indispensable; there are many questions which are not yet settled, as, for instance, the position of Fiume or that of Albania, the origins of which are set forth in these volumes with commendable clearness; there are others again which will face Europe for the next generation, as, for instance, that of the Ruhr, about which students of politics will find authoritative information in these volumes. The best compliment we can pay the work is to say that the record it contains is a fitting supplement to that published in the *ANNUAL REGISTER* for the years 1918-20. It only remains to add that an abundance of maps and documents accompany the volumes.

**The Peace Negotiations**, a personal narrative, by Robert Lansing (Constable & Co., Ltd.). The more light that is thrown on the inner chambers wherein were evolved the principles on which the present European settlement is based, the better. Mr. Keynes provided the world with a general searchlight on the situation; Mr. Lansing's book illumines one special problem—the position of the American delegation at Paris, which appears not to have been a happy family. Mr. Lansing himself was in disagreement with President Wilson on several fundamental points, the chief of which was Mr. Wilson's presence in Europe. Mr. Lansing



objected to secret diplomacy, to the system of mandates, and to the League of Nations itself. The mandate system, we learn, was the product of the creative mind of General Smuts; and Mr. Lansing suggests that the appeal of the suggestion was that while in reality it handed over the German possessions to the victorious Powers, the position was so cloaked with pretence that the Allies obtained the German Colonies for nothing, that is to say, without the loss of any of their claims for indemnity. Mr. Lansing also unsparingly lays bare the lack of any American programme at Paris and his objections to a Treaty of Defence with France. The importance of the position occupied by Mr. Lansing lends significance to his book; and those whose object it may be to form for themselves a true evaluation of the Paris Conference and its results will not be able to pass by this personal narrative of the man who at that time was not only a member of the American Delegation in Paris, but also the American Secretary of State.

**An Onlooker in France, 1917-1919**, by Sir William Orpen, R.A. (Williams & Norgate). When an author prefaces his volume by the following sentence, "This book must not be considered as a serious work on life in France behind the lines," criticism is at once disarmed. Indeed, throughout Sir William Orpen's book the reader feels that here is a record not of actual ugly facts or beautiful incidents, but a general impression of war as the "Onlooker" saw it during its final phase, transfigured and gladdened by the universal atmosphere of camaraderie common to officer and man alike during those strenuous years 1917-19. As such, quite apart from the pictures, the text will have an abiding value, for it has captured that rare spirit which, animating all, led to final victory, and in which many, nay nearly all, the volumes dealing with these events are sadly deficient. Snapshots of big names and bigger men follow one another with delightful rapidity, and the word pictures are no less interesting than those of the brush. This holds good, too, of the politicians, for whom Sir William has almost as great a contempt as he has admiration for the soldiers. The former he met under exceptionally favourable conditions as the official painter for the Peace Conference and its deliberations.

Of the reproductions it is difficult to speak too highly. For the stay-at-home who had little chance of obtaining a true impression of men and things as they actually were "over there," this book is a treasure. Whether it be the effect of search-lights on the clouds, as in "Changing Billets," or a charming little grotesque such as "The official entry of the Kaiser," or yet the dainty idyll, "Adam and Eve at Peronne," all and each hold fast a picture that impresses itself on the mind. The versatility with which the characters and characteristics of his sitters are expressed holds the reader so entranced that his only regret in laying down the book will be at not having seen the originals from which these black and white illustrations are so splendidly reproduced.

**British Mammals**, written and illustrated by A. Thorburn, F.Z.S., Vol. II. (Longmans, Green & Co.). With this volume Mr. Thorburn brings his gigantic task of presenting the whole of the British Mammals in life-like attitudes and natural surroundings to a triumphant close. The high praise extended to Vol. I. in the ANNUAL REGISTER for 1920

(see p. 22) is fully merited by its successor, all the more so as nine plates out of twenty-five must of necessity deal with a most ungrateful subject: the members of the order cetacea. The remainder of the rodents as typified by the harvest, wood, and house mouse, the voles, rats, and hares offer fair compensation, however; for Mr. Thorburn's brush is at its happiest when his sitters are of the smallest size. Where all is of such excellence it is almost captious to criticise, but the fact remains that Mr. Thorburn has not succeeded 'in transmitting the grace of the red deer with as much animation as the beady eye of the Orkney vole intent on its succulent blade of grass. The interest of the letterpress is well maintained, and the volume includes an index to the work as a whole.

**Goethe: Geschichte Eines Menschen**, three volumes, and **Bismarck**, both by Emil Ludwig (J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger). Emil Ludwig believes that all great men are quarry for biographers, dramatists, and analysts (including psycho-analysts). He himself belongs to the third category, and his two works are therefore not biographies. They are rather attempts to penetrate the soul of his heroes, to account for their actions by reference to the motives in their hearts. Both works are thus psychological studies, and both, it may be said at once, are unusual in character. The study of Goethe is brilliantly clever; the author uses Goethe's writings for fathoming the inner growth of that great man's genius. Those who are acquainted with Emil Ludwig's style and manner will agree that in all probability he was the man best qualified for such a task. Certainly the result is attractive. The pages of these three volumes just sparkle; the method and the result alike please the reader as he studies picture after picture of the soul-growth of the great eighteenth-century humanist in a series of epochs, from his childhood to his old age. It is not too much to say that Emil Ludwig's work will form a necessary supplement to even the best ordinary biography of Goethe; and the same is true of his little book on Bismarck. In Ludwig's opinion, not Bismarck but his incompetent successors, who did not understand his aims, are to blame for the catastrophe which has overtaken Germany. Bismarck, this analyst holds, was no Imperialist, no extremist, no man of iron. Rather he was a great political architect, and he builded so well that despite earthquake and storms his structure still holds together. Perhaps Emil Ludwig is something too much of a hero-worshipper. In the case of Goethe, his worship may be well founded; in the case of Bismarck he will not carry all the world with him. But his devotion will be followed with interest, for in both cases it is genially expressed.

**The Pageant of England, 1900-1920**, by J. R. Raynes (The Swarthmore Press, Ltd.). Those whose curiosity may lead them to inquire into the character of the age which preceded our own Georgian will find abundant material in Mr. Raynes' pages to form a lively impression. Even those who themselves faintly recall those days will be glad of the mirror of them held up by Mr. Raynes. His is a simple story simply told. He has taken the occurrences of the first two decades of the twentieth century and has woven them into an eminently readable narrative, spiced with personal impressions and many stories which will be new to his readers.

## FICTION.

**Main Street**, by Sinclair Lewis (Hodder & Stoughton), had in the United States an enormous success, to which the self-critical reaction from a recent debauch of "100 per cent. Americanism" undoubtedly contributed. Carol Kennicott's struggle to bring some intellectual breadth and brightness, of which her education has given her glimpses, into the small, sordid Minnesota township of Gopher Prairie, where her husband has his home and medical practice, is defeated by the self-satisfaction and jealousy of its inhabitants. To them their own daily business overreachings, stereotyped social enjoyments, and blind local patriotism represent civilisation at its highest, the envy of the world and a special reproach to a sinful Europe. The war allows Carol to escape to Washington, but in the end she returns with her husband to Gopher Prairie. The book is such an indictment of the America outside the big cities as would be furiously resented from a foreigner, but the unsparring sardonic realism in the description of Gopher Prairie and its people, including Carol herself, is utterly convincing.

**Joanna Godden**, by Sheila Kaye-Smith (Cassell). Joanna's thriving farm on the marshes near Rye, and her affection for her sister, do not give her what her rich womanhood demands of life. She lost her lover, Martin Trevor, just before their marriage, and now she is nearing middle age, and feels that life has cheated her. She goes to spend a short time at Marlingate, and there gives herself to a chance-met Cockney clerk, Bertie Hill. It is for her child's sake, she says, that she refuses to marry its father, and the motherhood she has longed for comes to her at the price of all else she has. But hers is hardly a tragedy, for her nature is strong enough to win itself happiness and perhaps greatness elsewhere. Miss Kaye-Smith's rural scenes show all her wonted skill, and in Joanna she has found perhaps the most memorable of her characters.

**Mr. Waddington of Wyck**, by May Sinclair (Cassell). The self-dramatisation and impulsiveness of this egoist of fifty years and considerable possessions fit neither his own age nor the one he lives in, and Mr. Waddington provides much amusement for the sophisticated people about him, including his own wife and son. He is equally unlucky as an author, a local politician, and a philanderer, and in the end he returns to his old mother, to be the centre of her cosmos.

**Memoirs of a Midget**, by Walter de la Mare (Collins). Here we look at the huge, gross, and bewildering world through the observant eyes of the tiny Miss M., the midget daughter of ordinary human parents. She tells the story of her early home at Lyndsey, the death of her parents, her life at Beechwood with the devoted landlady, Mrs. Bowater, and her adoration of the elusive, cruel, Fanny Bowater. She dreams away her days, and at midnight holds communion with the stars in the deserted garden of Wanderslore, where she meets the strange Mr. Anon, almost her mate in stature, who expends on her his tragic passion. Miss M. has a taste of luxury as a plaything and social asset to the wealthy Mrs. Monnerie, in whose house she earns the hatred of Fanny, and has a later experience on show in a gipsy's booth at a fair. With the curious episode

there on the reappearance of Mr. Anon, the story ends. Miss M. returns to Lyndsey, with Mrs. Bowater as her housekeeper, until her mysterious disappearance as recorded in the introduction. This book baffles any attempt at a summary, and its magic lies in the "furious fancies" whereof the Midget often calls and proves herself commander.

**The Thirteen Travellers**, by Hugh Walpole (Hutchinson); **The Young Enchanted**, by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan). The first of these books is a collection of magazine stories hung on the slender thread of the effects of the Great War on the people inhabiting a single block of flats, and the author has probably no illusions as to its merits. The second book claims to be a romantic story, as the author obtrudes himself somewhat too frequently to maintain and explain. It introduces from his other books two members of the Trenchard family and Peter Westcott, the hero of "Fortitude." The love affairs of Henry Trenchard and his sister Millicent are quite inconclusive, and the ablest part of the book is that which describes the return and death of Clare, the wife of Peter Westcott, who himself cherishes an undeclared love for Millicent. The story is, presumably, to have a sequel, as the end of the book simply interrupts the love affairs of Henry and Peter in mid-course, though Millicent has discovered the unworthiness of her own sweetheart and discarded him. Mr. Walpole's new book introduces some caricatures of contemporaries and several vulgarisms which seem to have strayed into it from outside, and they do not add to the attractions of a rather unsuccessful piece of work.

**Adam and Caroline**, by Conal O'Riordan (Collins). In this sequel to "Adam of Dublin" the author shows the veracity and humour that made the first story so delightful. Adam is in the adolescent stage, and is still in the sage guardianship of Stephen Macarthy. His education by the priests comes to an end after the reappearance of the evil Father Tudor. Caroline Brady, long looked for, enters Adam's life again, and their passion is brief and tragic; but Adam is young. His story is to be continued in "Adam and Barbara."

**Kimono**, by John Paris (Collins). Geoffrey, the heir of a British peer, marries a wealthy Japanese girl brought up in France and able to pass for a European. The young couple go to Japan in spite of warnings to avoid the country, and Geoffrey, burning with indignation after a tour of the notorious Yoshiwara quarter, learns that his wife unknowingly derives her income from its infamies. This is the beginning of a story which portrays dramatically the perils of mixed marriages, and describes the Yoshiwara system in a style that is more impressive by reason of its moderation.

**Where the Pavement Ends**, by John Russell (Thornton Butterworth), is a collection of twelve short stories which has met with remarkable success on both sides of the Atlantic. The tales have many of the qualities which won Mr. Kipling his reputation, and the style shows a similar debt. "The Lost God" seems to be founded on an unconscious recollection of Mr. Wells's "Jimmy Goggles the God." These are stories of strong men in strange predicaments on savage islands and tropic seas, where the ten commandments do not run, and "The Fourth Man" would make memorable any such collection.

**Women in Love**, by D. H. Lawrence (Secker), is the lengthy and inconsecutive story of the love affairs of Ursula and Gudrun Brangwen. The hectic passions consuming the baffling characters, and Mr. Lawrence's violently iterated, but still elusive conception of love, will not hold many readers in thrall, and the book is disappointing as a successor to "Sons and Lovers."

**Dangerous Ages**, by Rose Macaulay (Collins). At the age of forty-three Neville Bendish feels that the possession of a husband and two grown-up children does not satisfy her ambitions. Her mother, Mrs. Hilary, aged sixty-three, is a mass of prejudices and fretful jealousies. Her unmarried sister, Nan Hilary, aged thirty-three, when she thinks to find in marriage with Barry Roscoe the "roots" she is conscious of lacking, loses him to Neville's daughter, Gerda, aged twenty-one, after an unavowed but deadly contest in physical prowess and daring. Gerda then boggles at accepting the bonds of conventional matrimony. Well may Mr. Cradock, the psycho-analyst who ministers to Mrs. Hilary, say that "all ages are dangerous to all people." The only representative of the four generations who seems to be at ease with life is Grand-mamma, aged eighty-four. Miss Macaulay's brilliant novel makes a dashing foray upon the psycho-analysts, and it contains other scenes of a poignancy that demands all the relief her treasures of humour and observation can give.

**Rich Relatives**, by Compton Mackenzie (Secker), is a pleasant comedy describing the adventures of Jasmine, the orphan Italian-born daughter of an English artist and a *contadina*, who comes to England to receive—or, rather, to undergo—the protection of her father's relatives. Her ignorance of the conventions, and her resentment of avuncular despotism, lead her into indiscretions which cause her to be passed on from household to household of varying degrees of prosperity. Family intrigues add to her embarrassments until the young baronet whom she captivated at the outset of the book is allowed to come to the rescue.

**If Winter Comes**, by A. S. M. Hutchinson (Hodder & Stoughton). Mark Sabre, past thirty and unhappily mated, was in boyhood the sweetheart of Nona Tybar, who turns to him from her own detestable husband. A reconciliation between Nona and Tybar on the outbreak of war saves Mark, still fundamentally loyal to his wife, Mabel, from going abroad with Nona. Though physically unfit for soldiering, Mark enlists and is sent to France. He leaves a young girl, Effie, whose bright character has won from him a regard of which his wife cannot realise the disinterestedness, to keep Mabel company, but her treatment by Mabel compels Effie to leave the house. Mark returns, a cripple. Effie becomes the mother of a child by an unavowed father and appeals for shelter to Mabel. The persecution of the innocent Mark, which leads to divorce proceedings, the suicide of Effie, and censure upon him at the inquest, is the theme of pages painful in their emotional intensity. The guilty man is killed, and, though Mark can clear himself, he will not do so at the expense of the dead. Under the strain he breaks down, and he is only saved by the devotion of Nona, herself a widow. Behind the long winter of his fortunes is their spring. This

summary can do no justice to the high ethical quality, the power and beauty, of a book which is perhaps the year's most arresting achievement in fiction.

**Crome Yellow**, by Aldous Huxley (Chatto & Windus), is a perverse Peacockian book, and the diverting (if occasionally disconcerting) pronouncements and researches of Mr. Scogan and Henry Wimbush might well form additional chapters to Norman Douglas's "South Wind." The exploits, caprices, and conversations of the odd company gathered in the country house do not contribute to the happiness of the youthful, sensitive, irresolute Denis, but they are in themselves entertaining enough to make it regrettable that he stayed no longer.

**Intrusion**, by Beatrice Kean Seymour (Chapman & Hall), tells the story of the fastidious, bookish, Allan Suffield and the consequences of his quixotic marriage with the lovely Roberta, technically moral by reason of her temperamental disgust with the "beastlinesses" of life, but untruthful, selfish, empty, and disloyal. Life with her becomes more and more impossible to Allan, though her physical beauty always holds him against his will. A child is born prematurely and dies, and Roberta refuses to endanger her liberty again. They share a home, but go each his own way, Roberta again taking up her undesirable acquaintances, Allan finding consolation in the renewal of his old friendship with Madeleine Hervey. Roberta's beauty ensnares Dick Merrick, the *fiancé* of Caryl Suffield, and Roberta attempts to use him to provoke the divorce which Allan's conduct gives her no pretext for claiming. A motor-cycle accident unravels the whole coil. The book is cleverly written, though it is hard to believe that the characters it portrays would, in the circumstances given, take the line they do.

**Vera**, by the author of "Elizabeth and Her German Garden" (Macmillan & Co.). The character who gives her name to the book is dead when it opens, in circumstances which point at suicide. The stricken husband, Everard Wemyss, goes to Cornwall, and there encounters a girl distraught by the sudden death of her father. Lucy Entwistle sees in Wemyss, who is more than twenty years her senior, nothing but the strength and decision with which he takes charge of the situation, and he almost immediately rushes her into marriage. She is not long his wife before she realises that he is a domestic tyrant of the first order, of an almost insane self-righteousness and egotism. And the house has not been changed since Vera's death; whichever way the sensitive girl looks she is "entangled in a reminder." For taking her part, her charming Aunt Dot is banished from the house, leaving Lucy to pit her feeble forces against all that the conduct of Wemyss can do, and all that the pervasive personality of the dead wife can suggest, to make her seek the way of escape that Vera took. The character of the husband may be drawn with excessive cruelty, but the author achieves, in what for her is a new *genre*, a striking success.

**Monday or Tuesday**, by Virginia Woolf (Hogarth Press). This is a little book of studies in which, occasionally, the writer becomes so deep in the record of her own thoughts that she does not succeed in conveying any clear impression to the reader. "Monday or Tuesday," which gives the book its title, is a case in point, for it appears as a jumble of phrases

having no apparent connexion with the "lazy and indifferent" heron which begins and ends the story. Most of the other sketches have some hint at a plot, and "An Unwritten Novel," with its unexpected conclusion, will appeal to all who have speculated about fellow-travellers on a railway journey. "The String Quartet" and "A Haunted House" are two examples of style excellently suiting the theme. Throughout the book there are vivid phrases of description. In "A Haunted House" we read of "the garden, still as ever, only the book had slipped into the grass." The sketch "A Society" is somehow annoyingly reminiscent of "The Young Visitors," but the tale itself is full of amusing touches.

**Way of Revelation**, by Wilfrid Ewart (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a first novel, ambitious in length and theme. We are introduced to its principal characters, Adrian Knoyle and Rosemary Meynall, Eric Sinclair and Faith Daventry, as they go the social round just before the outbreak of war. The setting of ballroom, country house, and the rooms in which Gina Maryon assembles her disciples in decadence, soon alternates with that of trench and billet. Eric rises to great heights as a leader in the field, but is killed soon after his marriage to Faith. Adrian's manhood passes the fiery test, but Rosemary fails him. She is one of the many whom the anguish of the time drives to seek excitement and forgetfulness wherever they may be found, and her moral fibre is not strong enough to resist the seductions of the Gina Maryon set. When Adrian comes home on special leave to marry her, he finds her with another man. She succumbs to the lure of drugs, and dies through an overdose at the Victory Ball. Adrian finds his consolation in the love and integrity of Faith. The real merit of Mr. Ewart's work lies in his war episodes, which have the cruel authenticity of the thing seen and suffered. He shows no particular understanding of the men in the ranks, but the characters of Adrian's fellow-officers, and their reactions to the conflict, are admirably delineated. The author's vision of the war as a grand test and purification will not satisfy those who think it was no more selective than a railway smash, and it is doubtful if Mr. Ewart could justify it from the state of the world to-day. Such an interpretation flatters the survivors and must be cold comfort to the victims.

**The Tower of Oblivion**, by Oliver Onions (Hodder & Stoughton). Derwent Rose, a gifted novelist, suffers a strange psychological disturbance which makes him, at the age of forty-five, begin to grow younger instead of older, crowding years of living backwards into a few weeks, with the knowledge that he will die at sixteen. He confides in his friend, Sir George Overham, another novelist, who relates this story with a most unprofessional prolixity. Derry's mind regains its youthfulness like his body, and Julia Oliphant, whom he has treated only as a comrade, fails in a desperate attempt to capture his love, which is given to the young girl Jenny. This passion at last arrests his rejuvenation and reverses the process. In the last scene another emotional storm brings about a struggle between the two influences as he stands with Jenny on a crumbling wall, and the lovers fall from the height together. The narrative is too circumstantial, and many of its details are more grotesque than impressive, but Mr. Onions' imaginative power makes amends for much faulty technique.

**To Let**, by John Galsworthy (Heinemann). This volume closes the epic of the Forsyte family begun with "The Man of Property" some fifteen years ago. Soames Forsyte, the man of property, married (as was told in "In Chancery") a wife who bore him a daughter, Fleur. His former wife, Irene, married his cousin Jolyon, and their son is another Jolyon or Jon. In ignorance of their parents' past, Jon and Fleur meet and fall in love. Their beautiful relationship is blasted by the feud between their parents and by the opposed characteristics they inherit, and under stress display, as the daughter of Soames and the son of Irene. Jon goes to British Columbia, where he is joined by his widowed mother, and Fleur makes a marriage of interest. They are the victims of the philosophy which blighted the lives of the elder Forsytes, of whom the last, Timothy, a centenarian, dies in this volume, kept in ignorance of the fact that the whole system based on the notion of property is in ruins, and security for Forsytes a thing of the past. Soames is left pondering in Highgate Cemetery, conscious of disaster, but unenlightened as to its fundamental causes. Mr. Galsworthy has never written anything more idyllic than the early love episodes of this story, or more moving as its tragedy develops.

**The Black Diamond**, by F. Brett Young (Collins), is the story of Abner Fellows, the son of a Black Country miner, and the misfortunes that result from the attraction his strength and directness exert on women. A drunken father and a too young stepmother cause a crisis which sends him tramping to seek work on the Welsh border. There he lodges with George Malpas, who married his superior wife, Mary, at the instigation of his scheming, fanatical mother. The mother's aims are disappointed, and Mary has to suffer her hatred and George's indifference. Abner becomes the lover of Susie Hind, an innkeeper's daughter, and joins a gang of poachers. During a quarrel at the inn between the gamekeeper and an associate of Abner's, Malpas accidentally kills the village policeman, and he is sentenced for manslaughter. Out of loyalty to his friend, Abner supports the Malpas household at Wolfpits on his wages, and local gossip helps his enemies and Mary's to foment a scandal about his relations with Mary and with Marion Prosser, which in the end closes to him all openings for employment. Even when long adversity and common endurance bind him to Mary, his loyalty to Malpas, soon to be released, prevents him from going away with her. Malpas's mind has been poisoned by his mother's letters, and he returns to attack Abner in a drunken fury. Abner is his match, but Mary cannot now decide to leave her husband, and Abner goes away. We last see him asleep in a barrack-room, having in a fit of drunkenness been deluded into taking the shilling.

**The Red Knight**, by F. Brett Young (Collins). This is a romantic tale of a revolution on the island of Trinacria in the Mediterranean. Robert Bryden's father had fought for Trinacria, his mother was the daughter of a Trinacrian noble, and he had had a passionate love affair with a Trinacrian, Carmela; and above all, the Leninesque despot of the Communist upheaval is Enrico Massa, his friend and idol. Bryden works his passage to the island and offers Massa his services. Unfortunately he receives the task of spying on a noble family who have the



King's brother concealed in their house. The presence of Carmela is another disturbing factor. His love for the beautiful daughter of the house, Maddalena, brings about the familiar dilemma; there is only one way of avoiding treachery to Massa or to Maddalena, and he takes it. Mr. Brett Young's "The Black Diamond" is more worthy of his talents than this story, lively as it is, and he should not have sacrificed the political interest of the situation to a hackneyed love affair.

**Coquette**, by Frank Swinnerton (Methuen). Sally Minto would be better described as an *arriviste*. Even at sixteen she is bent on escaping from her sordid environment. The death of her father confirms the intention, and her ideas turn early to the possible exploitation of men. Her love for Toby, who lives in the house in which Sally and her mother rent a room, gives her the stimulus that obtains her work with Madame Gala in the West End, the goal of her dreams. Toby loses his job and goes to sea on short voyages. Madame Gala's weakly and useless son, nicknamed Gaga, rouses Sally's "sense of possible utilities," and she marries him secretly during his mother's illness; but his nervous possessiveness and invalid condition soon bring her to loathe him. Circumstances force her to reveal her secret to Toby. Madame Gala dies, and Sally has achieved her aim, only to find that she will be the mother of a child of which Gaga cannot be the father. She goes away with her husband, the idea of poisoning him taking possession of her mind. Toby follows them, Gaga overhears a scene between him and Sally, and Toby accidentally kills Gaga and loses his own life in escaping. The book thus leaves Sally in mid-career, and the reader may doubt if a fragment of no more than its mere narrative value is worthy of Mr. Swinnerton's talents.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

### THE BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

THOUGH in 1921 the output of work in every department of the biological sciences has been so vast that no man can keep pace with its details, it would seem that the year has not been marked by any epoch-making publication. Indeed, the impression one receives on considering the present state of biology is that, while an immense mass of recorded observations and experiments has accumulated and goes on accumulating, the minds that should build from this some broad, enlightening generalisations are few.

In the popular opinion, probably the most remarkable discovery of the year has been that of the cultured pearl. There is really nothing "new" in the fact. For centuries the Chinese have utilised the knowledge that the pearl-oyster and the pearl-mussel may cover up with mother-of-pearl any small intrusion into the mantle cavity. In nature the common nucleus of the pearl is an animal parasite. The Chinese introduced various objects between the shell and the mantle, and a blister-pearl was generally the result: little figures of Buddha, encased in pearl, are not uncommon objects in curiosity shops. But until Mikimoto of Japan put his "cultured" pearls on the market this year, no one had succeeded in obtaining, by such methods, more than a blister-pearl, the value of which is negligible. For forty years Mikimoto has experimented and at last his work has borne results. By a device of his own, he inserts small fragments of mother-of-pearl into the tissues of the mollusc and returns it to the sea; in due time a pearl is formed all round the introduced nucleus, and if it be of perfect form and good lustre it is to all intents and purposes as truly a pearl as any "wild" pearl of the same size and appearance. Even if the methods introduced by experts for the detection of the cultured pearl should be workable, this essential fact remains unaltered, and it is bound to have its effect on the pearl market.

Early this year it was announced that another explanation had been put forward of Isle-of-Wight disease among bees. The credit of this discovery is due to Dr. John Rennie of Aberdeen University and his colleagues there. After working fruitlessly on the problem for some years, they found that every one of 700 bees from 110 stocks belonging to reliable bee-keepers and reported to be suffering from Isle-of-Wight disease were infected with a new species of mite, *Tarsonemus woodi*, which takes up its abode in the tracheæ connected with the anterior

pair of spiracles and apparently produces the characteristic laming. The investigators consider that the protozoan organism, *Nosema apis*, which since 1912 has been credited with producing the dreaded symptoms, is not the "cause" of Isle-of-Wight disease, though possibly another of the several disorders of bees may be traced to its presence. The matter requires much further investigation and confirmation, but the accumulated evidence is impressive. Disease among bee-stocks has become so serious in this country that bee-keepers will welcome any remedies that may follow an accurate diagnosis.

To the protozoologist as well as to the medical man, one of the most useful publications of the year is a monograph on the intestinal protozoa of man, by Clifford Dobell. In this admirably arranged and eminently readable book, the author gives an historical account of the subject, sums up much valuable information accumulated by himself and other workers during the war (when for the first time a sufficiently large material was available for investigation by experts), and adds many hitherto unpublished observations, especially on the flagellates.

In the department of micro-organismal morphology, another interesting monograph is that by Lieske on the baffling group of the Actinomycetes, which are responsible for such human diseases as "Madura foot." Certain of Lieske's speculations on the phylogeny of the group are certain to meet with controversy; but the value of his work lies in his abandonment of a teleological interpretation of structure: he is one of the few biologists ready to interpret the form of the micro-organism in terms of physics and chemistry.

Loeb and his school in America continue to turn out work that is of prime importance to the physiologist. This year they have added to their publications on the relation of proteins to electrolytes, and this work should awaken much interest among cytologists and those biologists who are especially concerned with plant physiology. The questions dealt with are too technical to be discussed here, but it may be said that Loeb's experiments on gelatin make necessary a revision of our ideas on permeability and throw new light on the difficult problems of vital staining and the reception of tropic stimuli.

Osgood has made with Herrick an interesting study of the little-known American marsupial, *Cœnolestes*. They are led to the conclusion that *Cœnolestes* must be classified among the diprotodont marsupials in a special sub-family, the Palæothentidæ; but they remark on its likeness in many respects, and more especially in the brain characters, to *Perameles* (the bandicoot) and *Notoryctes* (the marsupial mole). They think it may be necessary to remove these from among the Polyprotodontia as at present classified, to be placed with *Cœnolestes* in a special group of equal value with the other polyprotodonts and the indubitable Diprotodontia.

We are indebted to the Scandinavians for much of our too scanty information about the life-histories of deep-sea fishes. This year Dr. Schmidt has published a preliminary account of the early life of those remarkable animals, the sun-fishes, *Mola* and *Ranzania*. The sun-fishes are most strangely shaped creatures in the adult state, almost as high as they are long, and markedly flattened from side to side: they are

abruptly truncate behind, practically tailless, and they swim mainly by the movement of their large dorsal and ventral fins. They are very big fish: *Mola rotunda* may be 10 feet in length and weigh a ton. Nevertheless its food consists largely of the small transparent larvae (*Leptocephalus brevirostris*) of the fresh-water eel. The young of the sun-fishes have been recognised only by three observers and then very casually: Schmidt is the first to refer them to their proper species. He has followed their larval development; in one, he followed it from the egg. The little creatures are extremely delicate and beautiful: in shape they are far more near the typical fish-form, with a well-developed tail which later atrophies. They are beset with great spines: in *Mola lanceolata* the spines are longer than the body. The larvæ are found in the open sea and near the surface; the Sargasso Sea is their favourite haunt, and there as many as 200 may be taken in a single net. Dr. Schmidt's work is of great value, and the publication of details is looked for. The Danish Deep-Sea Expedition, which left Copenhagen in August for ten months' cruise in the North Atlantic, should bring back much more material of the kind.

In this country some much-needed observations have been published by Ford on the life-histories of the dog-fishes, and Miss Lebour's studies of the food of young marine fishes should be productive of valuable practical results. With the help of such data as she is accumulating it may in time become possible to forecast good and bad fishery years.

A British expedition that has done good work this year is the Oxford University Expedition to Spitzbergen. The results of this expedition have already been in part set forth by the leader, Mr. Jourdain, and by Mr. Julian Huxley, who makes some interesting observations, from the standpoint of the Mendelian, on the evidences of variation and evolution as they occur in nature among sea-birds.

The Mount Everest Expedition makes progress, and is adding to our knowledge of animal and plant distribution at high altitudes in the Oriental region.

The American Museum of Natural History has arranged for a third Asiatic Expedition. The expedition is to last five years, and, with collaboration from the Chinese Government, will work from Peking through the interior of China, Central Asia, Manchuria, and Kamchatka.

State forestry is an important new department in this country. The first annual report of the Forestry Commissioners has been published. It gives a very readable account of the history of forestry in the British Isles, and traces the steps by which the Forestry Act came into existence in 1919. The demands of war made evident the inadequacy of private management: the aim of the Forestry Act is so to increase the resources of standing timber that the nation could get through three years of war-isolation with a sufficient stock of wood. This involves the afforestation by the State of 1,770,000 acres of new land in eighty years, and the upkeep of the 3,000,000 acres of private forest already existing. A satisfactory beginning has been made with the scheme. Schools of forestry such as that equipped at Edinburgh University just before the outbreak of war, are full to overflowing, and the development in this country of a long-neglected science seems now assured.

The questions of heredity and evolution are as fruitful as ever of discussion, and Lamarckism has once more raised its head. At the meeting of the British Association in Edinburgh this year, Professor Goodrich in his presidential address to the Zoology Section, summed up the present position of the morphologist who approaches the difficult subject of genetics, and emphasised the need for distinguishing between transmission and inheritance, and for remembering that, whereas germinal factors may be transmitted, characters as such never are. He pointed out that the fundamental problem of biology lies in determining how new factors are acquired. In this direction we seem as far as ever from the solution.

Dr. Scott, the president of the Botany section at the same meeting, also dealt with evolutionary problems in his address. In discussing the theory of Descent in relation to the early history of plants, he laid much stress on our present ignorance of the methods of evolution, and he claimed that genetics had rendered a great service to biology by ensuring that organisms shall be thought of as races rather than as individuals.

Bolles Lee, in a paper in the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science*, denies the now generally accepted fact that in cell-division the chromosomes split longitudinally. The apparent split is due, he considers, to the chromosomes being V-shaped, and breaking in two at the apex of the V. It is difficult to know what value to attach to these observations. Their implications are enormously important. If Bolles Lee should prove right, it would upset the theorising of a generation of cytologists.

A useful piece of work has been done by Harrison and Blackburn in their investigation in the North of England of the polymorphic genus *Rosa*, which has so long puzzled the systematic botanist. Their observations in the field are strikingly corroborated by their microscopical studies. The number of the chromosomes and their behaviour in meiosis is found to be reflected in certain specific differences, both morphological and sexual. Certain of the species, diploid and tetraploid, are held to be pure, but four groups of pentaploid roses have probably originated by crossing. Harrison and Blackburn conclude that hybridity is one of the prime factors in the evolution of species. Critics of this view point out that while mutation and crossing occur together among many genera of plants, it does not follow that crossing is the cause of mutation.

The general problem of heredity has the problem of sex closely connected with it. Much experimental work is being done, particularly in the development of intersexes, and it seems likely that here biologists are approaching the discovery of some important secrets. In an ever-increasing number of investigated cases, genetic and cytological facts appear to corroborate one another. The so-called X and Y chromosomes are now very generally considered to be closely associated with sex: the chromosome content of the nuclei is supposed to affect the metabolism during development in such a way as to produce maleness or femaleness. Rather strangely, however, while in most insects and in mammals the male is the heterozygous sex, in Lepidoptera and in birds it is the female that has the extra chromosome. The animal germ-cells have so far given

best evidence for the chromosome theory of sex: recently, however, sex-chromosomes have been demonstrated in a liver-wort.

More and more importance is attached to the influence of hormones on sexual development. To explain what happens, it is assumed that external conditions may temporarily modify the chromosome-constitution of the organism. Such an immense amount of work has been published that it is impossible for any but the specialist to deal with it. Among many others, the results obtained by Champy may be mentioned here. By starving male newts when spermatogenesis was active, he was able to arrest development of even the secondary sexual characters in the following spring. Two of these seemingly neuter males were then fed well during winter and their coloration became like that of the females. One of these when dissected was found to contain young oocytes in the atrophied testis and an oviduct was present.

Some interesting fossils have been discovered. The first Palæozoic land-plants found in Japan have been identified as Calamites; but since the Carboniferous beds in which they occur are marine, they are unlikely to yield much of palæo-botanical interest.

Nine gigantic fossil turtles, 1½ metres in diameter, have been described this year by Pacheco from the Upper Miocene of Castile.

In America the Marsh collection of Cainozoic vertebrates is full of interesting mammal remains. The newly-described Oligocene enteledont *Cænopus*, is claimed by Troxell to be the ancestor of all the rhinoceroses, ancient and modern.

But in this field the "sensation" of the year has been the discovery in Rhodesia of a human skull that seems in some respects to be allied to the famous Neanderthal skull. Unfortunately, it lacks the lower jaw; but a sacrum, tibia, and the two ends of a femur found along with it probably belonged to the same skeleton and they afford valuable information. The cave in North-Western Rhodesia where these bones were turned up has already yielded bone and stone implements and fragments of small animal skeletons, and the occupation of the cave seems to have been post-Pleistocene. The human skull is wonderfully fresh; the organic matter has gone, but the bone has not been fossilised. It is of the doliocephalic type, the capacity is relatively large, and the bones themselves are thin; but the enormous orbital ridges and large palate give it a simian appearance. In these latter respects it is very like the Neanderthal skull, but it differs markedly therefrom in the shape of the cranium and in the position of the foramen magnum. Experts assert that the Rhodesian cave-man must have walked erect, and they infer this also from the shape of the fragmentary leg-bones. The skull is now in the British Museum. Its discovery has given rise to much discussion. On the whole, the position of those anthropologists is strengthened who consider that the Neanderthal man was on the main evolutionary road to *Homo sapiens*.

During 1921 the scientific world has become poorer through the death of Miall of Birmingham, Brady of Newcastle, Delage and Houssay of Paris, Appelöf of Upsala, and Ijima of Tokio, all of them eminent biologists and the inspirers of much good work by others.

## THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

The year has not been marked by any sensational discoveries in the physical sciences. The amount of published research has, however, been very large, and the various scientific societies have been considerably embarrassed by the continued high cost of printing. At the same time the prices of books on scientific subjects have risen to absurdly prohibitive figures. Nevertheless preparations were being made towards the end of the year for the publication of a new periodical to be devoted to a description and discussion of scientific instruments and to be edited at the National Physical Laboratory.

The operation of the Safeguarding of Industries Act has added seriously to the difficulties of research workers and research schools by making it difficult to obtain apparatus from abroad and by adding to its cost. Towards the end of the year the difficulties of the university schools were further augmented by the decision of the Government to reduce their already insufficient grant by 20 per cent. while rumours concerning the recommendations of the Geddes "Anti-Waste" Committee made the outlook for the future most disturbing.

The year was marked by one incident probably unique in the history of the physical sciences in this country. Mr. H. H. Wills gave 200,000*l.* to Bristol University for the building and equipment of a new Physical Laboratory in the University.

The attempt to create a school for the study of the history of science in England was continued during the year both at Oxford and at University College, London. The second volume of Dr. Charles Singer's "Studies in the History and Method of Science" was published, and Dr. A. Wolf was appointed first professor of the History and Method of Science in the University of London.

The public inaugural meeting of the Institute of Physics was held on April 27, Sir Richard Glazebrook, first President of the Institute, presiding, while the meeting was addressed by Sir J. J. Thomson and the Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour. The institute promises to be very successful, and its roll of membership already includes a very large proportion of those eligible for election. Much of the credit for its promising start must be attributed to the efforts of its Honorary Secretary, Dr. A. W. Porter, F.R.S.

The meeting of the British Association held at Edinburgh from September 7-14, was successful beyond even the most sanguine anticipations. The membership list contained nearly 2,800 names, and all the sections were well attended. Unfortunately the President, Sir Edward Thorpe, was unwell and unable to read his address in person. Professor C. S. Sherrington, President of the Royal Society, was elected President for the meeting at Hull to commence on September 6, 1922.

Among other important scientific meetings held during the year may be mentioned the joint discussion between the Faraday Society and the chief engineering societies on "The failure of metals under internal and prolonged stress," held on April 6, and a general discussion on "Catalysis, with special reference to newer theories of chemical action," arranged by the Faraday Society on September 28, in which Professor Perrin and Dr. Irvine Langmuir took part.

The Honours List published on New Year's Day, 1921, contained the names of two scientists, Professor P. R. Scott Lang, Regius Professor of Mathematics in the University of St. Andrews, and Professor James Walker, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh, both of whom received knighthoods. The King's Birthday list did not contain any names which need be mentioned here.

Among the names of the well-known men of science who died during the year we note the following: Sir William Abney; Dr. W. Ironside Bruce, radiologist; Dr. W. S. Bruce, the well-known polar explorer and naturalist; Dr. H. A. Bumstead, Professor of Physics at the Sloane Physical Laboratory, Yale; Dr. P. Cooper Hewitt of mercury vapour arc fame; Sir Lazarus Fletcher, late Director of the Natural History Museum; Dr. A. M. Kellas, chemist and mountaineer; Lord Moulton; Alexander Muirhead, the electrical engineer and cable expert; Spencer Pickering, physical chemist and horticulturalist; Professor A. W. Reinold, late professor of physics at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich; Abbot H. Thayer, the artist, well known for his studies on the protective colouring of animals.

The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey decided to place a bronze medallion in the Abbey as a memorial of Sir William Ramsay. The Observatory on Salcombe Hill above Sidmouth, founded by Sir Norman Lockyer and Lieut.-Colonel F. K. McClean in 1913, after the closing of the Solar Physics Observatory at South Kensington, was renamed the "Norman Lockyer Observatory" in memory of that great astronomer. The trustees of the Captain Scott Memorial Fund decided to establish a Polar Research Institute at Cambridge in connexion with the new department of Geography at that University. It is hoped that it will serve as a depository for the manuscripts and log-books of polar expeditions and as a museum of maps, books, and equipment.

In the early months of the year a good deal of interest was excited by the publication of some measurements made at the Mount Wilson Observatory of the angular diameter of the star  $\alpha$  Orionis (Betelgeuse). An interference method devised by Professor Michelson of Chicago was employed and the result obtained, 0.42 second of arc, combined with our knowledge of the distance of the star deduced from its parallax, gives the actual diameter of the star as about 300 times that of the sun. This enormous figure did not come as a surprise to the astronomers for  $\alpha$  Orionis is one of the giant red stars, and a similar value for its diameter had previously been obtained from theoretical considerations.

Very careful experiments have been made to see whether the displacements of the star images in the photographs taken by the solar eclipse expeditions of 1920, could possibly be due to distortion of the gelatine in the plates themselves. It will be remembered that measurements obtained from these photographs were held to confirm Einstein's prediction of the deflexion of a ray of light when it passed near the sun, and it was therefore most important to make quite sure that the displacements observed on the plate were not due to a distortion of this kind. The experiments showed conclusively that any effects so produced would be quite negligible compared with the shifts actually observed.



A paper by Dr. G. R. Goldsborough considerably advanced our knowledge of Saturn's ring system by showing, quantitatively, that the clear spaces which have been observed to divide the luminous rings are due to the effect of the attraction of Saturn's satellites on the material composing the rings.

At the meeting of the British Association the sections for Mathematics and Physics, Geology, Zoology and Botany combined to hold a joint discussion on the age of the earth. It has been recognised for many years that Lord Kelvin's original estimate of 20 to 30 million years must be considerably extended. He made three estimates based on data which has been invalidated by later discoveries. Lord Rayleigh considered that the most accurate estimate of the age could be obtained by combining our knowledge of the rate of decay of uranium and its successive disintegration products with a determination of the mass of the isotope of lead (the final production of the disintegration) present in minerals containing uranium. Assuming that the whole of the lead has been derived from the uranium, and that the rate of decay has always been the same, the age of the pre-Cambrian rocks comes out about 1,000 million years. The latest mathematical calculations based (*a*) on the temperature gradient in the earth's crust and allowing for its known radioactive content, and (*b*) on the tidal origin of the solar system, give 2,000 million years as the interval since the solidification of the earth's surface.

Relativity theory has long since passed beyond the understanding of all but the expert mathematician specialising on it. There does not appear to have been any important extension since that due to Weyl who was able, by certain suppositions, to connect Maxwell's equations for the electromagnetic field with Einstein's generalised theory. No experimental method for testing this new development has yet been devised.

The question of the structure of the atom has been the subject of a great deal of discussion during the year. The view advanced by Sir Ernest Rutherford in 1920 as to the structure of the positive nucleus of the atom is generally accepted, and just at the end of that year Mr. J. Chadwick showed that the positive charge on the nucleus did not differ by more than 1 or 1.5 per cent. from the atomic number of the element concerned (the unit of charge being equal to the electron). This result had been anticipated by theory, but direct experimental evidence had not been obtained. Controversy now rages round various theories of the arrangement of the electrons (units of negative electricity) round the positive nucleus. The Bohr-Sommerfeld theory supposes an arrangement in planetary orbits which has been most successful in interpreting the arrangement of certain simple spectral series but fails to account for the diamagnetic properties of hydrogen and helium. A new theory, known as the Lewis-Langmuir theory, has lately attracted considerable attention. It supposes that the electrons are arranged in concentric shells round the nucleus and are either at rest or in motion round small localised orbits (a form of the theory supported by Oxley), instead of the large planetary orbits demanded by the Bohr theory. This hypothesis provides a plausible explanation of the formation of di- and tri-atomic molecules by the combination of identical atoms, permits

of the discussion of the magnetic field associated with the revolving electron as well as of its electrostatic field, and is supported by certain calculations of molecular dimensions made by Professor A. O. Rankine from his observations on the viscosity of the gases. On the other hand, it would involve the greater number of the electrons associated with an atom being arranged at some distance from the nucleus, while Professor W. L. Bragg states that he has obtained evidence that the reverse is actually the case.

Indications that the electron is something more than a mere charge of negative electricity is slowly accumulating. It appears to include a magnetic unit as well as an electrostatic one. In particular the tracks of the  $\beta$ -particles as shown by C. T. R. Wilson's stereoscopic photographs have a decided spiral character which can be accounted for if we assume the  $\beta$ -particle (electron) to be a magnetic doublet.

In X-ray work a good deal of research was directed towards the discovery of a good method of measuring dosage for medical purposes, while the death of Dr. Ironside Bruce again called attention to the dangers attendant on continued exposure to the rays. On the purely physical side Sir W. H. Bragg has applied his X-ray spectrometer to the determination of the structure of organic crystals, and has obtained highly important results, *e.g.*, that the benzene ring actually exists as a unit in the building up of these crystals. The excessive cost of X-ray bulbs has been a very important consideration in this branch of research, and a new type of bulb, devised during the year, will considerably lighten it in future. The anticathode is carried by a water-cooled metal tube with a window of aluminium foil through which the X-rays pass. The cathode is insulated from the anticathode by a glass lamp chimney, or a wide mouthed glass bottle with its bottom removed, and is supported in the centre of a metal plate cemented to the end of the glass by sealing wax. This tube permits of an easy change of anticathode, and enables the source of the rays to be brought much closer to the desired point of application with correspondingly greater effects.

The most fascinating experiment of the year was that devised by Dr. Shimizu, and exhibited by Rutherford at the Royal Institution in his lectures on the Constitution of the Atom. Dr. Shimizu modified C. T. R. Wilson's expansion apparatus for showing the tracks of the  $\alpha$ -particles expelled from radium so that expansions could be obtained in rapid succession by turning a handle geared to the expansion piston. The study of the paths of these particles is thus rendered quite easy, and important results are expected from his work.

Dr. F. W. Aston has continued his investigation of the isotopes of the elements with his positive-ray spectrograph, and some of his results have been verified in the Ryerson Laboratory, Chicago. Messrs. J. N. Brönsted and G. Hevesey of the Polytechnic Institute, Copenhagen, who, last year, claimed that they had effected a partial separation of the isotopes of mercury, reported, in July, that they had succeeded in obtaining a like separation of the isotopes of chlorine.

In physical chemistry the most interesting developments have taken place in connexion with the so-called Radiation Hypothesis which supposes that the velocity of a chemical reaction is determined by the energy

density of radiation of a characteristic frequency which is emitted and absorbed by the chemical system. Developments in the ionic theory of solution have also occurred. It has usually been assumed that the mobilities of the ions are independent of their concentrations, and that the special phenomena of concentrated solutions were due to the fact that only a fraction of the total number of dissolved molecules present are actually ionised. Papers published during the year tend to show that there is an appreciable change of velocity with concentration, and much more attention is being paid to the view that solutions of electrolytes are completely ionised at all concentrations. Ghosh supposes the undissociated molecules of the Arrhenius theory to be replaced by groups of ions held together by electrostatic forces; those ions only becoming active which possess sufficient kinetic energy to overcome the electric field. This hypothesis fits the facts very well so far as dilute solutions are concerned; it has not yet been applied, quantitatively, to strong solutions, and until that is done it must be accepted with reserve. No outstanding advance has been made in the fields of organic or inorganic chemistry. The Safeguarding of Industries Act prevented the free import of organic chemicals and, in December, the Official Referee had to decide whether calcium carbide was an organic or an inorganic substance. A great deal of "expert" evidence was given on both sides and much valuable time and money wasted.

The work of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research produced many important reports. Perhaps the most interesting was that issued by the Food Investigation Board. The Engineering Committee investigated the heat conductivity of various insulating materials, and found that the heat-flow through the solid parts of a heat insulator is negligible compared with that due to convection currents in the air contained in its pores. Thus the conductivity of a material depends very largely on its "packing." A search for a new heat insulator resulted in the discovery that a rubber sponge having pores with very thin walls and produced by a special vulcanisation process under high pressure was probably better suited for cold storage work than any other insulator hitherto known. This discovery promises to be most important both to the cold storage and the rubber industries. The Fruit and Vegetables Committee investigated methods for storing apples, and found that apples kept in an atmosphere deficient in oxygen kept twice as long as those stored in the usual way. Their investigation of the result of cold storage is to be reported in 1922.

Among the expeditions started or completed during the year, the Shackleton-Rowett Oceanographical and Antarctic Expedition, and the Mount Everest Expedition figured most in the public press. Sir Ernest Shackleton left Plymouth on September 24 with nineteen companions in a 200-ton Norwegian wooden vessel called the *Quest*. He carried, in this small boat, a wireless outfit, a specially constructed Avro seaplane, a stock of pilot balloons, and a full equipment for deep-sea soundings. The main object of the expedition was the exploration of the Antarctic coastline between Drygalski's Wilhelm Land and Bruce's Coats Land, the only portion within these limits known with any certainty being Enderby Land, discovered in 1831. It was also hoped to visit a number of isolated islands

(*e.g.*, Bouvet Island), and to search for others whose existence is still doubtful. Reports from the expedition since it sailed have not been very promising. The ship met with continuous bad weather, and proved itself a bad sailer. Two members of the expedition (the photographer and a boy scout) had to return owing to illness, and the expedition had to put in at Rio de Janeiro for a thorough overhaul.

The Everest Expedition, commanded by Colonel Howard Bury, was merely a survey of the Tibetan side of the mountain, preparatory to a serious attempt to reach the summit in 1922. After many fruitless efforts, a practicable route to the top was discovered by Messrs. Mallory, Bullock, and Wheeler, who ascended to a height of 23,000 feet up the north col at the head of the Kharta Valley. The expedition mapped some 13,000 miles of new territory, and brought back many magnificent photographs and specimens of zoological interest. It was marred, however, by the death of Dr. A. M. Kellas, from heart failure, at an early stage of the work.

Another important expedition was that led by the Rev. F. C. R. Jourdain, from Oxford to Bear Island and Spitzbergen. The party was chiefly concerned with the ornithology of the district, and returned after a most successful visit.

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

### I. ART.

IN 1921 the most important event in the art world was the sale of two of the most famous pictures painted by English artists, Gainsborough's "Blue Boy," and Sir Joshua's portrait of Mrs. Siddons as "The Tragic Muse." Both belonged to the Duke of Westminster, and had been for many years in the gallery at Grosvenor House, where it was hoped their situation was permanent.

But that these hopes were fallacious was shown in 1919, when the Duke sent the portrait of Mrs. Siddons to Christie's, where the canvas that was bought by the second Earl Grosvenor for 1,750 guineas, in 1822, was withdrawn after a final bid of 52,000 guineas. The "Blue Boy," a finer and more valuable picture than the Sir Joshua, was bought by Earl Grosvenor some years before 1822, but the date of its acquisition, and the price paid for it, are unknown. It is a mysterious picture altogether. No one can say for certain when it was painted, or whom it represents, and the earliest mention of it in any book or newspaper is in 1798, ten years after Gainsborough's death. The Reynolds and the Gainsborough were sold together by the Duke of Westminster to Sir Joseph Duveen, for a price that is understood to have approached 200,000*l.* Sir Joseph afterwards sold them both to Mr. C. P. Huntington, an American collector who already owned several English masterpieces of the eighteenth century.

No new public exhibition of Old Masters was held. The galleries of the Royal Academy, whose winter shows in the past were sometimes of surpassing interest, were still occupied in January by the Spanish exhibition that was opened in the preceding autumn, and collections of Old Masters were shown only at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. However, the Royal Academy, though it held no extra exhibition of its own, lent its galleries in the late autumn to the Royal Society of Portrait Painters which showed, with modern works, some attractive examples of the portraiture of a generation ago.

The summer exhibition of the Royal Academy was on a much smaller scale than usual, and places were given to only 1,250 contributions of all kinds, against 1,477 in 1920, and no fewer than 2,245 in 1914. This drastic cutting down meant the exclusion of many artists whose work would in ordinary conditions have been shown at Burlington House, and the complaints of some of them found expression in the newspapers, and led to an exhibition of rejected pictures at the Guildhall. The argument for the Academy was that improvement in the arrangement of the exhibition

was necessary, and that this could only be brought about by reducing the number of works shown. But this did not cover a particular grievance of the painters—who were the artists particularly concerned—that they were deprived of most of the wall space of the Sixth Gallery, which was covered principally with Thornhill's old copies of Raphael's cartoons, put up to form a background for pieces of sculpture.

Between nine and ten thousand works were submitted to the Committee of Selection, which was composed of Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., Mr. Adrian Stokes, Mr. D. Y. Cameron, Mr. H. Hughes-Stanton, Mr. Derwent Wood, Mr. Charles Sims, Mr. Arnesby Brown, Mr. Melton Fisher, Mr. Bertram Mackennal, Mr. G. G. Scott, Mr. C. A. Shepperson, and Sir E. L. Lutyens. The hanging of the oils and watercolours was undertaken by Messrs. Stokes, Cameron, Sims, Brown, and Melton Fisher; Mr. Shepperson was responsible for the arrangement of the miniatures and the drawings in black and white; Messrs. Wood and Mackennal for the sculpture; and Sir E. L. Lutyens for the architectural designs.

Two pictures were chosen for purchase under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest—a small landscape by Mr. Bertram Nicholls, "Drying the Sails" (No. 375), and the large portrait of a cook in his white jacket, by Sir William Orpen (No. 115), "Le Chef de l'Hôtel Chatham," to which one of the places of honour in the Third Gallery had been assigned. But the only pictures eligible for purchase must be executed entirely in Great Britain, and the portrait of the cook had been commenced abroad, and therefore could not be acquired for the Chantrey collection. However, the picture was not lost to the Academy, as the artist presented it to the Diploma Gallery of the institution, and later in the year the Academy Council bought in its stead for the Chantrey Collection, Sir William Orpen's portrait of Sir William MacCormack. The Council also acquired for the collection a self-painted portrait of the late William Strang, R.A. The pictures sold at the exhibition included four by Mr. H. H. La Thangue, "Eel Spearing in Provence" (400*l.*), "A Spanish Mill" (300*l.*), "A Provençal Farmhouse" (250*l.*), and "A Provençal Trout Stream" (150*l.*); two by Mr. Arnesby Brown, "The Waveney Marshes" (300*l.*), and "The Coast Road" (300*l.*); four by Mr. B. W. Leader, "The Fringe of the Pine Wood," "An Autumn Evening," "The Bay of Aberdovey," and "Moel Siabod;" Mr. Patrick W. Adam's "Interior of a Studio" (300*l.*); Mr. Adrian Stokes' "In the Dunes" (250*l.*); Mr. Mark Fisher's "On the Shore at Emsworth" (150*l.*); and Mr. Frank Dicksee's "La Penserosa" (150*l.*). Among the few pieces of sculpture sold was a head in marble, "Dawn" (125*l.*), by Mr. W. Reid Dick.

The auction sale season was uneventful except that at Sotheby's a suit of sixteenth-century armour, one of the treasures of Wilton House, found a purchaser at 25,000*l.* For a picture no very high price was paid at an auction sale, although Romney's "Clavering Children" was bid up to 5,000 guineas, and his "Lady Napier" to 3,150*l.* Other pictures sold were "A Family Group," by Nicolas Maes (3,150*l.*); "The Adoration of the Magi," by Rubens, 1,365*l.*; "Miss Vansittart," by Sir Joshua Reynolds (3,360*l.*); Raeburn's "Miss Christina Thomson" (1,000*l.*); the well-known "Apodyterium," by Alma Tadema (1,071*l.*); a portrait of Queen Elizabeth by Marcus Gheeraedts the younger (2,950*l.*); and

Hogarth's "Scene from the Beggars' Opera" (1,470*l.*). At the five day sale at Sotheby's of the collection of Egyptian antiquities formed by Lord Amherst of Hackney a statue in red sandstone fetched 1,870*l.* and a statuette of a lady in wood, gilt and coloured, 1,000*l.* A Chippendale suite from Ragley Hall was sold for 3,255*l.*, and another suite by the same craftsman, 3,832*l.* Still higher was the price (3,900*l.*) paid in July for a commode by Chippendale. At the sale of Lord Anglesey's property at Beaudesert an interesting bust by Bernini was purchased for the Victoria and Albert Museum for 1,460 guineas. A notable provincial sale was that of the entire contents of Stowe House, Buckingham, held in July.

In the spring a novel exhibition was held at the Grosvenor Galleries by the proprietors of the *Burlington Magazine*. The pictures, nearly all of which were by well-known modern artists, were unsigned, and the names of their authors were not given until the exhibition had been open a fortnight. Mr. A. J. Munnings had an exhibition of country and sporting pictures at the Alpine Club in the spring, and Sir John and Lady Lavery showed portraits and landscapes at the same gallery in the autumn. An exhibition of American pictures that was by no means representative of the best American painters was held at the Grafton Galleries; the "one man" shows at the Leicester Galleries included those of work by Mr. Eric Kennington, Mr. Max Beerbohm, M. Picasso, Mr. Nevinson, and Claud Lovat Fraser; and the Fine Art Society held memorial exhibitions of the pictures of Sir William Richmond and William Strang. Some of the exhibitions of modern paintings at the Goupil Gallery were of uncommon interest, and the New Society of Artists displayed its members' work for the first time in Suffolk Street. The great room at Hertford House, admirably hung and lighted, was re-opened; and the National and Tate Galleries assumed something of their pre-war aspect. But at all three places it was necessary to reduce the number of free days, on the ground of economy. Several new pictures were hung at the National Gallery, including the fine "Adoration of the Magi" by Peter Brueghel; Millais' portrait of Mrs. Jopling, presented by her son; a pastel study by Perronneau, presented by Sir Joseph Duveen; and a three-quarter length of Van Helmont by Lely. A splendid exhibition of tapestries, many of them lent by the French Government, was held at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Chiefly through the efforts of the Committee of the National Art Collections Fund the Tate Gallery acquired Millais' famous "Carpenter's Shop." This picture, painted by Millais in his twenty-first year and sold by him for 150*l.*, was acquired for the nation at a cost of 10,000*l.*

## II. DRAMA.

It is a melancholy admission to be compelled to make, but the fact nevertheless remains that the theatrical year, 1921, was remarkable for nothing so much as the long list of failures of which it has left a record. There is nothing at all unusual, of course, in a serious disproportion between the number of successes achieved in the course of a year at the London theatres and the number of failures experienced. But during

1921 the disproportion must have exceeded the normal, and it is regrettable to have to add that this was due in no small measure to the singular lack of judgment—to say nothing of artistic discernment—shown by many managers. One is tempted in this connexion to dwell for a moment on the very unsatisfactory conditions at present obtaining in our theatrical domains. Time was, not many years since, when the “actor-manager,” then considerably more in the ascendent than now, came in for a good deal of abuse as an adverse influence in the life of the drama and a hindrance to its artistic development. The actor-manager, it was then said, thought primarily of the plays most likely to serve for the display of his own personality and his own powers, and it was held that this perhaps not unnatural weakness led to his rejection of not a few plays worthy of a hearing on their intrinsic merits. To what extent this may have been true of representative actor-managers such as Wyndham, Tree, Hare, Alexander, and so forth, it would serve no useful purpose now to consider. All the players named have been taken from us, and whatever may be remembered to the detriment of any of them as actor-managers, there is at least no denying that they were all men who understood thoroughly the art of the theatre, and whose intimate inside knowledge, gained from long experience of everything connected with their profession, enabled them to be good judges of the public's needs and to pursue, in consequence, a more or less definite and settled policy in the conduct of their theatres.

But look round now and see what has happened. With a very few exceptions, of which those provided by Oscar Asche and Gerald du Maurier are the most noteworthy, the race of actor-managers is practically dead. And what have we in place of them? In most cases theatrical syndicates of little or no stability, and as often as not promoted for the production of one, or at the most, perhaps, two or three plays, chosen as a rule more with a view to their “commercial” possibilities than out of any regard for, or even comprehension of, their artistic value. One syndicate fails, and is replaced by another, which in turn is succeeded, after a short interval, in all probability, by yet another. The results of these happy-go-lucky conditions, and of the dearth of theatres controlled by people with a real knowledge of their business, as well as underlying artistic sympathies, have been shown to be not only detrimental to the interests of genuine lovers of the drama, but highly damaging to actors themselves, who, so far from finding themselves associated with permanent and reputable managements, are at the mercy of conditions so unsettled and fortuitous as to make their profession—at the best of times an extremely precarious one—something not much better than a gamble with the odds heavily against all save the rarely-fortunate. Considering the question in its broader aspects, it is at least permissible to argue that native art must needs suffer from the indifference generally displayed by the purely “commercial” manager, as the head, possibly, of the latest theatrical syndicate, towards the claims of British dramatists. (One recalls, in passing, how sedulously the late Sir George Alexander, for one, encouraged English authors by commissioning them to write plays for him.) As frequently as not, the present-day manager looks for a “ready-made” success, and one result of this tendency



is to be found in the number of plays imported in recent times from America. The year under review brought us a long list of such productions; yet only one of surpassing merit. This was Channing Pollock's "The Sign on the Door" (Playhouse, Sep. 1), a drama so compact of "thrills," so ingenious in its construction, so skilful in sheer stagecraft, that its success here, as in the country from which it came, was assured. Finely acted in the leading parts by Gladys Cooper, Godfrey Tearle (who handed over his rôle in the course of the run to George Tully) and Leslie Faber, the piece easily secured a place among the year's most notable hits.

Fortunately for the credit of British art, one can place among the chief successes of the year a play by a native writer, who, as it happens, is a representative of the "weaker sex." I refer to Miss Clemence Dane's "A Bill of Divorcement," which, produced at the St. Martin's on March 14, proved remarkable not only as the first stage work of a woman novelist, but as a play of tense dramatic interest, based upon a theme—or problem—suggested, curiously enough, by a hypothetical change in this country's divorce laws; yet a theme so poignant in its appeal to human sympathies, and handled so adroitly, so sincerely, and so dispassionately, that the author of the play leapt at one bound into fame. The piece, moreover, was notable as enabling two young players, Meggie Albanesi and Malcolm Keen, to reveal ability of a distinctly high order, both of them giving performances of very uncommon truth and sincerity. With her second venture, "Will Shakespeare," staged at the Shaftesbury on November 17, Miss Dane came far less near to hitting the bull's eye. It was an ambitious effort, as any attempt must be to write a play—or an "invention," as Miss Dane called it—round the personality of such a character as the author of "Hamlet." And unfortunately, despite an obvious loftiness of purpose, much cleverness, and not a little beauty of thought and expression, revealed through the medium of blank verse, the attempt succeeded only partially. The most striking performances in the play came from Haidée Wright (as Queen Elizabeth), and Arthur Whitby.

For the rest, the year's tale of theatrical ventures falling into a category more serious and ambitious than that of the average is soon told. At the Court, Mr. Fagan provided more than one welcome Shakespearian revival, notably that of the very rarely-performed "King Henry IV.," Part II., which was memorable for some conspicuously good acting by Alfred Clark, the Falstaff, H. O. Nicholson, as Shallow, and Frank Cellier as the dying Henry IV. The actor last mentioned also distinguished himself by his portrayal of Cassio in the subsequent revival of "Othello," with Godfrey Tearle as the Moor, Basil Rathbone as Iago, and Madge Titheradge as Desdemona. At the Court, too, playgoers had an opportunity of seeing Bernard Shaw's very long-winded "Heartbreak House," a piece characterised by the author's habitual disregard of the ordinary dramatic conventions, but without a sufficient leavening of those saving graces of Shavian wit and humour that have reconciled the public to his defects as a dramatist in some of his previous plays. Elsewhere—at the Comedy Theatre—Norman McKinnel made a plucky bid for favour in actor-management, producing, among other works, Rudolf Besier and

May Edginton's "The Ninth Earl," a play somewhat too sombre for the public taste; Galsworthy's "A Family Man," which, though entertaining, proved hardly worthy of so distinguished an author; and a picturesque version of Sam Benelli's "La Cena delle Beffe," called "The Love Thief." But with none of these plays did prosperity come to the new management. A very charming, and refreshingly sincere, play entitled "The Faithful Heart," by Monckton Hoffe, produced there later in the year, was welcomed with a whole-hearted fervour which suggested that the clever author—one of our younger dramatists—had at last come into his own. In some respects, perhaps, the most distinguished play of the year, it was welcome, furthermore, for the opportunities it afforded that fine actor, Godfrey Tearle, of showing what he is capable of, and likewise for enabling a very clever young actress, Mary Odette, to achieve a brilliant success in a dual part.

Two other plays remain to be mentioned among the best that the year brought in its train: Somerset Maugham's "The Circle" (Haymarket, March 3), and A. A. Milne's "The Truth about Blayds" (Globe, Dec. 20). In its cynical fashion the first-mentioned, which was frankly "unmoral" in the character of its main idea and its sentiments, was brilliantly witty, and, as finely acted by Allan Aynesworth (who gave a striking character study of a type of elderly roué), Holman Clark, Leon Quartermaine, Ernest Thesiger, Fay Compton, and Lottie Venne, it deserved a longer run than it actually secured. "The Truth about Blayds" was especially welcome as marking an upward stage in the career of Mr. Milne, whose previous essays, delightful though they proved, were too gossamer-like in texture to entitle their author to a place among serious dramatists. In taking himself for once seriously he showed that he has in him the makings of a playwright to be reckoned with. The chief rôles were in the accomplished hands of Irene Vanbrugh, Faith Celli, Dion Boucicault, and Norman McKinnel, the latter giving extraordinary significance to a character that disappears after the first act.

Turning to productions which, while in no sense memorable, at least stood out from the rather melancholy list of the year's failures, pride of place should go, perhaps, to "Bull-Dog Drummond" (by "Sapper"), a piece compact of thrills and melodramatic tricks—neatly contrived—with which Gerald du Maurier, at Wyndham's, competed boldly, and successfully, with the purveyors of American "crook" drama, Gilbert Hare and Alfred Drayton being among those who helped him effectively to that end. Melodrama of another kind, Oriental, spectacular, and musical, was grandiosely typified at His Majesty's (Oct. 15) in Oscar Asche's magnificent production of "Cairo," in succession to the long-lived "Chu-Chin-Chow." Some clever music, mostly of the picturesquely illustrative order, was composed for the play by Percy Fletcher. Romantic drama, to adopt a convenient classification, was represented in two productions of Matheson Lang at the New—"Christopher Sly," which enjoyed a very fair run, and "Blood and Sand," a piece, adapted from a Spanish novel, wherein he assumed the part of a toreador. Among the more serious plays that held the stage longer than the average one should note Michael Morton's "Woman to Woman," in

which, at the Globe, Willette Kershaw, an American actress, achieved success in an emotional part that made a strong human appeal. Another sort of appeal—that, mainly, of horror—was not made in vain in several series of “Grand Guignol” thrillers at the Little Theatre.

On the light side of the account the most notable success of the year came with a farce by the American author, Walter Hackett, entitled “Ambrose Applejohn’s Adventure,” and staged at the Criterion (July 19). Charles Hawtrey appeared as the protagonist, and the part was admirably designed for the display of his characteristic comedic gifts in situations ludicrously incongruous. Three other comedies that figured fairly prominently in the list had won popularity previously in America: “Polly with a Past,” in which Donald Calthrop and Edna Best played the chief parts at the St. James’s; “Miss Nell o’ New Orleans,” which showed Irene Vanbrugh to advantage in her lighter vein at the Duke of York’s, and “Welcome Stranger,” a piece in which a Jewish comedian, Harry Green, made a distinct personal success at the Lyric. In the list of home-made comedies to which the public took kindly should be included “A Safety Match,” adapted by Ian Hay from one of his novels, and produced by Arthur Bouchier at the Strand. The serious element in this play gave it an interest above the common. But more original, because of its fantastic conception, was Lord Dunsany’s “If,” which, with Henry Ainley and Gladys Cooper in the leading parts, proved attractive at the Ambassador’s. On the other hand, H. G. Wells and St. John Ervine’s fantastic dream-play, “The Wonderful Visit,” founded on a novel by the former, and beautifully staged at the St. Martin’s, was pronounced more than a little disappointing. The central idea was one difficult to transplant effectively to the footlights, and, as a matter of fact, the story was handled in a fashion none too happy, with the result that the unreality of the whole thing was emphasised to the detriment of the play’s interests.

A few of the year’s musical productions also deserve passing notice. For the most part they were not of the kind that might tempt one to linger over their merits. “Cairo” has already been dealt with. Daly’s, as the chief home of musical plays, introduced us to the long-talked-of “Sybil,” a work of German (or Austrian) origin, with music—quite good in parts—by Victor Jacobi, the English version, shaped by Harry Graham, containing effective rôles for José Collins, Harry Welchman, and Huntley Wright. This piece enjoyed greater favour than another somewhat similar importation, “The Gipsy Princess,” produced at the Prince of Wales’s. Its tuneful score, composed by Emmerich Kalman, was better than the book. The same remark applies, though even more forcibly, to a native comic opera, “The Rebel Maid,” composed by Montague Phillips, and seen at the Empire, with a cast including Clara Butterworth, Thorpe Bates, and Walter Passmore. Two other home-made products were “My Nieces,” a version of Pinero’s old farce, “The Schoolmistress,” in which Percy Greenbank and Howard Talbot successfully collaborated; and “The Golden Moth,” a musical comedy, equipped with jingles of the popular type by Ivor Novello, and housed at the Adelphi, with W. H. Berry as chief comedian. An American importation, “Sally,” with music by Jerome D. Kern, proved immensely popular at the Winter Garden.

A very beautiful production, partly of the revue type, was C. B. Cochran's "The League of Nations," the staging of which, at the New Oxford, was said to have cost nearly 30,000*l.* Nevertheless it made a profit. On the other hand, an attempt at the Gaiety to revive the glories of old-time burlesque, with a piece called "Faust on Toast," resulted in a disastrous loss. Earlier in the year that theatre had witnessed a very artistic, but financially unsuccessful, production of Maeterlinck's "The Betrothal," for which special music, mostly incidental, was composed by C. Armstrong Gibbs.

### III. MUSIC.

The absence of grand opera was an outstanding feature of the musical life of 1921. True, we were not entirely without opera, for at the Royal Victoria Hall, familiarly and fondly known as The Old Vic., there were many performances of surprising excellence, of "Don Giovanni," into which was introduced, practically for the first time in England, the original Sextet Finale, and of "Tristan and Isolde." among other operas; Nicholas Gatty's "Prince Fereon" was produced. Then the Carl Rosa Company held a ten-weeks' season at Covent Garden during the autumn, with a more or less conventional repertory. But in addition they played three parts of "The Ring" and revived "The Mastersingers" and "Lohengrin" with John Coates in the title-rôle. Incidentally they attempted to galvanise into life Naylor's "The Angelus," a rather old-fashioned affair, and produced D'Orlay's "Le Chant Fatal." Vladimir Rosing gave a series of performances of what were described as "Opèras intimes" at the Æolian Hall; at the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, Gustav Holst's "Savitri" was given, and there also that colossally successful "Beggars' Opera" continued its unbroken career right through the year. From the ashes of the Beecham Opera Company (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1920) there sprang the British National Opera Company, the founders of which were a number of the principal singers, etc., of the Beecham Company. Many meetings were held in London and various important provincial cities, the foundations were, seemingly, well and truly laid, but by the turn of the year we had the promise only of a series of performances. The once brilliant "grand" opera season in the spring seems unquestionably to have passed away.

The orchestral position was as parlous as ever. There was little, if any, sign of a change in the well-nigh prohibitive cost of an orchestral concert from that of the previous year, nor is it easy to see how a reduction of any importance can be made. The fact, however, remains, that with the rise of fees due to cost of living, and the more or less definite fixture of the prices of entry, some drastic measures must be adopted or orchestral concerts must cease to exist. In spite of this the usual serial orchestral concerts were held, and if they paid their way, funds were provided to a considerable extent in the manner of private subscriptions which formed a kind of subsidy. The Royal Philharmonic Society held its usual season in the spring under the direction of Albert Coates and Hamilton Harty, and in the autumn Lionel Tertis played for the first time Arnold Bax's Viola Concerto, and Holst's ballet "The Perfect Fool"

was produced; but there is no denying the fact that complaints were rife that the historic old Society owed not a little of its more or less doubtful position to its own lack of initiative—which, in its turn, was due to paucity of funds. This vicious circle, however, was not the sole prerogative of the R.P.S. Albert Coates conducted the London Symphony Orchestra's season, during which he produced a symphonic poem by Laurence Collingwood—a former coadjutor of Coates in Petrograd—and “A Song of the Night,” by Karol Szymanoffsky, a Polish composer hitherto quite unknown to us; but again the complaint was loud and long of the shortage of money. A very fine performance was given at one concert of Brahms's “Requiem” with the aid of the young Philharmonic Choir, and at another of Bach's B-Minor Mass. It is worth recording that for a week before this latter performance, advertisements announced that the Queen's Hall was sold out. Yet the balance sheet of the Society showed that there was a considerable deficit on the concert—a fact, on the face of it, to give one pause. The Queen's Hall Symphony concerts, Sir Henry J. Wood conducting, as always before went their way, producing an occasional new work, and though these new works included a symphony by Sibelius, an Indian Fantasy by Busoni, the “Prelude to a Drama” by the leader of the advanced German School of to-day, Schreker, and Grainger's suite “In a Nutshell,” it is little likely that any will take a permanent place in the concert repertory. Apart from the regular series of concerts, several interesting experiments were made by younger men, who organised serial concerts, the basis of which was different in some way or other from the ordinary. Thus Edward Clark and Anthony Bernard gave concerts with very small orchestras of about twenty to twenty-five players—and each met with a complete artistic success. They introduced no little of the most recent English and Continental music as well as old, and it was found to be something of a new pleasure to note how much clearer the inner parts of many of these compositions sounded than under the old conditions. Adrian C. Boult organised a series of fine orchestral concerts on Sunday afternoons at the People's Palace, and though there was a financial deficit at the end, the good purpose served by the concerts was so well appreciated by the Directors that they themselves undertook the burthen of a further series. The Queen's Hall “Promenades” were more than ever successful, and it is noteworthy in this connexion that the most popular evening of the week was Friday when a severely classical programme, usually of Bach and Beethoven, was offered. Eugène Goossens gave a series of concerts in Queen's Hall with a superb orchestra selected by himself from the elect of existing orchestras. Here was the home of the extreme modern in music, though it is worthy of record that in spite of the success of “Sacre du Printemps,” the most powerful success was made by Elgar's transcription for a full orchestra of Bach's C-minor fugue—a work that enjoyed the unusual fate of having to be repeated at each of its first few performances. Goossens established his claim to consideration as a very first-rate conductor by means of these concerts. The Albert Hall and Queen's Hall Sunday concerts were as insistent as usual.

In the realm of Chamber Music there was much activity in spite of the prolonged absence on foreign tours of the leading players, the London

String Quartet. Before they left, however, they held a Beethoven Festival in the Æolian Hall, and incidentally they produced a Quartet by the eminent violinist, Fritz Kreisler. Other Chamber Music Organisations which met with success were the Josef Holbrooke, the Spencer Dyke, the London Trio, the Chamber Music Players, the Philharmonic Quartet, the Flonzaleys, the Classical Concert Society.

Diaghileff's Russian Ballet Company visited London twice. In the summer, at the Prince's Theatre, they produced, for the first time, "Chout," a ballet by the Russian Prokofieff. But not for long has anything at their hands equalled the beauty of Tchaikovsky's ballet "The Sleeping Princess," more especially in the matter of Bakst's wonderful *décor*. This beautiful work occupied the Alhambra Theatre during the autumn.

The Royal Choral Society continued as usual upon its well-worn track of popular oratorio and cantata; the London Choral Society was revived by Arthur Fagge, its original founder, and the Bach Choir now directed by Dr. Ralph Vaughan Williams, the fine Glasgow Orpheus Choir, the London Orpheus Choir under Kennedy Scott, gave highly successful concerts.

Soloists visited London during the year from most parts of the world. The eminent Russian Chalyapin, having obtained a permit from the Russian Government to travel abroad, appeared with immense success, and amongst other singers were Ethel Frank and Roland Hayes, a very accomplished negro singer, Tetrizzini and D'Alvarez. The pianists of real distinction were abundant and welcome. They included Siloti, Rosenthal, Busoni, Pouishnoff, Josef Hofmann, Cortot, Rubinstein, Gabrilowitsch, Brailowsky—a brilliant newcomer; Harold Samuel, a Londoner, held his own against all as a player of Bach, of whose music he gave six recitals in one week. Kreisler, the violinist, created a furore: he visited England in the summer and again—to play Elgar's concerto—in December. Kubelik also returned after many years absence, and Thibaud, Toscha Seidel (first appearance), Albert Sammons, Lionel Tertis, Felix Salmon, Beatrice Harrison, Casals, Joseph Salmon, and Boris Hambourg all appeared.

Musical *littérateurs* were very busy. Apart from several new musical journals were some volumes of note. Of these the chief were the English—or American—edition of Thayer's "Life of Beethoven," edited by H. E. Krehbiel, and a useful American volume of Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." At the end of the year a striking success was made by "A Musician's Pilgrim's Progress."

During the twelve months far more native music was heard than usual, and notable among the musicians who emphasised the mark previously made were Adrian Boult, Eugène Goossens, Arthur Bliss, John Ireland.

## FINANCE AND COMMERCE IN 1921.

NOT for a hundred years has British finance and commerce experienced such a disappointing year as 1921. It was a period of unrelieved gloom. The collapse in commodity prices which began in the closing months of 1920 continued without interruption throughout 1921, and at the end of December *The Times* index number of wholesale prices of commodities was 162·1 (100 representing the average monthly price level in 1913), as compared with 251·2 on December 31, 1920, and with 352·9 on April 30, 1920, which represented the peak of the advance. The fall in 1921 was thus 35·5 per cent. The monthly average of the index number was 189·5, as compared with 321·8 in 1920, a decline of 41 per cent. During the year the fall in food and raw materials was approximately the same, the fall in the former being 35·5 per cent. and the latter 35·3 per cent. We reproduce below *The Times* index numbers since January, 1920, based on the prices of sixty commodities, with the percentage changes in the total index number as compared with the preceding month :—

	Food.	Materials.	Total Index Number.	Inc. or Dec. Per Cent.
January, 1920 - - -	287·4	355·3	330·4	—
February, „ - - -	278·3	377·0	340·9	+ 3·2
March, „ - - -	293·3	386·9	352·6	+ 3·4
April, „ - - -	301·2	382·8	352·9	—
May, „ - - -	305·9	372·0	347·8	- 1·3
June, „ - - -	304·4	352·5	334·8	- 3·7
July, „ - - -	300·2	351·7	332·8	- 0·6
August, „ - - -	287·5	346·2	324·7	- 2·4
September, „ - - -	293·5	332·5	318·2	- 2·0
October, „ - - -	297·8	309·9	305·5	- 4·0
November, „ - - -	276·5	265·4	269·5	- 11·7
December, „ - - -	260·8	245·6	251·2	- 6·3
January, 1921 - - -	244·8	219·7	228·9	- 8·8
February, „ - - -	226·3	202·3	211·1	- 7·7
March, „ - - -	223·7	191·6	203·4	- 3·6
April, „ - - -	216·4	187·6	198·2	- 2·5
May, „ - - -	206·7	185·0	193·3	- 2·5
June, „ - - -	205·2	176·0	186·7	- 3·4
July, „ - - -	208·8	173·6	186·5	- 0·1
August, „ - - -	209·1	169·0	183·8	- 1·4
September, „ - - -	187·8	176·7	180·8	- 1·6
October, „ - - -	175·1	169·4	171·5	- 5·1
November, „ - - -	179·0	160·8	167·5	- 2·3
December, „ - - -	168·1	158·8	162·1	- 3·2

The actual prices of the commodities included in the calculation are shown in the following table, comparison being made with the quotations on December 31, 1920 :—

Commodities.	Dec. 31, 1921.	Dec. 31, 1920.
<b>FOOD.</b>		
Wheat, Eng., Gaz. Av. - 480 lb.	44s. 7d.	86s. 9d.
„ No. 2, N. Man. - 496 lb.	54s. 6d.	107s.
Flour, Ldn, Straights - 280 lb.	47s.	80s.
Barley, Eng., Gaz. Av. - 400 lb.	45s. 7d.	72s. 7d.
Oats, Eng., Gaz. Av. - 312 lb.	28s. 1d.	42s. 9d.
Maize, La Plata, ex ship - 480 lb.	33s.	57s. 6d.
Rice, No. 2, Burma - cwt.	15s.	25s.
Beef, English sides - 8 lb.	6s. 6d.	11s. 10d.
„ S. Amer. chilled - 8 lb.	5s. 4d.	6s. 8d.
Mutton, N.Z. frozen - 8 lb.	3s. 11d.	5s.
Bacon, Irish lean - cwt.	137s.	230s.
„ Amer. Cumb. - cwt.	88s.	190s.
Fish <sup>1</sup> - - - - stone	6s.	6s. 1d.
Eggs, English - - - 120	36s.	53s. 4d.
Sugar, Eng. ref., cubes - cwt.	51s. 6d.	76s.
„ W. Ind. cryst. - cwt.	39s. 6d.	62s. 6d.
Tea, Ind. auctn. Avg. - lb.	1s. 3½d.	1s. 1½d.
Cocoa, Trinidad, mid. - cwt.	51s. 6d.	73s. 6d.
Cheese, Eng. Cheddar - cwt.	112s.	145s.
Butter, Danish, fine - cwt.	174s.	336s.
Lard, Amer. ref., pails - cwt.	63s. 3d.	155s. 6d.
Potatoes, English, good - ton	9l.	11l.
<b>MATERIALS.</b>		
Pig iron, Hemt. M'bro. - ton	100s.	260s.
„ Cleve'd., No. 3 - ton	100s.	225s.
Iron, marked bars, Staff. - ton	16l.	33l. 10s.
„ Com. bars - - - ton	13l.	29l. 10s.
Steel, rails, heavy - - ton	9l. 10s.	25l.
„ boiler plates - - ton	16l.	31l.
„ galvzd. sheets - - ton	17l. 10s.	30l.
„ tinplates - - - box	20s.	33s.
Copper, electrolytic - - ton	74l.	80l.
„ strong sheets - - ton	98l.	130l.
Tin, stand., cash - - ton	170l. 10s.	205l. 15s.
Lead, English - - - ton	26l.	25l. 10s.
Spelter, foreign - - ton	27l. 2s. 6d.	26l.
Coal, lge. steam, C'd'ff - ton	25s. 6d.	90s.
„ best gas, Durham - ton	21s. 6d.	70s.
„ best hse., Yorks - ton	37s. 6d.	37s. 2d.
Petlm., Amer. rfd., brl. - gal.	1s. 4d.	2s. 3½d.
Cotton, Am., fully mid. - lb.	11-71d.	9-90d.
„ Egypt. f.g.f. Sak. - lb.	21-50d.	22-00d.
„ yarn, 32's twist - lb.	18d.	22d.
„ „ 60's „, Egp. - lb.	28d.	34d.
„ shirtings, 8½ lb. - piece	16s.	19s. 6d.
„ prnt., 17 x 17, 32 in. 125 yards - - - piece	36s.	47s.
Wool, gsy. merino, 60's - lb.	17d.	18d.
„ „ crossbd., 46's - lb.	7½d.	12½d.
„ tops, 64's - - - lb.	50d.	50d.
„ „ 40's - - - lb.	12d.	18d.
Flax, Livonian, Z.K. - ton	120l.	250l.
Hemp, N. Zeal., h.p. fair - ton	38l.	54l.
Jute, first marks, shipment - ton	25l. 10s.	39l.
Hides, Eng. Ox, first - lb.	8½d.	7½d.
„ Cape, dry - - - lb.	9d.	11½d.
Timber, gd. deal, 3 x 9 - stand.	35l.	57l. 10s.
„ W'cot oak, lin. - foot	2s. 6d.	3s. 6d.
Cement, best Portland - ton	3l. 17s. 6d.	4l. 7s. 6d.
Rubber, Plant, sheet - lb.	11½d.	10½d.
Linseed Oil - - - ton	28l. 10s.	41l.
Soda Crystals, bags - - ton	7l.	7l.

<sup>1</sup> Plaice, cod, and haddock.



The fall in prices epitomises the economic tragedy of 1921. It brought disaster to many. There were 5,640 failures, as compared with 2,286 in 1920. This increase of 3,354, however, does not represent the extent of the disaster. The fall in prices was so precipitate and so general that arrangements and compositions had to be made with a large number of companies and firms in order to give them time to liquidate their indebtedness. Credits granted by banks and financial houses to merchants have been frozen in enormous amounts, owing to the inability of merchants to sell goods at a price which would enable them to repay their debts. In one of the chief industries in the country there was a virtual breakdown of the distributing organisation owing to the merchants not being able to liquidate their huge stocks without sustaining disastrous loss. Some progress has been made in liquidating these frozen credits, but a great deal still remain frozen. Unless a rise in prices occurs in the coming year, many of these frozen credits will become bad debts. The banks have naturally helped their customers as much as possible, for they would have gained nothing by forcing the liquidation of assets. Those whose position enables them to get out of their difficulties when a moderate rise in prices occurs will survive, but those whose position is too involved will have to go to the wall. Therefore, as trade revives failures will tend to increase; that is to say, many cases of insolvency will not be allowed to come to light until the losses involved have been somewhat reduced. The most potent cause of the reaction in prices was the impoverishment of Europe as a result of war and revolution. The vast expenditure in the years following 1914, and the interruption of Europe's economic life, left her productive power, which was her purchasing power, gravely impaired. To meet the loss of purchasing power, the Continent resorted to the printing press, with the result that its currencies became less and less valuable in foreign exchange. This depreciation of Continental currencies was a very serious factor in reducing Europe's purchasing power, the reduction affecting countries engaged in primary production as well as those engaged in secondary production, *i.e.*, manufactures. The stagnation of trade reached its most acute point during the three months' coal stoppage, when over two millions of workpeople were without employment, and a very large number on short time. Although the impoverishment of Europe was the predominant cause of the reaction in trade, it was accentuated by the failure of labour to realise the necessity of reducing prices and wages in order to encourage buying. It was also accentuated by the pursuit of a too rigid financial policy. The rise in Bank Rate to 7 per cent. in 1920 was necessary in order to check speculation and the growth of unsound commodity positions, but the rate was maintained at this figure for too long a period, with the result that trade and industry, burdened with extraordinarily high taxation and faced with strenuous competition from the Continent, in a market short of buyers, had also to shoulder heavy banking charges. However, in the spring the screw of dear money began to be loosened, though it was not until November that the Bank of England's minimum rate of discount was lowered to 5 per cent.

National finance was a subject of constant controversy during the year, and the demand for economy grew to such an extent that in the summer

the Chancellor of the Exchequer appointed a Committee composed of business men to investigate the State expenditure, and to make recommendations for reducing it by at least 100,000,000*l.* in 1922-23. Prior to the appointment of this Committee the Treasury had issued a circular to the various Government Departments calling upon them to make a cut of 20 per cent. in their expenditure in the following financial year, which would have saved about 113,000,000*l.* But the response was disappointing, the replies of the departments indicating probable savings of only 75,000,000*l.*, most of which would be automatic. The business men's Committee consisted of Sir Eric Geddes, chairman, Lord Inchcape, Lord Farrington, Sir Guy Grouet, and Sir Joseph Morley, and this Committee presented two interim reports to the Cabinet indicating savings, including those proposed by the Departments themselves, of about 150,000,000*l.* The Committee made drastic recommendations; they proposed to cut down naval and military expenditure severely, and to set up a Ministry of Defence which would combine the three fighting forces, the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. They also proposed heavy cuts in education. To give effect to all of the Committee's recommendations, legislation will be required. In the year ended March 31, 1921, the national debt had been reduced from 7,829,000,000*l.* to 7,574,000,000*l.*, a reduction of 255,000,000*l.*, and the State's total liabilities from 7,876,000,000*l.* to 7,623,000,000*l.* The annual debt service for the year ended March 31, 1922, was estimated at 345,000,000*l.* This takes no account of the cost of meeting the interest and sinking fund charges on the American Debt, payment of which was suspended for the three years ending May, 1922. In the year ended March 31, 1921, the revenue was 1,425,985,000*l.*, against 1,339,571,381*l.* in the preceding year. As expenditure decreased from 1,665,772,928*l.* to 1,195,428,000*l.*, there was a surplus of 230,557,000*l.* as compared with a deficit of 326,201,547*l.* in 1919-20. Income tax yielded 394,146,000*l.*, an increase of 35,047,000*l.*; Excess Profits Duties, 219,181,000*l.*, a decrease of 70,864,000*l.*; Customs, 134,003,000*l.*, a decrease of 15,357,000*l.*; Excise, 199,782,000*l.*, an increase of 66,119,000*l.*; special miscellaneous revenue, mostly comprising receipts from the sale of war stores, and other exceptional revenue, 287,939,795*l.*, an increase of 23,160,763*l.* On the expenditure side of the balance sheet, the debt service took 349,598,616*l.*, against 332,033,708*l.* Supply services took 817,381,000*l.*, against 1,317,568,000*l.* On March 31, 1921, the floating debt was 1,275,330,000*l.*, as compared with 1,312,205,000*l.* on March 31, 1920. On December 31, 1921, the floating debt had been reduced to 1,259,840,000*l.*

Although Sir Robert Horne had succeeded to the Chancellorship, the Budget for 1921-22 was introduced in April by Mr. Austen Chamberlain. He estimated the total revenue at 1,216,650,000*l.*, of which 964,000,000*l.* would be tax revenue, and 252,650,000*l.*, non-tax revenue. Expenditure was estimated at 1,039,728,000*l.* This was subsequently increased to 1,146,123,000*l.* by supplementary estimates, leaving an estimated surplus of 70,527,000*l.* as compared with an original estimated surplus of 176,922,000*l.* By December 31, 1921, the revenue had amounted to 676,831,318*l.*, a decrease of 211,972,410*l.* on the same period of 1920, while the expenditure had decreased from 842,689,719*l.* to 739,990,604*l.* Thus

there was a deficit on the first nine months of the financial year of 63,000,000*l.*, against a surplus of 46,000,000*l.* in 1920.

An innovation was made in the form of the national balance sheet in 1921, by separating the items of "ordinary" from "special" receipts and expenditure. It represented an attempt to follow the Continental practice of ordinary and extraordinary Budgets, the former being made up of regular items and the latter of non-recurring items. The Excess Profits Duty was brought to an end in the Budget of 1921-22, it having been determined to terminate it after seven accounting periods, for every taxpayer liable to it, a period of eighty-four months in all.

Owing to the absence of a large demand for money for trade and speculative purposes, the Treasury was able to dominate the money market to a greater extent than in 1920. The Treasury was quick to realise its opportunity. On March 10 it reduced the rate for selling Treasury Bills from 6½ to 6 per cent. On that date twelve months' bills were put on tap at the same figure. On April 26 the rate for yearlings was reduced to 5¾ per cent., on June 24 to 5½ per cent., and on June 30 sales of these bills were discontinued altogether. Six months' bills, however, were placed on tap at that rate. On April 21 the Treasury decided to revert to the system of selling Treasury Bills by tender, which had been in suspense since 1915. Tenders were invited for three months' bills, the amount of which was fixed, but the Treasury put on sale additional bills at a rate about ¼ per cent. below the latest competitive rate secured at the weekly offerings. The result was a great success, and large amounts in interest were saved to the taxpayer. The rate fell very low at times, and on December 16 the average rate at which the bills were allotted was 3*l.* 5*s.* 3-4*d.* The aim of the Treasury policy was to stimulate sale of 5½ per cent. eight year Treasury Bonds which were put on sale on July 12 and continued to be offered at a price which began at 97 per cent., rose to 98 per cent. in October, and to 99 per cent. in December. From July 12 to December 31 sales of these Treasury Bonds produced no less than 175,365,199*l.* in cash.

The Bank of England maintained a very cautious attitude on the question of money rates. The successive reductions in Bank Rate were made apparently only when the pressure of public opinion was strong. On April 28 Bank Rate was reduced from 7 to 6½ per cent. ; on May 5 the New York Federal Reserve Bank reduced its rate from 7 to 6½ per cent. On June 16 the latter made a further cut to 6 per cent., and on June 23 the Bank of England followed suit. On July 21 both London and New York reduced their rates to 5½ per cent., but when on September 21 the New York Federal Reserve Bank reduced its rate to 5 per cent., the Bank of England refused to follow, presumably because it wished to see a higher rate in London than in New York. On November 3 both London and New York lowered their rates by a further ½ per cent., the Bank of England's rate being made 5 per cent. and the New York Federal Reserve Bank's rate 4½ per cent.

The stagnation of trade created great scarcity of commercial bills, rates for which were in consequence very nominal. Subjoined is our usual table showing the rates for money current during the year :—

1915.	1916.	1917.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.
BANK RATE.						
£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 5 9 3	£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 5 0 0	£ s. d. 5 3 0	£ s. d. 6 14 3	£ s. d. 6 2 3
DISCOUNT RATE (3 MONTHS' BILLS).						
3 14 1	5 4 3	4 16 2	3 17 9	3 18 10	6 8 0	5 4 3
BANKS' DEPOSIT RATE.						
2 12 0	3 14 4	4 0 0	3 1 3	3 3 10	4 14 3	4 2 4
SHORT LOAN RATE.						
2 18 4	4 12 8	4 8 3	3 5 6	3 9 7	4 10 0	4 12 8

The influence of the depression in trade was reflected in the bankers' clearing house returns, in the currency note circulation, and in the reserve position of the Bank of England. The average circulation of Bank of England notes and currency notes combined was 434,500,000*l.*, against 449,000,000*l.* in 1920, and 476,000,000*l.* in 1919. The fiduciary part of the currency note issue reached its highest point in January, when the total was 309,988,395*l.* This automatically becomes the legal maximum for 1922, but this maximum can never be really effective as long as the floating debt remains of very large proportions.

The annual report of the London bankers' clearing house for 1921 shows that the total of bills, cheques, etc., cleared was 34,930,559,000*l.* or 4,088,344,000*l.* less than in 1920. This is a fall of 10½ per cent. The total for 1920 was a record. The figures are as follows:—

	1921.	1920.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Grand total - - - - -	34,930,559,000	39,018,903,000	4,088,344,000
Town Clearing total - - -	30,268,214,000	32,852,933,000	2,584,719,000
Metropolitan Clearing total - -	1,660,166,000	2,093,750,000	433,584,000
Country Cheque Clearing total -	3,002,179,000	4,072,220,000	1,070,041,000

The decrease is not larger than the state of trade would have suggested. Indeed, the smaller monetary turnover on account of bad trade was offset by an active business in foreign currencies, by the issue of Treasury Bonds, and by the marked financial activity in the last three months of the year. It was also offset by the constant renewal of the floating debt. The decrease in the clearing was largest in the second quarter, which covered the period of the coal stoppage, and smallest in the last quarter, which was a period of slowly reviving trade and considerable financial activity. The New York clearing house reported a turnover on the twelve months to November 30, 1921, of 39,941,628,000*l.*, a decrease of 8,693,438,000*l.*, or 18 per cent.

The only bank amalgamation in 1921 was that of Fox, Fowler & Co. with Lloyds Bank. It was an interesting event, for Fox, Fowler & Co. was the last of the private banks to possess a note issue of its own. In

1844, the year of the passage of the Bank Charter Act, there were 204 private note issuing banks.

In the subjoined table is shown the currency note position at the close of the three years ended December 31, 1921 :—

	End December, 1921.	End December, 1920.	End December, 1919.
	£	£	£
Total outstanding - - -	323,839,009	364,924,800	356,152,000
Reserve :—			
Gold - - - - -	28,500,000	28,500,000	28,500,000
Bank of England notes - - -	19,450,000	19,450,000	4,000,000
Reserve ratio - - - - -	14·8 per cent.	13·1 per cent.	9·1 per cent.
Fiduciary issue - - - - -	275,889,009	316,974,800	323,652,000
Legal maximum issue - - -	317,555,200	320,600,000	—

The note circulation of the Bank of England also contracted, as is shown in the following table :—

Bank of England.	December, 1921.	December, 1920.	December, 1919.
	£	£	£
Coin and bullion - - - - -	128,234,400	128,267,000	91,342,200
Note circulation - - - - -	126,520,200	132,851,100	91,350,000
Public deposits - - - - -	16,051,300	14,304,800	19,213,200
Other deposits - - - - -	106,532,500	175,554,600	180,637,900
Reserve (Note and Coin) - - -	20,364,100	13,866,500	18,442,200
Ratio - - - - -	16·6 per cent.	7·3 per cent.	9·2 per cent.
Government securities - - -	36,962,000	107,864,806	92,469,200
Other securities - - - - -	83,165,000	86,028,200	106,777,600

On November 16, 1921, the ratio of the reserve to liabilities was 18·5 per cent.

The exchanges were even more chaotic than in 1920, and at times the market for certain European currencies was utterly demoralised. But the outstanding feature was the rise in the pound sterling in terms of gold (*i.e.*, the American exchange). At the close of the year the quotation was \$4·21½c. or 67¼c. above the figure on December 31, 1920. The highest figure touched was \$4·24c., against \$4·02½c. in 1920, and the lowest \$3·20½c. The fall in prices and the diminished imports from America mainly contributed to the rise in the gold value of the pound, but other factors were the buying of European securities on New York account and the effect on sentiment of the Washington Disarmament Conference. French, Belgian, Italian, Swiss, Czechoslovakian, Sweden, and Danish currencies have appreciated in terms of sterling. Their appreciation in terms of gold is greater than the appreciation of sterling in terms of gold. But inasmuch as the economic position of these countries cannot be regarded as having made greater progress than that of this country, the appreciation of their countries is another instance of the chaotic movements in paper currency. Greek, Finnish, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Austrian, Polish, Rumanian, Norwegian, and the South American and Eastern currencies have all depreciated in terms of sterling. The most extraordinary fluctuations have occurred

in the Polish, Austrian, and German exchanges. The Warsaw exchange touched 26,000 marks to the pound on one occasion; the Vienna (Ausland krone) 14,000 crowns, the Inland crown rate rising to over 30,000. The German rate touched 1,275 marks to the pound at one time, but improved in the closing weeks of the year on hopes of a revision of the reparation payments. Continued resort to the printing press was chiefly responsible for the fall in value of these Continental currencies. No attempt has been made at currency reform on the Continent, but conversion of existing into new currencies is a certainty in the near future.

The following table is reproduced from *The Times' Annual Financial Review* :—

	Parity.	Dec. 31, 1921.	Dec. 31, 1920.	During 1921.	
				Highest.	Lowest.
New York -	£4·86 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·21 $\frac{1}{8}$	3·54 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·24	3·53 $\frac{1}{2}$
Montreal -	£4·86 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·43 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·10 $\frac{1}{2}$	4·59	3·99
Paris -	25f. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	51·90	59·70	61·75	45·62 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brussels -	25f. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	54·52 $\frac{1}{2}$	56·85	61·60	45·67 $\frac{1}{2}$
Italy -	25lr. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	96·60	101·50	109 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>1</sup>	70
Bukarest -	25lei. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	575	283 $\frac{1}{2}$	895 <sup>1</sup>	217 $\frac{1}{2}$
Belgrade -	25d. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	281 $\frac{1}{2}$	127 $\frac{1}{2}$	375	122 $\frac{1}{2}$
Madrid -	25p. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	28·12	26·48	31·30 <sup>1</sup>	26·75
Berne -	25f. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	21·59 $\frac{1}{2}$	23·16	24·23	20·08
Athens -	25dr. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ c.	99·00	48·12 $\frac{1}{2}$	104·00 <sup>1</sup>	48·25
Helsingfors -	25m. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ pf.	223 $\frac{1}{2}$	116 $\frac{1}{2}$	320	107
Lisbon -	53 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.	4d.
Amsterdam -	12fl. 107c.	11·39 $\frac{1}{2}$	11·26	11·83 $\frac{1}{2}$	11·07
Berlin -	20m. 43pf.	771	258	1,275 <sup>1</sup>	203
Vienna -	24kr. 02c.	11,000	1,525	15,000 <sup>1</sup>	1,200
Prague -	24kr. 02c.	280	307 $\frac{1}{2}$	430	262 $\frac{1}{2}$
Warsaw -	20m. 43pf.	12,250	2,250	26,000 <sup>1</sup>	2,200
Christiania -	18kr. 159	26·17 $\frac{1}{2}$	23·65	31·75 <sup>1</sup>	19·42 $\frac{1}{2}$
Stockholm -	18kr. 159	16·70	17·69	17·80	16·40
Copenhagen -	18kr. 159	20·88 $\frac{1}{2}$	23·12	23·75 $\frac{1}{2}$	18·80
Alexandria -	97 $\frac{1}{2}$ p.	97 $\frac{1}{8}$	97 $\frac{1}{8}$	97 $\frac{1}{8}$	97 $\frac{1}{8}$
Bombay -	2s.	1/4	1/5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/3
Calcutta -	2s.	1/4	1/5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/3
Madras -	2s.	1/4	1/5 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/6 $\frac{1}{8}$	1/3
Hongkong -	—	2/7 $\frac{3}{8}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{8}$	3/2 $\frac{1}{8}$	2/2 $\frac{1}{8}$
Yokohama -	24·58d.	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Shanghai -	—	3/6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4/1 $\frac{1}{8}$	4/2 $\frac{1}{8}$	2/11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Singapore -	—	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manila -	24·06d.	2/2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2/6	—	—
Rio de Janeiro -	27d.	7 $\frac{3}{8}$	9 $\frac{1}{8}$	10 $\frac{3}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Buenos Aires -	47·58d.	43	51 $\frac{1}{8}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	40 $\frac{1}{8}$
Valparaiso -	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	40·10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>2</sup>	40·60	30·40
Montevideo -	51d.	41 $\frac{1}{8}$	50	51	38 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lima -	Par.	16% a	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ % b	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ % a	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ % b
Mexico -	24·58d.	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>1</sup> Highest quotation per £1. on record.

<sup>2</sup> In April last the method of quoting was changed from pence to peso, to dollar to £.

a Premium. b Discount.

The experience of banks was entirely different to that of 1920. With gradually falling interest rates, and with a lessened demand for advances, the most profitable part of a bank's operations, profits underwent a considerable shrinkage. In addition bad debts were numerous and in some

cases of considerable extent. On the other hand, owing to the rise in gilt-edged stocks, the banks were relieved of the necessity of providing, as in previous years, large sums for depreciation of investments. On December 31, 1921, the deposits of the clearing banks amounted to 1,863,093,000*l.*, as compared with 1,847,000,000*l.* on December 31, 1920. At the beginning of the year the total of commercial bills was approximately the same as in 1918, namely, about 350,000,000*l.*; at the end they had fallen to 100,000,000*l.* Advances of the clearing banks fell from 861,000,000*l.* to 792,000,000*l.*

The amount of new capital issues in London in 1921 was 388,978,000*l.*, as compared with 367,549,000*l.* in 1920. But there was an important difference in the destination of the loans. British Government loans accounted for 202,896,000*l.* of the total, against only 37,530,000*l.* in 1920. There were also extensive colonial borrowings, these accounting for 73,650,000*l.*, against 11,970,000*l.* in 1920. Loans for foreign Governments were raised to the extent of 5,905,000*l.*, against nil in 1920. Housing finance played a less important part in the financial activity of the year, the total of British corporation loans being only 19,004,000*l.*, against 46,571,000*l.* in 1920. There was a heavy falling off in the loans raised for industrial concerns, this being due, of course, to the depression in trade. Of the total flotations 276,176,000*l.* were on account of United Kingdom borrowers, against 328,951,000*l.* in 1920; 90,578,000*l.* for the British Possessions, against 31,640,000*l.*; and 22,224,000*l.* for foreign countries, against 7,888,000*l.* Thus the geographical distribution is veering round to the pre-war proportions. Before the war the proportion of capital issues raised for oversea borrowers was 80 per cent. We cannot invest abroad that proportion of our capital now, owing to the absence of borrowers with good security; moreover, we have not the capital available to lend on the pre-war scale, and the loans granted to oversea borrowers this year do not so much represent capital already saved as capital to be saved in the future.

	1921.	1920.	1913.
	£	£	£
United Kingdom - - - -	276,176,000	328,021,000	35,951,200
British Possessions - - - -	90,578,000	31,640,000	76,137,200
Foreign Countries - - - -	22,224,000	7,888,000	84,448,600
Total - - -	388,978,000	367,549,000	196,537,000

The year was an important one in the history of labour. Unemployment was on a scale larger than for a hundred years past. Ten millions was distributed out of trade union savings and a much larger amount was paid out by the State in relief. In every industry wages were reduced, and in some cases below the level of real wages before the war. A three months' coal stoppage which began in April and terminated in July caused the virtual collapse of the Triple Alliance of the three great trade unions, composed of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers. The agriculture wages board was abolished. After the coal strike the output gradually increased, and in the week ended December

17, the production was 5,026,800 tons, against 5,307,000 tons in the same week of 1920. The figure of 5,026,800 tons was the highest for 1921. There was, however, a very serious reduction in the year's output. The total for the year was 160,000,000 tons, against 230,000,000 in 1920, and 285,000,000 in 1913. Pig iron output for 1921 was 2,500,000 tons, against 7,500,000 tons in 1920, and 10,000,000 in 1913. Steel production was 3,500,000 tons, against 8,000,000 in 1920, and the same in 1913. The coal output was the lowest since 1887, and the iron output the lowest since 1850.

There was a very serious diminution in both value and volume of overseas trade during 1921. The returns issued by the Board of Trade showed that imports for the year amounted to 1,086,687,000*l.*, and exports and re-exports to 810,248,000*l.* These figures compare with 1,932,649,000*l.* and 1,557,222,000*l.* respectively in 1920, the decreases being equal to 44 and 48 per cent. respectively. The apparent adverse balance for the year was 276,439,000*l.*, against 375,427,000*l.* in 1920. These figures indicated clearly the extent of the trade depression during the year, caused by the distressed economic condition of the world. Imports of food, drink, and tobacco fell by nearly 200,000,000*l.*, those of raw materials and articles mainly unmanufactured decreased by nearly 440,000,000*l.*, and those of wholly or mainly manufactured goods by over 200,000,000*l.* Exports and re-exports of these commodities dropped by 29,000,000*l.*, 155,000,000*l.*, and 558,000,000*l.*, respectively.

The United Kingdom's exports showed decreases of nearly 13,500,000*l.* in foodstuffs, 82,000,000*l.* in raw materials and mainly unmanufactured goods, and no less than 531,000,000*l.* in articles wholly or mainly manufactured. The chief declines were 222,750,000*l.* in cotton yarns, 79,750,000*l.* in woollen and worsted yarns, and 65,000,000*l.* in iron and steel manufactures. Export of railway material, however, rose from 130,000 tons in 1920 to 176,000 tons, an increase of 36 per cent.

The Government's Export Credit scheme, a plan artificially to promote the revival of the country's export trade, was amended early in the year, and in the autumn it was substantially extended. In the spring it was decided not to give advances to exporters, as originally planned, but to give a guarantee up to 85 per cent. of the selling value of the goods exported. The next stage in the evolution of the scheme was taken in November, when an amending Act was passed extending the application of the scheme from a few of the distressed countries of Europe to the whole world, with the exception of India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Russia. Under the amending Act the Export Credit Department was authorised to guarantee up to 100 per cent. of the export value. Down to December, 1921, about 6,250,000*l.* of advances and guarantees had been sanctioned out of a maximum of 26,000,000*l.* In November, 1921, the Government passed the Trade Facilities Bill which authorised the Government to spend up to 25,000,000*l.* in guaranteeing the interest on and principal of loans floated in London, provided the loans were calculated to increase employment in this country.

Nineteen twenty-one left the shipping industry in a state of almost complete stagnation. For the cargo carrying vessels, of which the industry is mainly composed, there were few or no orders on hand, and



none in sight, and all over the country docks were full of idle ships. Indeed, considerable difficulty was experienced in securing berthage for all the vessels unemployed. Companies throughout the year were faced with enormous difficulties. The trade depression and the great excess of tonnage, much of which was built during the temporary trade boom immediately subsequent to the war, caused a continuance of the heavy fall in freights experienced at the end of 1920, those for America-Europe coal, for instance, dropping from \$18 to about \$6. This trouble was accentuated by the absence of a corresponding fall in working costs, which remained at a very high level. Merchants, if wishing to sell their ships, found that their values had fallen enormously, and that the loss on sale would be far too serious to incur. Consequently, many firms were compelled to close down, to wait for better times to come round. Altogether the year was one the passing of which shipping merchants were distinctly glad to see.

Owners of passenger steamers suffered least, although there was a considerable diminution in this kind of traffic, owing to the demand by would-be passengers who had been held up by the war having been satisfied in 1920, and the continued high level of passenger rates.

There was, of course, a large decline in tonnage output. World output decreased on the year from 6,947,000 to 5,190,000 tons (25 per cent.), British output from 2,141,000 to 1,596,000 tons (25 per cent.), and United States from 2,743,000 to 1,304,000 (52 per cent.). Germany, on the other hand, produced 623,000 tons, against 204,000 in 1920, an increase of nearly 150 per cent.

At the end of August and the beginning of September an important international shipping conference was held at the Hague, when new Rules for bills of lading were approved. The object of the rules was to draw up a uniform bill of lading and to check the increasing use of "received for shipment bills of lading" which had been declared in the courts to be not bills of lading at all. These rules come into force on January 1, 1922.

The year was a disappointing one for the Stock Exchange. There was a very slight rise in values on the twelve months. A substantial rise took place in fixed interest bearing securities of high class character, but this was largely offset by the fall in speculative securities. Industry throughout the year was beset with many unexpected difficulties. Labour and other political troubles, heavy taxation (despite the abolition of the Excess Profits Duty), foreign competition, the three months' coal stoppage, and the deep-rooted, world-wide economic distress as reflected in chaotic foreign exchanges all tended to retard the reconstructive progress of industry and to bring about the temporary cessation of enterprise. All things considered, the business world came through its ordeal with credit.

The *Bankers' Magazine* calculations of the Stock Exchange values of 387 representative securities during 1921 tell the story of the year on the Exchange simply and clearly. The trade depression, they indicate, touched bottom in April, the first month of the coal stoppage, when the combined value of the securities was 2,284,962,000*l.*, the lowest point for fourteen years, a drop of 24,815,000*l.* since the beginning of the year, and of

no less than 86,038,000*l.* since July, 1914. At the end of the year, when a somewhat belated rally occurred, due mainly to the satisfactory Irish and Washington news, and to the announcement of the lowering of railway freights, which together imparted buoyancy to stock markets generally, the aggregate was 2,332,346,000*l.*, as compared with 2,319,777,000*l.* a year previously. This represents an average rise of approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The figures at the end of each quarter were:—

March -	- 2,288,627,000 <i>l.</i>	September -	2,356,705,000 <i>l.</i>
June -	- 2,290,879,000 <i>l.</i>	December -	2,332,346,090 <i>l.</i>

In October there was a reaction, due mainly to the violent movements in the German exchange and the uncertain political outlook.

The outstanding feature of the year was the substantial advance in British funds, an average rise of approximately 12 per cent. being recorded. This buoyancy was very largely due to the investment in gilt-edged securities of enormous sums of money which in better circumstances of trade would have been employed in industrial enterprises. Other factors in the rise were the good sentimental feeling produced by the Washington Disarmament Conference, and the signing of the Irish Treaty, and low money rates. The quotation for the premier British security, the Five per Cent. War Loan, at the end of the year was 92  $\frac{3}{16}$ , as compared with 82  $\frac{15}{16}$  at the close of 1920, and a rise of 11 points above the lowest point touched.

The coal stoppage, though exercising, of course, a very wide influence upon industry as a whole, naturally affected the coal, iron, and steel trades most severely, and values of these securities suffered an average fall of more than 25 per cent., by far the biggest home individual depreciation. The speculative foreign mining shares experienced an average depreciation of approximately 20 per cent. Next on the black list were American railroad securities, which showed a fall of just under 17  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., largely due to Grand Trunk affairs. A fall of nearly 10 per cent., attributed to American exchange fluctuations, occurred in railways in British possessions. Home railways were better by about 3 per cent. on balance, shipping shares fell away to the extent of 6  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and the rest generally showed firmness on the year, notably those of brewery and electric power companies. Rubber shares were latterly quite a bright spot, although the industry itself passed through the most acute crisis it had ever experienced, distinct improvement being made in the last few months.

Insurance companies had a very lean year. The heavy, all-round fall in values, and the acute trade stagnation not only made it extremely difficult for the marine underwriter to keep his books adequately filled with satisfactory risks, but added many other difficulties to his task. Burn-outs and losses at sea not entirely above suspicion were numerous, and more than a few doubtful claims had to be met, "artificial" realisation of insurance policies being for many unprincipled people the only means of averting insolvency. Cargo underwriting was, of course, only negligibly existent, the fidelity guarantee manager had his worst year, and the "life" manager, though faring, perhaps, best, experienced a big falling off in premiums, owing to the comparative poverty of the public generally.

## LAW.

ALTHOUGH no event of outstanding importance in the legal world occurred in 1921, yet the number of noteworthy incidents was, perhaps, more than usually large. The Courts started the year with the largest amount of business on record. No fewer than 4,378 cases stood in the High Court lists when the Judges reassembled in January, considerably more than half of them being for hearing in the Divorce Court. At the end of the year the number of matrimonial cases had been reduced from 2,450 to 1,032, the huge accumulation of arrears with which the Divorce Court commenced the year having been removed mainly through the voluntary help which the Lord Chancellor and Lord Mersey gave the Court. In the King's Bench Division, on the other hand, notwithstanding the transfer of its bankruptcy work to the Chancery Division, arrears were so persistent that the King's Bench Judges were induced to resume their judicial labours a week before the official close of the Long Vacation. This temporary curtailment of the Long Vacation—which aroused much interest on account of the oft-repeated demand for a permanent reduction of the legal holidays—did not, however, enable the Judges to achieve their purpose. At the close of the year, as at its beginning, a large number of actions were awaiting trial which had lingered in the King's Bench lists more than six months.

To this pressure of work in the King's Bench Division was officially ascribed the failure of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice, and the President of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division to make the necessary Rules for instituting the system of divorce trials at Assizes contemplated by Parliament when it passed the Administration of Justice Act, 1920. "While," said the Attorney-General, "the pressure of work in the King's Bench Courts remains as heavy as it is, it is not practicable to increase the amount of work to be done by the King's Bench Judges at Assizes." Throughout the year, therefore, the Administration of Justice Act, so far as it relates to the local trial of matrimonial cases, was allowed to remain a dead letter. The obvious reply was made in many quarters that if the King's Bench Judges were not numerically equal to their work, their number ought to be increased. More than once the Lord Chancellor intimated than an increase in the judicial staff was necessary. At the Lord Mayor's banquet to the Judges, in particular, he deemed it opportune to urge that "speedy justice" is a fundamental necessity of a civilised community. But the Government took no steps to fulfil the expectation that additional Judges would be appointed with the double object of removing the

arrears in the King's Bench Courts and carrying out the will of Parliament concerning the trial of divorce cases at Assizes.

Two of the most interesting events of the year were associated with our time-honoured system of trial by jury. Women made their first appearance as jurors in the High Court. Upon more than one occasion, even in civil cases, the Judges exercised their power to order a trial before male jurors only where the evidence was regarded as unsuitable for presentation to a mixed jury. Very few women were, however, called upon to serve, not because there was any objection to their presence in the jury box, but because, as the result of the war restrictions upon the right to trial by jury having been made permanent, the number of actions tried with juries was unprecedentedly small. Of the 1,603 actions in the King's Bench lists when the Courts were re-opened after the Long Vacation, only sixty-three were entered to be tried by juries. In the Divorce Court, where some 5,000 cases—most of them, it is true, undefended—were disposed of during the year, only about a dozen juries were empanelled. This decline of trial by jury in the civil courts was in rather strange contrast to an official recognition of its importance in the criminal courts. Grand Juries, which were suspended during the war period, were restored by an Order in Council, notwithstanding a widely-expressed view that they had long ceased to be an essential part of the administration of justice.

No measure of law reform will make the year memorable in legal annals. The Lord Chancellor re-introduced the Law of Property Bill, by which the tenure and transfer of land are to be simplified, but the Bill, which is one of the bulkiest ever presented to Parliament, again failed to get beyond its preliminary stages. But the year, though it yielded nothing of real achievement in the way of law reform, was not lacking in promise. A committee was appointed, with Mr. Justice Horridge as chairman, to consider the long delays in criminal trials at Assizes, through which a considerable number of accused persons are kept in prison three or four months before they are brought to trial, some of whom are found to be innocent when at length they come before a jury. During the closing days of the year another Committee was appointed by the Lord Chancellor to consider the special privileges which the Crown enjoys as a litigant in the courts. Both the Bar Council and the Council of the Law Society, in view of the extended functions of Government Departments, condemned the ancient procedure of "petition of right" as costly, inconvenient, and dilatory.

Several noteworthy changes in the Judiciary occurred. The Earl of Reading, whose appointment as Viceroy of India created a fresh record in the widening field of the lawyer's influence in public affairs, was succeeded in the office of Lord Chief Justice by Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence, the first Puisne Judge to be promoted to the office since Lord Tenterden was appointed nearly 100 years ago. Sir Gordon Hewart, who as Attorney-General had unchallengeable claims to the high position, was not appointed to succeed Lord Reading, because the Prime Minister was unwilling that the Government should lose his Parliamentary services, and Sir A. T. Lawrence—who was raised to the peerage

under the title of Lord Trévethin—in acknowledging the Attorney-General's welcome at his swearing-in, made this graceful allusion to his compliance with the Prime Minister's request: "It is only your high sense of duty that prevents you being the welcomed instead of the welcomer." Before his departure to India the Earl of Reading was entertained by the Bench and Bar in the Middle Temple Hall. The death of Lord Moulton, distinguished alike as a lawyer and a scientist, who rendered the country the most valuable service at the Ministry of Munitions during the war, created a vacancy in the ranks of the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, which Sir Edward Carson, more famous as an advocate than as a jurist, and still more famous as a Parliamentarian, was appointed to fill. The only other change in the higher branches of the Judiciary was that occasioned by the promotion of Mr. Justice A. T. Lawrence to the Lord Chief Justiceship, his place as a Puisne Judge of the King's Bench Division being taken by Mr. G. H. Branson, who was the Attorney-General's "devil" on the Common Law side. Six new County Court Judges were appointed. Judge Shand, Judge Mulligan, Judge Rowland Roberts, and Judge Bryn Roberts resigned, and Judge Dowdall, K.C., Judge Herbert Smith, Judge Dobb, and Judge Caradoc Rees succeeded them. The vacancies caused by the deaths of Judge Mackarness and Judge Macklin were filled by Judge Randolph, K.C., and Judge Bradley. In the *personnel* of the Metropolitan Bench two changes took place, Mr. Bros, who retired after thirty years' service, being succeeded by Mr. Samuel Fleming, and the late Mr. Ralph Bankes, K.C., whose tragic death was widely regretted, by Mr. Samuel Pope. On the Railway and Canal Commission, a judicial body little known to the public but charged with very important duties, the late Lord Terrington was succeeded by Sir John Lewis Coward, K.C., a well-known member of the Parliamentary Bar, while the office of Registrar of the Commission, made vacant by the death of Master Macnamara, was filled by Sir Robert McCall, K.C., one of the oldest leaders of the Common Law Bar. Of larger interest was the election of Lord Finlay, the ex-Lord Chancellor, as the British Member of the Court of Permanent Arbitration at the Hague.

Comparatively few leading decisions of general interest were delivered during the year. The decision which attracted the greatest amount of public attention was that delivered by the House of Lords in *Sutters v. Briggs*, where the Law Lords held that a cheque given for a racing bet was given for an illegal consideration, and that money paid to the indorsee or holder of the cheque was recoverable by action at law. The legality of "whist drives" was again the subject of argument in the courts. A promoter of "whist drives" for money prizes being indicted at the Surrey Sessions under the Gaming Houses Act, 1854, for keeping a gaming house, the Deputy Chairman, notwithstanding a finding of the jury that "skill predominated," directed a verdict of "guilty." Against this verdict there was an appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal, which quashed the conviction on the ground that the Deputy Chairman was not justified in dictating the verdict. This case (*Rex v. Hendrick*) cannot, therefore, be regarded as establishing the legality of "whist drives." On the contrary, the three Judges of the Court declared that there was no evidence to support the finding of the jury that "skill predominated,"

and that the finding did not of itself entitle the appellant to an acquittal. Apart from these gaming cases, no proceedings in the High Court excited more interest than those arising out of the refusal of the Poplar Borough Council to pay the precepts of the London County Council and the Metropolitan Asylums Board. A writ of mandamus was granted to compel the Poplar Borough Council to perform its statutory duty to pay the precepts, and, the order of the Court not being complied with, a writ of attachment was issued, not against the members of the Council as a whole, but against those who had expressed their unwillingness or inability to comply with it. Most of the members of the Council eventually went to prison for contempt of Court, but were released on giving an undertaking to consider an arrangement by which the precepts of the London County Council and the Metropolitan Asylums Board might be met.

A novel question of some constitutional importance was raised in another contempt of court case (*Rex v. Editor of "Daily Mail"*). The words complained of had reference to a court-martial, and the jurisdiction of the High Court to deal with the matter was challenged. The King's Bench judges by whom the motion was heard decided that, a court-martial having no authority to punish for contempt of court, the King's Bench had the power to protect it. They decided, in the end, that the published words were calculated to prejudice the trial before the court-martial, and imposed a fine of 200*l.* upon the editor. Another case of some constitutional importance was *Johnstone v. Pedlar*, in which the House of Lords had to determine the claim of an American citizen, who took part in the Irish rebellion in 1916, against the police authorities for the return of certain moneys which they took from him when he was arrested. His claim was resisted on the ground that the moneys were seized and detained by an officer of the Crown as an "Act of State," but the House of Lords decided that the mere assertion that the claimant was an alien did not entitle the authorities to rely upon this defence, and emphasised the principle that "the subject of a State at peace with His Majesty, while permitted to reside in this country, is under the King's protection."

A much discussed decision was given in *Rex v. Lyon*, in which the Divisional Court held that theatres were not "places of educational interest or value" within the meaning of the Education Code, and that education authorities who spent the ratepayers' money on taking children to see a Shakespeare play at a theatre were liable to be surcharged. Another Local Government case affecting the interests of children created some surprise. It was decided by the House of Lords, in *Glasgow Corporation v. Taylor*, that if a child picks a poisonous berry in a public park and dies in consequence of eating it, the child's father has a right of action against the park authority. Among other cases of general interest may be mentioned *Grant v. Cardiff Hotels Company*, in which it was held that a traveller who enters an inn with the object of becoming a guest, and has some of his property stolen before he is actually accepted as a guest, is entitled to be indemnified by the innkeeper for his loss; and *Great Western Railway Company v. Evans*, in which it was decided that a professional violoncello player is not entitled to have his instrument carried

by a railway company as "personal luggage." The most noteworthy case in the Divorce Court was *Keyes v. Keyes*, where it was decided that no Court in India had power to dissolve the marriage of persons with an English domicile, although the marriage was contracted in India and both husband and wife were resident there.

No great criminal trial is to be added to the legal records of the year, though several murder cases, including that in which a Welsh boy, Harold Jones, having been acquitted on a charge of taking the life of one little girl, was accused of killing another and confessed to having murdered both, excited the morbid interest of a large section of the community. No proceedings in any Court provided a larger measure of sensationalism than those in which the Judicial Committee, agreeing with the findings of the Consistory Court of Lincoln, found Archdeacon Wakeford guilty of the immoral conduct of which he was accused.

Death took a heavy toll of the legal world during the year. The profession lost, in addition to Lord Moulton and other lawyers whose deaths have been incidentally referred to, Lord Halsbury, one of the master figures of more than one generation; Lord Lindley, one of the most learned and widely esteemed men that ever sat on the English Bench; Sir Arthur Charles, who retired from the Bench nearly a quarter of a century ago; Sir John Macdonell, a leading authority on international law, and for many years the Senior Master of the Supreme Court; Mr. Balfour Browne, K.C., one of the most successful members of the Parliamentary Bar; and Mr. Austen-Cartmell, who was the Attorney-General's "devil" on the Chancery side.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

### I. THE IRISH PEACE AGREEMENT.

(DECEMBER 6, 1921.)

ARTICLES of agreement :—

1. Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

2. Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice, and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

3. The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

4. The oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form :—

I . . . . . do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

5. The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counterclaim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

6. Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces, but this shall not prevent



the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the Revenue or the Fisheries.

The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a Conference of Representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

7. The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial Forces:—

(a) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State; and

(b) In time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

8. With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

9. The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

10. The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it, or who retire in consequence of the change of Government effected in pursuance hereof.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

11. Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such elections before the end of the said month.

12. If before the expiration of the said month an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the

provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland), shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications.

Provided that if such an address is so presented a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland, and one who shall be Chairman, to be appointed by the British Government, shall determine, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.

13. For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted be exercised by that Parliament.

14. After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not power to make laws under that Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

15. At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the provisional Government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing Article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and those provisions may include :—

(a) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland.

(b) Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland.

(c) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland.

(d) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland.

(e) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State.

(f) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the Defence Forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively ;

and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

16. Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof, or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status, or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

17. By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

18. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament, and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

*December 6, 1921.*

On behalf of the British  
Delegation :—  
D. LLOYD GEORGE.  
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.  
BIRKENHEAD.  
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.  
L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS.  
HAMAR GREENWOOD.  
GORDON HEWART.

On behalf of the Irish  
Delegation :—  
ARTHUR GRIFFITH.  
MICHAEL COLLINS.  
ROBERT BARTON.  
E. J. DUGGAN.  
GAVAN DUFFY.

#### ANNEX.

1. The following are the specific facilities required :—

##### DOCKYARD PORT AT BEREHAVEN.

(a) Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

##### QUEENSTOWN.

(b) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

## BELFAST LOUGH.

(c) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

## LOUGH SWILLY.

(d) Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

## AVIATION.

(e) Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above ports for coastal defence by air.

## OIL FUEL STORAGE.

(f) Haulbowline { To be offered for sale to commercial companies  
Rathmullen { under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain  
                  { a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.

2. A Convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions :—

(a) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government ; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government ; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.

(b) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof, and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

(c) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes subject to Admiralty inspection and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

3. A Convention shall be made between the same Governments for the regulation of Civil Communication by Air.

## II. U.S. TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY.

A TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY, SIGNED ON AUGUST 25, 1921, TO RESTORE FRIENDLY RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS PRIOR TO THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

## GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CONSIDERING that the United States, acting in conjunction with its co-belligerents, entered into an Armistice with Germany on November 11, 1918, in order that a Treaty of Peace might be concluded ;

Considering that the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, and came into force according to the terms of its Article 440, but has not been ratified by the United States ;

Considering that the Congress of the United States passed a Joint Resolution, approved by the President, July 2, 1921, which reads in part as follows:—

*“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war declared to exist between the Imperial German Government and the United States of America by the joint resolution of Congress approved April 6, 1917, is hereby declared at an end.*

“Sec. 2. That in making this declaration, and as a part of it, there are expressly reserved to the United States of America and its nationals any and all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations, or advantages, together with the right to enforce the same, to which it or they have become entitled under the terms of the Armistice signed November 11, 1918, or any extensions or modifications thereof; or which were acquired by or are in the possession of the United States of America by reason of its participation in the war or to which its nationals have thereby become right-fully entitled; or which, under the Treaty of Versailles, have been stipulated for its or their benefit; or to which it is entitled as one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers; or to which it is entitled by virtue of any Act or Acts of Congress; or otherwise.

. . . . .

“Sec. 5. All property of the Imperial German Government, or its successor or successors, and of all German nationals, which was, on April 6, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or of any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, and all property of the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its successor or successors, and of all Austro-Hungarian nationals which was on December 7, 1917, in or has since that date come into the possession or under control of, or has been the subject of a demand by the United States of America or any of its officers, agents, or employees, from any source or by any agency whatsoever, shall be retained by the United States of America and no disposition thereof made, except as shall have been heretofore or specifically hereafter shall be provided by law until such time as the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively made suitable provision for the satisfaction of all claims against said Governments respectively, of all persons, wheresoever domiciled, who owe permanent allegiance to the United States of America and who have suffered, through the acts of the Imperial German Government, or its agents, or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or its agents, since July 31, 1914, loss, damage, or injury to their persons or property, directly or indirectly, whether through the ownership of shares of stock in German, Austro-Hungarian, American, or other corporations, or in consequence of hostilities or of any operations of war, or otherwise, and also shall have granted to persons owing permanent allegiance to the United States of America most-favoured-nation treatment, whether the

same be national or otherwise, in all matters affecting residence, business, profession, trade, navigation, commerce, and industrial property rights, and until the Imperial German Government and the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government, or their successor or successors, shall have respectively confirmed to the United States of America all fines, forfeitures, penalties, and seizures imposed or made by the United States of America during the war, whether in respect to the property of the Imperial German Government or German nationals or the Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Government or Austro-Hungarian nationals, and shall have waived any and all pecuniary claims against the United States of America."

Being desirous of restoring the friendly relations existing between the two nations prior to the outbreak of war ;

Have for that purpose appointed their plenipotentiaries :—

The President of the German Empire, Dr. FRIEDRICH ROSEN, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the President of the United States of America, ELLIS LORING DRESEL, Commissioner of the United States of America to Germany ;

Who, having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows :—

#### ARTICLE I.

Germany undertakes to accord to the United States, and the United States shall have and enjoy, all the rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages specified in the aforesaid Joint Resolution of the Congress of the United States of July 2, 1921, including all the rights and advantages stipulated for the benefit of the United States in the Treaty of Versailles which the United States shall fully enjoy notwithstanding the fact that such Treaty has not been ratified by the United States.

#### ARTICLE II.

With a view to defining more particularly the obligations of Germany under the foregoing Article with respect to certain provisions in the Treaty of Versailles, it is understood and agreed between the High Contracting Parties :—

(1) That the rights and advantages stipulated in that Treaty for the benefit of the United States, which it is intended the United States shall have and enjoy, are those defined in Section 1, of Part IV., and Parts V., VI., VIII., IX., X., XI., XII., XIV., and XV.

The United States in availing itself of the rights and advantages stipulated in the provisions of that Treaty mentioned in this paragraph will do so in a manner consistent with the rights accorded to Germany under such provisions.

(2) That the United States shall not be bound by the provisions of Part I. of that Treaty, nor by any provisions of that Treaty including those mentioned in paragraph (1) of this Article, which relate to the Covenant of the League of Nations, nor shall the United States be bound by any action taken by the League of Nations, or by the Council or by

the Assembly thereof, unless the United States shall expressly give its assent to such action.

(3) That the United States assumes no obligations under or with respect to the provisions of Part II., Part III., Sections 2 to 8 inclusive of Part IV., and Part XIII. of that Treaty.

(4) That, while the United States is privileged to participate in the Reparation Commission, according to the terms of Part VIII. of that Treaty, and in any other Commission established under the Treaty or under any agreement supplemental thereto, the United States is not bound to participate in any such commission unless it shall elect to do so.

(5) That the periods of time to which reference is made in Article 440 of the Treaty of Versailles shall run, with respect to any act or election on the part of the United States, from the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty.

### ARTICLE III.

The present Treaty shall be ratified in accordance with the constitutional forms of the High Contracting Parties and shall take effect immediately on the exchange of ratifications which shall take place as soon as possible at Berlin.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty and have hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate in Berlin this twenty-fifth day of August, 1921.

[By a proclamation of the President signed November 14, 1921, war between the United States and Germany was declared to have terminated July 2, 1921.]

Identical Treaties of Peace were also made with Austria (Aug. 24, 1921) and Hungary (Aug. 29, 1921).

### III. THE NANSEN AGREEMENT.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN DR. FRITHJOF NANSEN, HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF, APPOINTED BY THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, AND GEORGE TCHITCHERINE, PEOPLE'S COMMISSARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC.

WHEREAS the Russian Government has learned that a Conference was held at Geneva on August 15, at which eighty delegates of Governments and private organisations were represented, to consider the measures to be taken to render assistance to the famine and disease-stricken areas of Russia; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has accepted the invitation of this Conference to act as High Commissioner to co-ordinate the various activities, governmental and private, deriving their authority from the said Conference; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has arrived at an agreement in regard to the despatch and distribution of supplies to be furnished to Russia by voluntary societies, the main lines of which are contained in Annex A of this Agreement; and

Whereas Dr. Nansen has conferred with the Russian Government as to the extent of the needs of the afflicted areas, and as to the physical factors, climatic and transport, which limit the assistance which can be effectively rendered ; and

Whereas the Russian Government has furnished information contained in Annex 2 of this Agreement, which shows in detail the extent to which relief is required in each of the provinces, and the methods by which relief can best be sent to these provinces ; and as this information shows clearly that the amount of relief required far surpasses the maximum aid which can be rendered either by gifts or by the efforts of European charitable organisations—

Therefore the Russian Government, realising that funds are required to prevent a catastrophe, which would not only bring appalling misery to vast numbers of Russians but also have lasting effect on the economic life of Europe, requests Dr. Nansen, in its name, at once to approach European Governments to secure a credit for Russia of 10,000,000*l.*, which sum, although not in any way adequate to meet the present situation, would enable immediate steps to be taken to counteract the existing distress.

In requesting Dr. Nansen to undertake this mission on these lines, the Russian Government expresses itself willing to undertake the following obligations towards the Governments providing the loans :—

(a) The Russian Government, on being informed of the credits which would be found by any one Government, will furnish that Government or any organisation formed by it with forms of request signed by the Russian Government, and containing a clause binding the Russian Government to give relief bonds, somewhat in the form attached, for the value of commodities delivered ;

(b) As soon as the credits are announced, the Russian Government will, in conjunction with Dr. Nansen, draw up a detailed programme of the commodity requirements, and of the ports at which they are to be delivered ; and the lending Government, or Dr. Nansen, will make, through qualified experts, the most economical arrangements possible for the purchase and shipment of the supplies ;

(c) In cases where the sea transport ends at a port outside Russia (*e.g.*, Riga), the arrangements for transport on rail to the Russian frontier will be carried out by Dr. Nansen, in conjunction with the neighbouring Governments concerned ;

(d) Delivery of supplies will be taken against bills of lading or other documents to be signed by duly authorised representatives of the Russian Government at the frontier stations or the Russian ports concerned ;

(e) Distribution of supplies should be undertaken by the International Russian Relief Executive Committee in Moscow, constituted in accordance with the provisions of Clause 1 of the agreement contained in Annex 1, and on which a limited number of representatives of principal lending Governments will be added, and the provisions with regard to distribution and supervision shall apply *mutatis mutandis*.

(f) In order effectively to supervise the distribution both of gifts furnished by voluntary organisations and of any supplies furnished against governmental relief credits, the Russian Government undertakes



to allow Dr. Nansen, with the approval of the Russian Soviet Government, to send into Russia such personnel as he finds necessary for the relief work, and the Russian Government guarantees them full liberty and protection while in Russia.

In addition, the Russian Government agrees to accord Dr. Nansen the same facilities which have been accorded to the American Relief Administration in Clauses 2-6, 13-17, 18-21, 25, and 27 of the agreement made with the American Relief Administration at Riga on August 20, 1921, and signed by M. Litvinoff on behalf of the Council of People's Commissaries of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

Dr. Nansen undertakes that his personnel in Russia will confine themselves strictly to the administration of relief, and will engage in no political or commercial activity whatever.

Dr. Nansen will carry on his operations where he considers relief can be administered most effectively and with the best results. His principal object is to bring relief to the famine-stricken areas of the Volga.

(Signed) FRITHJOF NANSEN,

*High Commissioner for Russian Relief  
appointed by the Geneva Conference.*

(Signed)

GEORGE TCHITCHERINE,  
*People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs,  
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.*

Moscow, August 27, 1921.

#### ANNEX A.

Dr. Nansen, High Commissioner for Russian Relief, appointed by the Conference held at Geneva on August 15, 1921, and M. Tchitcherine, People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, representing the Russian Soviet Government, have agreed upon the following principles of European voluntary effort to help the famine-stricken population in Russia:—

(1) A commission shall be formed in Moscow, which shall be called the "International Russian Relief Executive," consisting of one representative of Dr. Nansen acting on behalf of the International Relief Conference, Geneva, and one representative of the Russian Government.

(2) The I.R.R.E. shall alone decide with regard to the distribution of supplies to Russia by the I.R.C.G., or any other organisation acting in conjunction with it.

(3) The supplies thus sent to Russia shall remain the absolute requisition property of the I.R.C.G., until their final distribution.

(4) All supplies sent to the I.R.R.E. for distribution will be delivered free at the Russian frontier.

(5) In the case of supplies sent by sea to Russian ports, the Russian Government undertakes to secure the discharge in accordance with ordinary commercial conditions. In case of failure in this respect, the Russian Government will bear the liability for the consequent expense.

(6) The Russian Government undertakes to transport, free of cost, all supplies from the Russian frontier to the distributing centres. The I.R.R.E. shall have the right to supervise the transport of these supplies.

(7) The I.R.R.E. shall decide the general lines on which detailed relief action shall be carried out, and for this the Russo-American Agreement of August 20, 1921, shall serve as basis.

(8) In the interests of systematic distribution and of the best possible use of transport facilities, the Russian Government undertakes to make use, as far as possible, of the I.R.R.E. for distribution of all free gifts sent from outside Russia to relieve the famine, and to inform the I.R.R.E. of all such free gifts, of whatever origin, sent from outside Russia for that purpose. This does not affect the arrangements already made between the Russian Government and the American Relief Administration.

DRAFT BOND TO BE FURNISHED BY THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST SUPPLIES OBTAINED BY MEANS OF GOVERNMENTAL CREDIT.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RUSSIAN RELIEF CREDITS  
OBLIGATION OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

RELIEF SERIES "A" OF 1921 No.....

The Russian Government, for value received, undertakes to pay the .....Government on January 1, 1931, the sum of .....l. sterling, on which principal sum interest will be paid half-yearly, on January 1 and July 1, at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum.

The Russian Government undertakes to pay in the currency of .....both principal and interest, on the appointed date, to.....

Payment of principal and interest on this obligation shall be free from all taxation within Russia or its possessions. This bond is one of a series of obligations of the same nature, and no payment shall be made by the Russian Government for principal and interest on this series of bonds unless a similar payment is correspondingly made in respect of the other relief obligations belonging to the same series.

This series of obligations shall be first charged on the assets and revenues of the Russian Government, and shall have priority, until repaid in full, over any payments made by the Russian Government as a consequence of previous governmental debts of any description whatever.

(Signed) ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT.

IV. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOVIET-RUSSIA AND GERMANY.

(THIS TREATY WAS SIGNED AT BERLIN ON MAY 6, 1921. THE FULL TEXT OF THE MORE IMPORTANT CLAUSES, WITH A SUMMARY OF OTHER CLAUSES, IS GIVEN BELOW.)

THE Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic and the German Government, animated by the desire to serve the cause of peace between Russia and Germany, and to further the welfare of both peoples in a spirit of mutual goodwill, have concluded the following agreement :—

ARTICLE I. — The sphere of activity of the existing Prisoners of War Commissions in both countries is extended so as to place under

their care the interests of all citizens of their respective countries. Commercial sections are to be incorporated in both delegations for the purpose of promoting the economic relations between the two countries. Until the complete resumption of normal relations, the delegations shall be called "Plenipotentiary Mission of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in Germany" and "Plenipotentiary Mission of Germany in Russia." The Mission of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in Germany shall be regarded as the sole representative of the Russian State in Germany.

ARTICLE II. gives the officials of each delegation the usual immunities and diplomatic privileges.

ARTICLE III.—Each Government will do all that is possible to ensure that the Mission of the other party to the agreement obtain sufficient office accommodation, and that its head and personnel obtain adequate dwelling accommodation. Each Government further undertakes to help to obtain whatever material is necessary for the work of the Mission.

ARTICLE IV.—The German Mission in Russia has the right to import, free of customs or other imposts, the necessary material for the upkeep of its office and for the carrying on of its work, as also provisions and supplies necessary for the maintenance of the German personnel of the Mission; the amount to be imported each month not to exceed forty kilograms per person. Authority to admit these articles into Russia will be given by the Russian Mission in the country from which the goods are exported on presentation of a list, which is to be certified in Germany by the Foreign Office, and in other countries by the German representatives in those countries.

ARTICLE V.—The heads of the Missions are accredited to the Department for Foreign Affairs of the respective countries. The Missions will address communications to that department, but will also communicate directly, in commercial matters, with other appropriate departments.

ARTICLE VI.—The following consular functions are entrusted to the Mission :—

(1) To safeguard the interests of their citizens in accordance with international usage.

(2) To issue passports, certificates of identity, and visas.

(3) To register, legalise, and certify documents.

Both parties undertake to open up immediate negotiations in order to arrive at an agreement relating to the registration of civil documents and marriages.

ARTICLE VII.—Each Mission has the right to use the wireless stations and public postal services for official communication with its Government, and the representatives of its Government in other countries; such communications may be in plain language or in cipher. A special agreement regulates the right to use couriers.

ARTICLE VIII.—Until the conclusion of an agreement which settles definitely the right of the citizens of both countries, the following provisions shall be enforced :—

(1) and (2) refer to previous agreements with regard to prisoners of war not yet repatriated.

(3) Those German citizens who enter Russian territory for trade purposes under the provisions of this agreement, and with the necessary passports and other documents, shall enjoy complete immunity both for the property brought with them as well as for the property obtained in Russia, so long as their acquisition of this property, and the use they make of it, are in accord with the special agreements made with the relative organs of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The immunity of this property is to be guaranteed by special official documents issued by the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, in so far as claims do not arise against the holder of such documents arising out of contracts made with the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic after the conclusion of this agreement.

ARTICLE IX.—The Russian Government shall permit those persons who were formerly of German nationality, but whose nationality has lapsed, as well as their wives and children, to leave Russia, provided that satisfactory evidence is given of their intention to emigrate to Germany.

ARTICLE X.—Both parties to the agreement guarantee immunity to the vessels of the other party in their territorial waters and harbours, in accordance with international usage. If Russian vessels, employed for the purposes of commerce, obtain any special privileges with regard to shipping dues, etc., because they belong to the Russian State, the Russian Government guarantees to give similar privileges to all German trading vessels. A vessel belonging to either party to the agreement is, however, liable to detention in the harbours of the other party for claims directly connected with the vessel in question, in such cases as, for example, claims for harbour dues, the cost of repairs, or claims arising out of a collision.

ARTICLE XI.—Both Governments shall forthwith take the necessary steps to reopen, as soon as possible, the public postal, telegraph, and wireless services, and shall regulate such services by special agreements.

ARTICLE XII.—The German Government in Russia shall safeguard the interests of German citizens in Russia through the Trade Mission. The Russian Trade Section of the Mission in Germany is to be regarded as the legal representative of the Russian Government for all public contracts made on German territory. The Russian Government recognises that it is bound by all such contracts, which are signed either by the head of the Mission or the head of the Trade Section, or by any fully authorised representative of either of these persons.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Russian Government undertakes that in all contracts concluded with German citizens, German firms, or German corporations, whether on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic or of States united with the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic in a State scheme for the exchange of products, there shall be a clause providing for recourse to arbitration if required. With regard to contracts concluded in Germany, and the economic consequences of such contracts, the Russian Government recognises the

authority of the German law, and, for civil contracts, the German legal courts and procedure in so far as obligations arise out of contracts with German citizens, German firms, and German corporations concluded after the signature of this agreement. The foregoing shall be without prejudice to the right of the Russian Government to insert arbitration clauses also in the case of contracts concluded in Germany.

ARTICLE XIV. gives both Missions the right to bring the necessary experts.

ARTICLE XV.—Both Missions, and the persons employed in the Missions, must strictly confine their activities to the duties arising out of this agreement; in particular, they are bound to abstain from any agitation or propaganda against the Government or State institutions of the country to which they are accredited.

ARTICLE XVI.—Until the conclusion of a further trade Treaty, this agreement is to be the basis of economic relations between the two countries, and is to be interpreted in the spirit of mutual goodwill for the purpose of promoting these economic relations.

ARTICLE XVII. fixes the notice required to terminate the agreement at three months, and provides for the winding up of current contracts, etc., in that event.

## V. DRAFT OF THE FOUR-POWER TREATY.

(DECEMBER 10, 1921.)

THE draft of the proposed Treaty between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan as laid before the Washington Conference is as follows:—

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, and Japan, with a view to the preservation of the general peace and the maintenance of their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean, have determined to conclude a Treaty to this effect and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:—

The President of the United States —

His Majesty, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India—

And for the Dominion of Canada —

For the Commonwealth of Australia —

For the Dominion of New Zealand —

For India —

The President of the French Republic —

His Majesty, the Emperor of Japan —

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

ARTICLE I.—The high contracting parties agree as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the regions of the Pacific Ocean. If there should develop between any of the high contracting parties a controversy arising out of

any Pacific question and involving their said rights which is not satisfactorily settled by diplomacy and which is likely to affect the harmonious accord now happily subsisting between them, they shall invite the High contracting parties to a joint Conference to which the whole subject will be referred for consideration and adjustment.

ARTICLE II.—If the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other Power, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly or separately to meet the exigencies of the particular situation.

ARTICLE III.—This agreement shall remain in force for ten years from the time it shall take effect, and after the expiration of the said period it shall continue to be in force subject to the right of any of the high contracting parties to terminate it on twelve months' notice.

ARTICLE IV.—This agreement shall be ratified as soon as possible in accordance with the constitutional methods of the high contracting parties, and shall take effect on deposit of the ratifications, which shall take place in Washington, and thereupon the agreement with Japan which was concluded in London in July, 1911, shall terminate.

## VI. TEXT OF U.S. PROPOSAL REGARDING LIMITATION OF NAVIES.

THE United States proposes the following plan for the limitation of naval armaments of the conferring nations. The United States believes this plan safely guards the interests of all concerned. In working out this proposal the United States has been guided by four general principles:—

(a) The elimination of all capital shipbuilding programmes, either actual or projected.

(b) A further reduction through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.

(c) That regard be had to the existing naval strength of the conferring Powers.

(d) United States capital ships tonnage to be taken as the measurement strength for Navies and proportionate allowance for auxiliary combatant craft to be prescribed.

### CAPITAL SHIPS.

#### UNITED STATES.

(1) The United States to scrap all new capital ships now under construction and on the way to completion. This includes six battle-cruisers, seven battleships on the ways and building, two battleships launched.

NOTE.—Paragraph (1) involves the reduction of fifteen new capital ships now under construction, with a total tonnage, when completed, of 618,000 tons, and the total amount of money already spent on fifteen capital ships of \$332,000,000 [83,000,000L].

(2) The United States to scrap all battleships up to, but not including, the *Delaware* and *North Dakota*.

NOTE.—The number of old battleships scrapped under Paragraph 2 is fifteen, and their tonnage amounts to 227,740 tons. The grand total of capital ships to be scrapped is thirty, aggregating 845,740 tons.

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

(3) Great Britain to stop further construction on four new battleships of the Hood class which have not yet been laid down but upon which money has been spent, and which, upon completion, would have a total tonnage of 172,000 tons.

(4) In addition to the four battleships of the Hood class, Great Britain to scrap her pre-Dreadnought second-line battleships. First-line battleships up to, but not including, the King George V. class.

NOTE.—Paragraph (4) involves the disposal of nineteen capital ships, certain of which have already been scrapped, with a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons. The grand total tonnage of ships to be scrapped under this agreement would be 583,375 tons.

#### JAPAN.

(5) Japan to abandon her programme for the building of ships not yet laid down, *viz.*, the *Kii*, *Owari*, No. 7, No. 8 battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 battle-cruisers.

NOTE.—Paragraph (5) does not involve the discontinuance of construction of any ship on which construction has been already begun.

(6) Japan to scrap three battleships, the *Mutsu*, already launched, *Tosa Kaga*, in course of construction, and the *Atago Tako*, not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled. [Mr. Hughes added here, in his speech, that Japan should also scrap four battleships in course of construction.]

NOTE.—Paragraph (6) involves the reduction of seven new capital ships under construction with a total tonnage when completed of 208,100 tons.

(7) Japan to scrap all her pre-Dreadnoughts and capital ships of the second line—this to include the scrapping of all ships up to, but not including, the *Settsu*.

NOTE.—Paragraph (7) involves the scrapping of ten older ships with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons. The grand total reduction in tonnage on vessels existing and laid down for which material has been assembled is 448,928 tons.

#### FRANCE AND ITALY.

(8) In view of certain extraordinary conditions due to the world war affecting the existing Navies of France and Italy, the United States does not consider discussion necessary at this stage of the proceedings of the tonnage allowance of these nations, but proposes that it be reserved for the later consideration of the Conference.

#### OTHER NEW CONSTRUCTION.

(9) No other new capital ships shall be constructed during the period of this agreement except the replacement of tonnage as provided hereinafter.

(10) If the terms of this proposal are agreed to, then the United States, Great Britain, and Japan agree that their Navies three months after the making of this agreement shall consist of the following capital ships:—

## UNITED STATES.

*Maryland, California, Tennessee, Idaho, Mississippi, New Mexico, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Nevada, Texas, New York, Arkansas, Wyoming, Utah, Florida, North Dakota, and Delaware.*<sup>c</sup>

Total, 18—total tonnage, 500,650.

## GREAT BRITAIN.

*Royal Sovereign, Royal Oak, Resolution, Ramillies, Revenge, Queen Elizabeth, Warspite, Valiant, Barham, Malaya, Benbow, Emperor of India, Iron Duke, Marlborough, Erin, King George V., Centurion, Ajax, Hood, Renown, Repulse, and Tiger.*

Total, 22—total tonnage, 604,450.

## JAPAN.

*Nagato, Hiuga, Ise, Yamashiro, Fuso, Settsu, Kirishima, Haruna, Hiyie, and Kongo.*

Total, 10—total tonnage, 299,700.

## DISPOSAL OF OLD AND NEW CONSTRUCTION.

(11) Capital ships shall be disposed of in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

## REPLACEMENTS.

## THE TEN YEARS' NAVAL HOLIDAY.

(12) (a) The tonnage basis for capital ship replacement under this proposal shall be as follows: United States, 500,000 tons; Great Britain, 500,000 tons; Japan, 300,000 tons.

(b) Capital ships twenty years from date of completion may be replaced by new capital ship construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which it is to replace is seventeen years of age from the date of completion, provided, however, that the first replacement tonnage shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the signing of this agreement.

(c) The scrapping of capital ships replaced by new construction shall be undertaken not later than the date of completion of new construction, and shall be completed within three months of the date of completion of new construction, or, if the date of completion of new construction be delayed, then within four years of the laying of the keels of such new construction.

(d) No capital ships shall be laid down during the term of this agreement whose tonnage displacement exceeds 35,000 tons.

(e) The same rules for determining the tonnage of capital ships shall apply to ships of each of the Powers party to this agreement.

(f) Each of the Powers party to this agreement agrees to inform promptly all other Powers party to this agreement concerning: (1)



Makes of capital ships to be replaced by new construction ; (2) date of authorisation of replacement of tonnage ; (3) dates of the laying of keels of replacement tonnage ; (4) the displacement tonnage of each new ship to be laid down ; (5) the actual date of the completion of each new ship ; (6) fact and date of scrapping of ships replaced ; (7) no fabricated parts of capital ships, including parts of hulls, engines, and ordnance, shall be constructed previous to the date of authorisation of replacement tonnage. List of such parts will be furnished by all Powers party to this agreement ; (8) in the case of loss of accidental destruction conformity with the foregoing rules.

#### AUXILIARY COMBATANT CRAFT.

(13) In treating this subject auxiliary combatant craft have been divided into three classes : (a) Auxiliary surface combatant craft ; (b) submarines ; (c) airplane carriers and aircraft.

(14) The term auxiliary surface combatant craft includes cruisers (exclusive of battle-cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers, and all other surface types, except those specifically exempted in the following paragraph.

(15) Existing monitors and unarmoured surface craft as specified in Paragraph 16 under 3,000 tons, fuel ships, supply ships, tenders, repair ships, tugs, minesweepers, and vessels readily convertible from merchant vessels to be exempt from the terms of this agreement.

(16) No new auxiliary combatant craft may be built exempt from this agreement regarding the limitation of naval armament that exceeds the agreement tons displacement and 15 knots speed and carries more than four 5 in. guns.

(17) It is proposed that the total tonnage of cruisers, flotilla leaders, and destroyers allowed to each Power shall be as follows :—

For the UNITED STATES, 450,000 tons.

For GREAT BRITAIN, 450,000 tons.

For JAPAN, 270,000 tons.

Provided, however, that no Power party to this agreement whose total tonnage in auxiliary surface combatant craft on November 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total tonnage of auxiliary combatant craft for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

(18) (a) All auxiliary surface combatant craft whose keels have been laid down by November 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(b) No new construction in auxiliary surface combatant craft, except replacement tonnage as provided hereinafter, shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, such nations as have not reached auxiliary surface combatant craft tonnage allowances herein-before stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

(19) (a) Auxiliary surface combatant craft shall be scrapped in accordance with the methods to be agreed upon in the case of submarines.

## SUBMARINES.

(20) It is proposed that the total tonnage of submarines allowed to each Power shall be as follows :—

For the UNITED STATES, 90,000 tons.

For GREAT BRITAIN, 90,000 tons.

For JAPAN, 54,000 tons.

Provided, however, that no Power party to this agreement whose total tonnage in submarines on November 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total of the November 11, 1921, tonnage of submarines for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

(21) (a) All submarines whose keels were laid down by November 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(b) No new submarine tonnage except replacement tonnage as provided hereinafter shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, that such nations as have not reached submarine tonnage allowance hereinbefore stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

(22) Submarines shall be scrapped in accordance with the methods to be agreed upon.

## AIRPLANE CARRIERS AND AIRCRAFT.

(23) It is proposed that the total tonnage airplane carriers allowed to each Power shall be as follows :—

UNITED STATES, 80,000 tons.

GREAT BRITAIN, 80,000 tons.

JAPAN, 48,000 tons.

It is provided, however, that no Power party to this agreement whose total tonnage in airplane carriers on November 11, 1921, exceeds the prescribed tonnage shall be required to scrap such excess tonnage until replacements begin, at which time the total tonnage of airplane carriers for each nation shall be reduced to the prescribed allowance as herein stated.

(24) (a) All airplane carriers whose keels have been laid down by November 11, 1921, may be carried to completion.

(b) No new airplane carrier tonnage, except replacement tonnage as provided herein, shall be laid down during the period of this agreement, provided, however, that such nations as have not reached the airplane carrier tonnage hereinbefore stated may construct tonnage up to the limit of their allowance.

(25) Airplane carriers shall be scrapped in accordance with methods to be agreed upon.

## AUXILIARY CRAFT REPLACEMENTS.

(26) (a) Cruisers 17 years of age from the date of completion may be replaced by new construction keels. Such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage it is intended to replace is 15 years of age from the date of completion.

(b) Destroyers and flotilla leaders 12 years of age from the date of completion may be replaced by new construction keels. Such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage it is intended to replace is 11 years of age from the date of completion.

(c) Submarines 12 years of age from the date of completion may be replaced by new submarine construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which the new tonnage is to replace is 11 years of age from the date of completion.

(d) Airplane carriers 20 years of age from the date of completion may be replaced by new airplane carrier construction, but the keels of such new construction shall not be laid until the tonnage which it is to replace is 17 years of age from the date of completion.

(e) No surface vessels carrying guns of calibre greater than 8 in. shall be laid down as replacement tonnage for auxiliary combatant surface craft.

(f) The same rules for determining the tonnage of auxiliary combatant craft shall apply to the ships of each of the Powers party to this agreement.

(g) The scrapping of ships replaced by the new construction shall be undertaken not later than the date of completion of the new construction, and shall be completed within three months of the date of completion of the new construction, or, if the completion of the new tonnage be delayed, then within four years of the laying of the keels of such new construction.

(h) Each of the Powers party to this agreement agrees to inform all the other parties to this agreement concerning—(1) The names or numbers of the ships to be replaced by new construction; (2) the date of authorisation of the replacement tonnage; (3) the dates of the laying of the keels of the replacement tonnage; (4) the displacement tonnage of each new ship to be laid down; (5) the actual date of completion of each new ship; (6) the fact and date of the scrapping of the ship replaced.

(i) No fabricated parts of auxiliary combatant craft, including parts of hulls, engines, or ordnance, will be constructed previous to the date of authorisation of the replacement tonnage, and a list of such parts will be furnished to all Powers party to this agreement.

(j) In the case of loss or accidental destruction of ships of this class, they may be replaced by new construction in conformity with the foregoing rules.

#### AIRCRAFT.

(27) Limitation of naval aircraft not proposed.

NOTE.—Owing to the fact that naval aircraft may readily be adapted from special types of commercial aircraft, it is not considered practicable to prescribe the limits for naval aircraft.

#### RESTRICTIONS AGAINST TRANSFERS.

(28) The Powers party to this agreement bind themselves not to dispose of combatant vessels of any class in such manner that they later may become combatant vessels in another Navy. They bind themselves further not to acquire combatant vessels from any foreign source.

(29) No capital ship tonnage nor auxiliary combatant craft tonnage for foreign account shall be constructed within the jurisdiction of any one of the Powers party to this agreement during the term of this agreement.

#### MERCHANT MARINE.

(30) As the importance of merchant marine is in inverse ratio to the size of naval armaments, regulations must be provided to govern its conversion features for war purposes.

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1921.

## JANUARY.

1. **Mary MacArthur** was born in 1880 and educated in Glasgow and Germany. She was a woman of culture and charm, one of the most striking personalities in the labour movement, and devoted her life to the cause of women workers, by whom she was much loved. She did invaluable work as Honorary Secretary of the Central Committee on Women's Employment. Just before her last illness she made her first appearance on the Bench as a magistrate. She married, in 1911, Mr. W. C. Anderson, Labour M.P. for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield, whose death preceded hers by two years. She left a daughter aged five.

— **Christopher David Leng**, one of the proprietors of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* and allied journals, was born in 1861, the eldest son of the late Sir W. C. Leng, himself a famous editor of the *Sheffield Telegraph*. In addition to journalistic work he introduced many useful innovations in printing methods.

2. **Theodore von Bethmann-Hollweg**, German Imperial Chancellor during the first three years of the Great War, was born in 1856 at Hohenfinow, near Berlin. He studied law at Strassburg, Leipzig, and Berlin Universities, and fulfilled his military service in a Uhlan regiment. He entered the Civil Service in 1890, became a Deputy in the Reichstag, and in 1896 President of Brandenburg Province. He was appointed Prussian Minister of the Interior in 1905, and in 1909 was made Imperial Chancellor in succession to Prince Bülow. He resigned under compulsion on July 14, 1917.

A philosopher rather than a man of action, his high ideals did not serve to mask his inability to deal with the situation created by the war. He made repeated but ineffectual efforts to justify his own pronouncements at home and German policy abroad. Although he was not an advocate of the submarine campaign, subsequent events showed that in December, 1916, when he came forward with a peace offer, he was at the same time helping to prepare the ground for submarine warfare. His reference to the "scrap of paper" which guaranteed Belgium's neutrality, and his declaration that Germany was obliged to hack her way through Belgium, will be numbered among the famous epigrams of history.

3. **Daniel Le Sueur**, one of the best-known women writers in France, was born in 1864, her real name being Jeanne Loiseau. Poet, novelist, and dramatist, she was the first woman since Georges Sand to be elected a member of the Committee of the Gens de Lettres, and gained frequent prizes at the Académie Française. Among her best-known works were the novel "Le Mariage de Gabrielle," the poem "Sursum Corda," and

the plays "La Fiancée" and "Hors du Mariage." She also made a translation of Byron's Works. She abandoned literature for war work as soon as the war broke out, and did much good work both in Paris and at the front. She was the wife of Henri Lapauze, Conservateur of the Petit Palais des Beaux Arts.

4. **Sir William Peterson, K.C.M.G., LL.D.**, Principal of McGill University, Montreal, for twenty-four years, was of mixed Scottish and Norwegian ancestry. He was born in Edinburgh in 1856, and was the fifth son of John Peterson, a merchant of Leith. He was educated at the Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen and in 1876 he went to Corpus Christi, Oxford. After leaving Oxford he was for a time Assistant Master at Harrow, but returned to Edinburgh in 1879 as Assistant Professor of Classics. On the foundation of University College, Dundee, in 1882, he was, at the age of 25, appointed its first Principal, and was the youngest Principal of any College in Great Britain. In 1895 he was appointed Principal of McGill and Professor of Classics, and only resigned the principalship in 1919, wrecked in health by his exertions to keep the University going during the war, and his labours in rallying the Canadians to the aid of the Allies. McGill, during the years that he occupied this post, made remarkable advances in academic success and renown, and received endowments of many million dollars in value. While he held strongly that the Arts curriculum was the essential basis of the whole university fabric, the McGill Faculty of Medicine attained a degree of development which ranks with that of Edinburgh, and its Faculty of Applied Science has achieved a still greater success. He had many academic distinctions; he was Hon. LL.D. of the leading American universities, including Toronto, Harvard, Yale, John Hopkins, and Princeton, and also of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, Scotland, and Trinity College, Dublin, and was Doctor *Litterarum Classicarum*, Groningen, and Hon. D.Litt., Oxford and Durham. He acted for several years as Chairman of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of University Teaching, and was also Chairman of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction, Quebec Province. He was elected a member of the Athenæum Club, London, under the rule for the admission of distinguished persons. He was made C.M.G. in 1901 and K.C.M.G. in 1915. He will be long remembered as an excellent classical scholar and an ardent Imperialist. As a classical scholar his best-known work, published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1901, is the "Cluni Manuscript of Cicero." He married, in 1885, Lisa, daughter of William Ross.

6. **Sir Lazarus Fletcher**, mineralogist and director of the Natural History Museum in London, was born at Salford in 1854 and educated at the Manchester Grammar School. His talent for mathematics and physical science won him, in 1872, the National Gold Medal in mechanics, the Bronze Medal in mathematics, and the Brackenbury Science Scholarship at Balliol. His distinctions during his Oxford career led to his appointment as Demonstrator in Physics, which post he held for two years until his election in 1877 as Millard Lecturer in Physics at Trinity College and Fellow of University College. His great interest in crystals brought him to the notice of Professor Story-Maskelyne, Keeper of Minerals to the British Museum, to whose department he was appointed assistant in 1878, and succeeded to the Keepership at the early age of 26. He removed the collection to South Kensington, and in time provided in the Museum a chemical laboratory and modern plant for research work in mineralogy. His works include the editing, in 1887, of the "Chapter in the History of Meteorites" by his colleague Dr. Walter Flight, whose work on meteorites he continued with excellent results, and "The Optical Indicatrix and the Transmission of Light in Crystals" in 1892. Not the least valuable of his works are the series dealing with minerals, meteorites, and rocks, and his guide-books to mineralogy and geology. The teaching exhibits arranged in his public gallery fully testify to his

ability as a museum educator. Although passed over in favour of Sir Ray Lankester on the death of Sir William Flower, director of the Museum, he received the appointment when Lankester retired in 1909. He was vice-president of the Royal Society from 1910 to 1912, and was awarded the Wollaston Medal of the Geological Society in the latter year. He also did splendid work for the Mineralogical Society, of which he was president from 1885 to 1888, then secretary till 1909. His first wife, Agnes Ward-Holme, died in 1915, leaving a daughter. In 1916 he married her sister Edith.

6. **Rev. Alexander Whyte, D.D., LL.D.**, a great theologian, was born in 1837 at Kirriemuir, N.B. His father was a shoemaker, and his mother, from whom he inherited many of his great mental and moral characteristics, a hand-loom weaver. He received but scanty schooling, and his early learning was chiefly acquired through the private library of a Kirriemuir working man. He was determined to rise in the world, secured a post as teacher, first in a village school, then in the Airlie Free Church School, and when 21 went to Aberdeen and matriculated at the University, graduating four years later as Master of Arts with honours in philosophy. Having decided to enter the Church he took his training at New College, Edinburgh, and in 1866 was made assistant to Dr. Roxburgh, of St. John's Free Church, Glasgow, becoming his colleague a year later. In 1870 he was appointed colleague in St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh, to Dr. Candlish, on whose death, in 1873, he became sole minister of one of the largest and most influential congregations in the Free Church of Scotland, and remained in this post, with undiminished success and popularity, for twenty-two years.

In 1881 he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Edinburgh University; in 1898 he was called to the Moderatorship. He was a powerful supporter of the efforts to prevent the threatened disintegration of the United Church in 1904, and also of the movement, some years later, to unite the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church. In 1907 he was elected Principal of New College, Edinburgh, and also continued as senior minister at St. George's, but resigned this post in 1916. His resignation of the Principalship of New College occurred in 1918, when he went to live at Hampstead, where he died. He was a born preacher, and also published a number of works, the chief of which are "Bunyan Characters," "Bible Characters," "The Spiritual Life," and "Thirteen Appreciations." He married in 1881 and left three sons and three daughters.

8. **Dr. John Beattie Crozier**, an eminent philosopher, historian, and political economist, was of Border origin, and was born at the Scottish colony of Galt in Canada in 1849. He showed ability as a schoolboy, and at the age of 17 went to Toronto University with a scholarship, but soon returned home, and at this early age began to ponder problems connected with the origin of thought and feeling. Four years later he returned to the University and entered on a course of medicine. Darwin's "Origin of Species" and Spencer's "First Principles," which he read there, altered his whole course of thought, and on taking his degree in 1872 he set off for England, where he would have greater opportunities for developing his ideas. In London he walked the hospitals, and obtained a practice, which prospered for a time, but finally collapsed. Along with the practice he continued the pursuit of philosophy and published, in 1880, a pamphlet entitled "The Religion of the Future," comprising an article called "God or Force," and articles on Carlyle, Emerson, and Spencer, which was a complete failure. He then turned his attention to the question of determining how far civilisation was advanced by religion, science, government, and material and social conditions, and in 1885 brought out "Civilization and Progress," a work which only aroused attention three years later, and which eventually reached a fourth edition and was translated into Japanese. From 1892 to 1897 he worked on his "History of Intellectual Development," the first volume

of which appeared in the latter year and was well received; so was the third, which was published in 1901. In 1906 came "The Wheel of Wealth," and in 1911 "Sociology Applied to Practical Politics," a collection of articles written chiefly for the *Fortnightly Review*. Although by that time his eyesight prevented any close research work he published in 1917 "Last Words on Great Issues," a survey of the economic, democratic, intellectual, and religious movements brought about by the war, and of his own creed. His wife, whom he married in 1877, and who was a niece of Colonel William Anderson, died in 1918, almost blind as a result of co-operation with him in the writing of his books. He had a son who was killed in the war, and two daughters.

12. **Gervase Elwes**, a well-known concert-singer, was the eldest son of Mr. V. D. Elwes, Squire of Brigg, Lincolnshire. He was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and spent some years in the diplomatic service. Although early known as an amateur singer, he did not start training with a view to a professional career until he was over 30 years of age. Although not distinguished by any great quality of voice or method, his singing embodied all the qualities of his own refined nature, and his reputation and popularity as a singer were founded on his sincere, modest, refined, and artistic style. He was accidentally killed by a blow from the door of a train from which he had just alighted at Boston, U.S.A., while on a concert tour. His wife was Lady Winefride Elwes, sister of Lord Denbigh, and he had six sons and two daughters.

20. **Sir Gerald Aubrey Goodman, K.C.**, Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, was born in 1862, and was the son of Flavius Augustus Goodman. He was educated in Barbados and at University College, London, was first common law scholar of the Middle Temple in 1885, and was called to the Bar in that year. He returned to Barbados, practised there for some years, was made Solicitor-General of the island in 1896, and Attorney-General in 1907. In 1913 he was appointed Attorney-General of the Straits Settlements, and in 1919 became Chief Judicial Commissioner of the Federated Malay States. He was knighted in 1920. He married, in 1885, a daughter of Mr. E. J. Cobbett, R.B.A., and had three sons.

— **Voivode (Field-Marshal) Zhivoyin Mishitch**, one of the leaders of the Serbian Army during the great war, was born in 1855 of a well-to-do peasant family. He received his military training in Belgrade and served in the Serbo-Turkish war of 1877 and the Serbo-Bulgarian war of 1885. He attained the rank of General in the first Balkan war and took a prominent part in the second Balkan war of 1913. In November, 1914, he was placed in command of the First Serbian Army and was responsible for the expulsion from Serbian soil of the Austrian forces. He was made Field-Marshal, played a heroic part in the retreat of the Serbian Army in the winter of 1915, and in August, 1917, again took command of the First Army on the Salonika front. In June, 1918, he was promoted to be Chief of Staff. He was a man of great decision and strength of character combined with modesty and kindness, and was a strategist of the first rank.

26. **Professor Theodor Schiemann**, the well-known historian, was born in 1847 and was a native of the Baltic Provinces. He was educated at Dorpat and Göttingen, started life as a school teacher, and became finally a Professor in Berlin University and head of the Berlin Institute for East-European History, in which subject he specialised. He published a number of interesting works on the history of Russia, in regard to which country he was a follower of Bismarck's politics. He was a strong Conservative, and the *Kreuz-Zeitung* published his political articles regularly.

27. **William King Wood, C.I.E., C.B.E.**, who was 53 years of age, and who died suddenly at Teheran, had been Director of the Persian Section



of the Indo-European Telegraph Department since 1913. He entered the Department in 1892, and did valuable work surveying a route for a telegraph line through Central Persia from Ardistan to the Indian frontier. He took part in the Boer War, but returned to Persia in 1902, and in the next five years succeeded in completing a new telegraph line across a distance of over 900 miles from Teheran to the Perso-Baluch frontier. Communication between Teheran and India was maintained during the war owing to his efforts, notwithstanding those of the Germans to sever it. His knowledge of Persia and its people enabled him to do valuable service on several occasions to British statesmen. His wife was a daughter of Sir Hugh Adcock, K.C.I.E. They had three sons and one daughter.

## FEBRUARY.

1. **Emile Sicard**, who died at the early age of 42, was a French writer of much distinction. He produced novels, plays, and poems. The latter, especially, met with success, one of his finest books of poems, "Le Vieux Port," being written shortly before his death.

Some of his early works showed the influence of the Symbolist movement. As a dramatic author he scored a great success with "Héliogabale." Since 1904 he had been editor of the review *Le Feu*. He was born and died at Marseilles.

2. **Luigi Mancinelli**, the well-known Italian musical composer and conductor, was born at Orvieto in 1848, and first made his mark as a violoncello player in orchestras. Having achieved considerable success in his own country he came to England and conducted Italian Opera at Drury Lane in 1887. He was a frequent conductor at Covent Garden Opera House, where his own opera, "Ero e Leandro," was given in 1898. He composed several works for the Norwich Festivals, one of them being an oratorio called "Isaias," which found great favour when it was first given but was subsequently forgotten.

— **Cardinal Ferrari**, Archbishop of Milan, was born in 1850 in Parma of poor people. He filled the successive posts of Bishop of Guastalla and of Como before attaining the Archbishopric of Milan in 1894. In 1902 he led a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

— **Dr. Alberto Membreno**, a distinguished Honduras statesman, who died at Tegucigalpa, Honduras, held different portfolios in respective ministries, and eventually became Vice-President and President of Honduras, and later Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, successively, to Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

4. **Rt. Hon. William Kenny** was born in 1846, and was the son of Edward Kenny, a solicitor, of Ennis, County Clare. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, entered for the law and was called to the Irish Bar in 1868. In 1892 he obtained a seat in Parliament as representative of the St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin, in 1895 was made Solicitor-General for Ireland, and since 1897 had been a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division. In 1902 he was elected to the Irish Privy Council. He married in 1873.

5. **Katharine Parnell**, better known as Kitty O'Shea, was famous for the part she played in the life of Charles Stewart Parnell, the great Irish politician. She was born at Braintree, Essex, and was the youngest daughter of the Rev. Sir John Page Wood, Bart. Her first husband was Captain W. H. O'Shea of the 18th Hussars, and although great incompatibility of temperament existed between them, Mrs. O'Shea, who was gifted with a strikingly charming personality, together with an exceptional

understanding of politics, did much to help him at the beginning of the political career he aspired to. When in 1880 Captain O'Shea stood for a Parliamentary vacancy in County Clare, Parnell, already a well-known figure in Irish public life, supported him. Mrs. O'Shea's friendship with Parnell probably started at this date. Although their intimacy was a subject of much public gossip, it did not develop into a scandal until 1889 when Captain O'Shea brought, and in 1890 won, an action for divorce. Parnell married Kitty O'Shea in June, 1891, but his political career, the height of which he had reached in the previous year, was completely ruined, and he died in October. Mrs. Parnell, who added to her accomplishments great literary ability, published in 1914, in order to defend her second husband's memory, a book written round his letters and entitled "Charles Stewart Parnell: His Love Story and Political Life." Although this book and the author received some censure there has been no denial of Mrs. Parnell's ability and personal charm nor of her sincere devotion to the Irish national cause. She died at Littlehampton at the age of 76. She had one son and five daughters by her first husband.

7. **Charles Edward Wynne Jerningham** was born in 1854 of a Roman Catholic family, his father being Charles William Edward Jerningham, a barrister. He was educated at Beaumont and Stonyhurst, trained as a journalist, and under the well-known pseudonym "Marmaduke" wrote the weekly "Letter from the Linkman" in *Truth* for twenty-two years. This letter combined social comment with artistic and literary criticism in an attractive and original manner. Besides journalistic work he wrote several books, including "The Maxims of Marmaduke," a book on art collecting (he founded the Arts Collectors' Protection Association), and "Piccadilly to Pall Mall," of which he was part author.

8. **Prince Peter Alexeyevitch Kropotkin**, the famous Russian Socialist and founder of the School of Anarchistic Communism, was born in Moscow in 1842, was educated at the military school in St. Petersburg, and joined a Cossack regiment. He soon abandoned a military career, and having become interested in geographical exploration studied at the St. Petersburg University and accomplished valuable work on the mapping of the Siberian mountains. He then turned his attention to social work, went to Zürich and studied the International movement and joined the Bakunin group. He returned to Russia, where his activities in connection with propaganda work among the labouring classes ended in 1873 in his imprisonment in the Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul in St. Petersburg. Owing to the efforts of his friends he escaped in the following year and succeeded in reaching England. He stayed there for a short time, then went to Switzerland where he continued his anarchistical propaganda work. He was expelled from there, went to Thonon in the Savoie, and in 1883 was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on the baseless charge of having organised dynamite outrages at Lyons. In 1886, however, he was released, and until his return to Russia in 1917 made England his home. He was a man of wide capabilities and wrote on geology, geography, economics, chemistry, history, and sociology, but his name will live chiefly as the founder of the School of Anarchistic Communism and as an ardent supporter of the theory of the reconstruction of society by means of the doctrine of "mutual help." One of his most famous books bears this title.

— **James Thomas Woodhouse, first Lord Terrington**, aged 68, was the eldest son of Mr. James Woodhouse, a Yorkshireman. In 1891 he became Mayor of Hull, and from 1895, in which year he was knighted, he represented Huddersfield in Parliament for eleven years as a Liberal. In 1906 he was appointed a Railway Commissioner, a position in which a legal training and considerable commercial experience proved of the greatest value, and in which he did admirable work. He also served during the war as Chairman of the Defence of the Realm Losses Commission and was rewarded by a baronetcy in 1918.

He resigned his post as Chairman of the Railway Commissioners shortly before his death. He was a director of the London, City and Midland Bank and a late President of the Association of Municipal Corporations. He left two sons and two daughters. •

9. **James Gibbons Huneker**, a famous American critic, was born in Philadelphia. One of his grandfathers was James Gibbons, an Irish poet; the other, John Huneker, was a well-known organist. For ten years he was teacher of piano at the National Conservatory in New York, and since 1891 had devoted himself to musical and dramatic criticism and had earned a great reputation even outside his own country. His works include "Chopin, the Man and his Music," published in 1901, "Iconoclasts," published in 1905, "Egoists" in 1909, and "Steeplejack," published less than a month before his death. He was 61 years of age.

11. **Sir William Blake Richmond, K.C.B., R.A.**, was born in London in 1843. His father, George Richmond, R.A., a distinguished portrait painter, was the son of Thomas Richmond, a well-known miniaturist. His paternal grandmother was the daughter of the artist, George Engleheart. His inherited gifts were therefore well accounted for. He was brought up in a refined, musical, and artistic atmosphere over which breathed the spirit of William Blake, a friend of his father's, after whom he was named. Although extremely musical he decided to make art his profession, and entered the R.A. Schools at an early age. A number of fine portraits, among which may be mentioned Mr. Gladstone, Andrew Lang, Darwin, Browning, and "Three Daughters of Dean Liddell," came from his brush. The pictures, however, into which he poured his most ambitious efforts, were the large oil paintings representing classical, Biblical, and poetic subjects. In these works the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite group and of his love for Italy, are evident. The best known are "An Audience at Athens, during the Performance of the 'Agamemnon,'" in the Birmingham Art Gallery, "The Death of Ulysses," and "The Song of Miriam." He published, in 1919, "Assisi: Impressions of Half a Century," a book illustrated with his own colour sketches. The mosaic decorations in the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral are also his work. Sir William was Slade Professor of Fine Art at Oxford from 1878 to 1883, was made R.A. in 1895 and K.C.B. in 1897. His wife was a daughter of Mr. William Richards of Cardiff. He lived at Hammersmith, where he died at the age of 78.

17. **Dr. William Odling, F.R.S., Ph.D.**, Waynflete Professor of Chemistry at Oxford University for forty years, was born at Southwark in 1829, his father being a surgeon. He studied medicine at Guy's Hospital, took his M.B. Degree at London University, and at the age of 22 was made a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians. He then turned his entire attention to chemical research work, studied under the famous Strassburg chemist Gerhardt, and at 31 was appointed Director of Guy's Hospital chemical laboratory, becoming chemistry lecturer at St. Bartholomew's two years later.

In 1868 he succeeded Faraday as Fullerian Professor of Chemistry at the Royal Institution, and in 1872 acquired the Oxford Professorship which he held until 1902. Science is indebted to him for supplying various terms in connection with the valencies of elements, and for valuable work on the chemistry of bread-making, the analysis of drinking water and beer, and the purification of rivers. He was the author of several books on chemistry, including a translation of Laurent's "Chemical Method." His wife was the only daughter of Alfred Smce, F.R.S. Of his three sons the third followed in his father's footsteps and became science lecturer in Leeds University.

20. **Field-Marshal Sir Charles Comyn Egerton, G.C.B., D.S.O.**, was born in 1848 and educated at Rossall and Sandhurst. He received a commission in the Indian Army, and in 1871 joined the Bengal Staff

Corps. He served with distinction in the Afghan War, the Hazara expedition of 1888, and the Waziristan campaign, gained the D.S.O., and made his name in 1896 by his work when in command of the Indian contingent to Suakin, for which he was made A.D.C. to the Queen. For four years he was in command of the famous Punjab Frontier Force and in 1903-4 was responsible, while in command of the Somaliland operations, for the defeat at Jedballi of the "Mad" Mullah. Already a K.C.B., he received for this service the G.C.B., and in 1906 was promoted general.

In 1907 he returned to England to sit as a military member on the Council of the Secretary of State, and in this body he proved a valuable counsel throughout his ten years' tenure. When the Field-Marshalship belonging to the Indian Army became vacant owing to the death of Lord Roberts, he stepped into his friend's place. He married, in 1877, a daughter of Mr. J. L. Hill of Edinburgh, and had two sons, one of whom fell in the war.

21. **George Dunlop Leslie, R.A.**, was born in London in 1835 and was the youngest son of Charles Robert Leslie, R.A. He entered the Royal Academy Schools at the age of 20, was made Associate of the Academy when 33, R.A. in 1875, and a member of the Council in 1877. His oil paintings always followed the "old-fashioned" school of detail and idyllism, and represent chiefly figures in gardens and interiors, or single costume figures. Among the best known are "School Revisited," "The Rose Queen," "Sally in our Ally," and "Sylvia." He lived for many years on the Thames near Wallingford and wrote several books, pleasantly illustrated, touching on the charms of the river, gardening, and natural history. "Our River" was published in 1888, "Letters to Marco" in 1893, and "Riverside Letters" in 1896. In 1914 he published a book called "The Inner Life of the Royal Academy." He married Miss Lydia Fenwick in 1871. He left four sons and two daughters.

— **Professor Louis Compton Miall, F.R.S.**, a distinguished naturalist and biologist, was born at Bradford in 1842, his father being a Congregational minister. He left school when still a lad in order to teach, and his early knowledge of natural history was acquired from a brother. When about 20 he was made Secretary to the Bradford Philosophical Society, took up the study of practical biology at Leeds University, and was brought into touch with Owen and Huxley. In 1871 he was made curator of the Leeds Philosophical Society Museum, and five years later Emeritus Professor of Biology in the Yorkshire College of Science, a post which he filled in the University of Leeds until 1907. He then retired to Letchworth and produced a book on the early naturalists and a History of Biology. Although his early studies centred round geology and palæontology, and he attained so eminent a position as a scientific biologist, his influence on the teaching of natural history has chiefly contributed to his fame. He wrote, in collaboration with Professor A. Denny, an important book on the cockroach, and several other books on insects. "Round the Year" and "House, Garden, and Field" are among the best contributions from his pen, and he brought out in collaboration with Dr. Warde Fowler an excellent edition of the Natural History of Selborne. He was a man of great learning and high ideals and took a keen interest in educational problems. His wide knowledge of good literature of all ages was reflected in his own literary style. His wife died in 1918. He left a daughter and two sons.

22. **Professor Robert Bellamy Clifton, F.R.S.**, aged 84, Professor of Experimental Philosophy at Oxford University for fifty years, was born at Gedney, Lincs., and educated at University College, London. He went to St. John's, Cambridge, with a scholarship in 1856, and in 1859 took his degree as Sixth Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman and was elected a Fellow of the College. In 1860 he left Cambridge in order to fill the post of Professor of Natural Philosophy at the newly founded Owens College at Manchester, and in 1865 he was elected to the Profes-

sorship at Oxford, being also made a Fellow of Merton College. He designed and organised at Oxford the Clarendon Laboratory, the first physical research laboratory in Europe. Much of his optical apparatus he also designed himself. He was from 1879 to 1886 one of the Royal Commissioners on Accidents in Mines, and from 1882 to 1884 President of the Physical Society. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Society and Honorary Fellow of Wadham College. He married, in 1862, Miss Catherine Elizabeth Butler, and had three sons and one daughter.

24. **Ernst Günther, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein**, brother of the ex-Kaiserin, who was in his 58th year, was born in 1863 and was head of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg. He married, in 1898, Dorothy, daughter of Prince Philip of Coburg and Princess Louise, daughter of Leopold II. of Belgium. He was a Cavalry General in the Prussian Army, and at one time a member of the Prussian House of Lords. He interested himself considerably in business, finance, and social matters, and made noteworthy efforts before the war to reform the Prussian suffrage.

25. **Sir Frederick Wedmore**, author and art critic, was born at Clifton in 1844, and was the eldest son of Mr. Thomas Wedmore, J.P. He was educated at Lausanne and in Paris, and his writing shows clearly the influence of and love for French art and literature. He did much to assist in the revival of etching promulgated in England by Whistler and others. He was for thirty years art critic on the *Standard*, wrote for the *Nineteenth Century*, edited several art books and an anthology of poems, and published some slight but charming works of fiction. He also wrote an autobiography. He was knighted in 1912. He married a daughter of the late John Peele Clapham, J. P., of Wharfedale.

26. **Karl Menger**, generally regarded as the founder of the Austrian School of Economics, was born on February 23, 1840, at Neu Sandez, in Galicia, and after studying law and economics at Prague and Vienna, graduated in 1887 at the University of Cracow. Six years later he became Professor of Economics at the University of Vienna. In 1876 he was appointed private tutor in political economy and statistics to Prince Rudolf of Austria, whom he accompanied to Switzerland, England, and France, in 1877 and 1878. On his return he took up academic work again, retiring from the University in 1903 to devote himself to writing. In 1900 he was appointed a life member of the Austrian Upper House.

## MARCH.

1. **King Nicholas of Montenegro** ascended the throne on the assassination of his uncle in August, 1860. He distinguished himself in the wars against the Turks of 1861, 1875, and 1876, and earned a reputation as a courageous soldier and a clever politician. A friend of Russia, he also kept on good terms with Austria, and did much to civilise and educate his people. The Constitution introduced by him in 1905, however, did not find favour at home, and the European War of 1914 brought about his final downfall. When the fortunes of Serbia were at their worst the King lost faith in the Allied Powers, and made peace with Austria. He was deposed on November 29, 1918, by decision of the Congress of Podgoritsa, and Montenegro became part of Jugo-Slavia, whose King was his son-in-law, King Peter Karageorgevitch. He spent his remaining years in exile in France and Italy, and died at Antibes on the Riviera. Queen Milena, to whom he had been wedded for sixty years, survived him. His son is dead; one of his daughters is married to the King of Italy, the other is now Queen of Serbia.

— **Sir Felix Semon, K.C.V.O., M.D., F.R.C.P.**, a famous throat specialist, was born at Danzig, his father being a Berlin stockbroker, his

mother also a Prussian. His medical studies at Heidelberg were broken off by the Franco-Prussian war, in which he had to serve, but he took his medical degree in Berlin in 1873, then went to Vienna and Paris where he devoted his attention to studying diseases of the throat and nose. He came to London, became clinical assistant at the Golden Square Throat Hospital, was admitted to the Royal College of Physicians in 1876, became first physician to the Throat Hospital, then assistant physician to the Throat Department of St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1888 he was appointed laryngologist to Queen Square Hospital for Epilepsy and Paralysis. He was one of the founders of the Laryngological Society and was its president from 1894 to 1896. He was knighted in 1897, and in the same year resigned his post at St. Thomas's owing to the growth of his private practice. In 1901 he was made Physician Extraordinary to King Edward. He retired in 1911, and with the money presented to him as a testimonial from his fellow professionals, established at London University the "Semon Lecture Trust" to found a lectureship and award a bronze medal in connexion with laryngology, a science for the promotion of which England owes much to him. His wife was a Miss Redeker of Oldenburg, and he had three sons. He was 72 years of age.

1. **Sir James Prendergast**, former Chief Justice of New Zealand, died at Wellington, N.Z. He was born in 1828, was a graduate of Cambridge, and was called to the Bar in 1856. Proceeding to New Zealand he was called to the Bar there in 1862, and became Chief Justice in 1875, retaining that position until 1899.

2. **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Smith, K.C.B.**, who died in Edinburgh, was born in 1835, and educated at the Edinburgh Academy. For sixteen years he was associated with the City of London Police Force, being Chief Superintendent from 1885 to 1890, when he was promoted Commissioner for Police in the City of London. In 1896 he was created a Companion of the Bath, receiving a Knight Commandership of the same Order the following year. He published his reminiscences under the title of "From Constable to Commissioner." Sir Henry was cousin once removed to Robert Louis Stevenson.

— **Champ Clark**, a well-known American statesman, who was one of the oldest members of Congress at Washington, and served as a representative of Missouri from 1893 until 1921, with a single break between 1895 and 1897. A forceful speaker, he was soon marked for promotion in the House of Representatives, and he was minority leader during the first part of Mr. Taft's presidency. When the Democrats came into control of Congress for the last two years of Mr. Taft's administration, Mr. Champ Clark was chosen Speaker for the House, and held that position until the return of the Republicans in a majority in 1919. At the last election, in November, he was defeated. In 1912, when Mr. Wilson secured the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, Mr. Champ Clark was a favourite, and but for the desertion of Mr. Bryan, who threw in his support with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Clark would have secured the nomination. Mr. Clark's full name was James Beauchamp Clark, but he adopted the shortened form.

3. **Dr. Henry Goudy**, Emeritus Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, was born in Ireland in 1848, his father being the Rev. A. P. Goudy, D.D. He studied law at Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Königsberg Universities and practised at the Scottish Bar. In 1886 he published a work on the Scottish Law of Bankruptcy which is accepted as the most authoritative treatment of the subject in existence. In 1889 he became Professor of Civil Law at Edinburgh University, and in 1893 was appointed to the chair of Law at Oxford. On resigning the chair in 1919 the title of Emeritus Professor was conferred on him, and he was elected a Fellow of All Souls' College. He was a notable figure of the University, was for some years Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Bodleian Library, and helped to found the Society of Public Teachers of Law and the Grotius Society.

The latter society was founded during the war for the promotion of international law. He wrote various other legal works besides that on bankruptcy law, and was for many years editor of the *Juridical Review*.

4. **Rudolf Pöch**, a famous Austrian anthropologist, studied medicine in Vienna and first made his name as a bacteriologist. In 1896, at the age of 26, he went to India as Doctor to the Austrian Plague Commission and later compiled a successful work on tropical diseases. When still a young man he turned his attention to the study of anthropology and ethnography, and from 1904 onwards travelled much in search of material for his studies. In 1910 he started lecturing in Vienna on these subjects, and a few years later was appointed to the newly created Professorship of anthropology and ethnography.

7. **Paul Meredith Potter**, a well-known dramatist, was the son of the headmaster of King Edward's School at Bath. He started life as a journalist, and became foreign editor of the *New York Herald*. He was London correspondent of the paper for a time, and later its dramatic critic, but in 1888 joined the editorial staff of the *Chicago Tribune*. His plays were produced both in America and England; some of the best known in England being his dramatisation of Du Maurier's "Trilby," "The Conquerors," and "Arsène Lupin." He died in New York at the age of 67.

8. **Señor Dato**, Spanish Prime Minister, who was shot at and killed on March 8 while driving through the streets of Madrid, was in office when the European War broke out. Notwithstanding his sympathy with the Allied cause he maintained throughout his ministry a spirit of strict neutrality. Leader of the Conservative Party, he succeeded in maintaining the balance of power in Spain until June, 1917, when he fell from office, probably owing to his connexion with the rotativist system of politics which, while it brought upon him the hatred of the advanced Liberals, alienated him from his own Party and from the Church. He was recalled on June 11, 1917, just before the outbreak of the great revolutionary strike which, by his firm handling, he succeeded in completely quashing, not, however, without some bloodshed. The Socialist Party never forgave him for spoiling their attempts at revolution and his death is generally imputed to the Barcelona Syndicalists.

— **Professor George Gilbert Ramsay**, third son of Sir George Ramsay of Banff, and younger brother of Sir James Ramsay, the historian, was born in 1839 and educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford. When about 22 he went to Glasgow University as assistant to his uncle who was Professor of Latin, and on the death of the latter in 1863 was appointed to the vacant Chair and made a most successful teacher and administrator. He also took a great interest in primary school teaching, and was for many years chairman of the School Board in his native parish. Owing to ill-health he resigned his Chair at Glasgow in 1908, but continued to devote himself to the classics, and produced a translation of Tacitus and other Latin authors. He was one of the founders of the Classical Association in Scotland and its first president. He was a keen politician, and a man of great mental and physical energy. His wife, formerly Miss Graham, died in 1911. His eldest son, Sir Malcolm Ramsay, is at the Treasury.

9. **Lord Moulton (John Fletcher)**, lawyer and scientist, was born in 1844 and was the third son of a Wesleyan minister. He was educated at a Wesleyan school and St. John's, Cambridge, was Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, and was elected a Fellow of Christ's College. He entered the Middle Temple in 1868, was called to the Bar in 1874, and went on circuit. In 1885 he was returned to Parliament as Liberal member for Clapham. Next year he was defeated, but in 1894 he represented South Hackney, and since 1898 had sat for the Launceston Division of Cornwall. In 1906 he was appointed a Lord Justice, in 1912

a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. Although a valued authority on patent law and a prominent member of the House of Lords, Lord Moulton was primarily a scientist, and gave his best services to the country in later life in that capacity rather than as a judge. On the outbreak of war he was made Director-General of Explosives Supply in the Ministry of Munitions, and it is to him that thanks are due for bringing about the employment of mixed explosives and the manufacture of amatol, made from tri-nitro-toluol and ammonium nitrate. He exercised a great influence on the British chemical industry, especially the dye industry, even after the war, and was for a time Chairman of the British Dyestuffs Corporation founded in 1919. He married, in 1875, the widow of Mr. R. W. Thomson, of Edinburgh, by whom he had one son. She died in 1888, and he married, in 1901, a daughter of Major Davis, of Naples.

10. **Mrs. Florence Louisa Barclay**, the popular novelist, was born in 1862, and was the daughter of the Rev. S. Charlesworth. Her books appealed to the lovers of home life and sentiment, the best known being "The Rosary," which had a tremendous circulation throughout the country. Others were "The Mistress of Shenstone," and "The Broken Halo." Her husband was the Rev. Charles W. Barclay, formerly vicar of Little Amwell. She had two sons and six daughters.

12. **Lady Henry Somerset** was born in 1851 and was a daughter of the third Earl Somers, her maiden name being Lady Isabel Caroline Somers-Cocks. She married Lord Henry Somerset in 1873. A well-known temperance reformer, she founded the Duxhurst Farm Colony near Reigate, a model village for the care of women inebriates and the children of alcoholic parents. She was president of the British Women's Temperance Association and founder of the *Woman's Signal*. She also helped to found the Public House Trust, a step which met with strong disapproval from the extreme temperance reformers. She left one son.

13. **Howard Smith**, who was 68 years of age, did much to foster the art of glee singing in England, and was hon. secretary to the City Glee Club, in succession to his father, for fifty years. He compiled and edited the "Book of the Words of Madrigals, Rounds, Catches, Glees, and Part Songs," published in 1880.

15. **Talaat Pasha**, a former Turkish Grand Vizier, who was assassinated in Berlin by an Armenian, was born near Kirjali in 1872, his father being a Turkish farmer, his mother a gipsy. He started life as a post office clerk at Salonika, took part in the Young Turk movement, and in 1908 was elected Deputy for Adrianople. A political visit to London in 1909 caused him to embrace the policy of "Ottomanisation," and he was a supporter of this policy as Turkish Minister of the Interior until his forced resignation in 1911. After the murder of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, the Grand Vizier, he again became Minister of the Interior, and was largely responsible for the Armenian massacres which followed on the entry of Turkey into the European War. He became Grand Vizier in 1916, and was one of the Turkish plenipotentiaries at Brest-Litovsk. On his return in September, 1918, from a political visit to Berlin he found the Turkish rule in Palestine and elsewhere shattered, and immediately resigned office and left Turkey as a refugee. He was an active and unscrupulous politician, and a man of great personality and personal courage.

— **Sir Maitland Hall Park**, editor of the *Cape Times*, was born in 1862, and was a Scotchman by birth. He was educated at Glasgow High School and University, and in 1885 became sub-editor of the *Glasgow Herald*. A year later he went to India and became chief editor of the *Pioneer*, which he left in 1902 to become editor of the *Cape Times* in Capetown. He was made LL.D. of Glasgow University in 1909, and was knighted in 1914. He was chief correspondent of *The Times* in South Africa. He was devoted to the cause of non-racial politics there, and



both before and after the Union was a considerable influence, to the advantage of British interests, on Botha and Smuts. While understanding the Dutch standpoint, and being entirely free from racial prejudice, he was in favour of a settlement which should prove fair to the Dutch and support British claims in South Africa. He left a wife and one son.

17. **Lord Brownlow** (Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Cust, third Earl Brownlow), who was in his 77th year, served in the Grenadier Guards, and in 1867 represented North Shropshire in the House of Commons as a Conservative. Twenty years later, under Lord Salisbury's Ministry, he held office for about four years, first as Parliamentary Secretary to the Poor Law Board, then as Paymaster-General, last as Under-Secretary for War. He was for some time Trustee of the National Gallery. Lady Adelaide Talbot, whom he married in 1868, died in 1917. Owing to the death of his son, the earldom became extinct, and the barony passed to Major Adelbert Salusbury Cockayne-Cust, son of Major Henry Cockayne-Cust, a nephew of the first earl.

— **Sir John Macdonell, K.C.B., F.B.A.**, a great jurist, was born in Aberdeenshire, and educated at Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities. In 1873 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple and acted for some years as counsel to the Board of Trade and the London Chamber of Commerce. In 1889 he was made a Master of the Supreme Court, and in 1912 King's Remembrancer. He acquired his C.B. in 1898, his knighthood in 1903, and the K.C.B. in 1914. He was Quain Professor of Comparative Law at University College, and his activities included the editorship of various legal journals, lecturing on eugenics, and work on various Royal Commissions. In 1919 he acted as chairman of the Committee elected to inquire into the German atrocities during the war. Almost unequalled in the science of ancient and modern law, his opinions and judgments, combined with his humanism and sane outlook, earned him a world-wide reputation. He married, in 1873, Agnes, third daughter of Mr. Daniel Harrison. Two daughters survived him. He was 74 years of age.

18. **Dorotheos, Archbishop Brusa**, *locum tenens* of the Œcumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, who died in London, was born near Brusa in 1860, was Archdeacon of Chalcedon and Bishop of Gallipoli, and in 1908 was elected Metropolitan of Brusa. He was especially noted for his championship of the interests of Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. He was appointed *locum tenens* after the Armistice, and in 1919 issued the famous Encyclical on the Fellowship of the Churches. He upheld the policy of Venizelos at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919.

21. **Dr. Ironside Bruce**, radiologist to Charing Cross Hospital, died as a result of his work with X-rays. He was the son of Dr. William Bruce, of Dingwall, and was born in 1876. He graduated at Aberdeen University in 1900, and served in the South African War.

22. **Sir Algernon West, G.C.B.**, who had almost completed his 89th year, was the son of Mr. Martin J. West, Commissioner of Bankruptcy, and of Lady Maria Walpole. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and became a clerk in the Admiralty, where his merits were recognised by Sir Charles Wood, whose private secretary at the India Office he became in 1861. West remained there also with his successor, Lord de Grey, until 1868, when Gladstone returned to power and he then became his valued private secretary and friend. He served for twenty years as a Commissioner, deputy-chairman, and chairman respectively, of Inland Revenue, and had a great influence on the financial policy of the country. He retired from the public service in 1892, but on Gladstone's appointment as Prime Minister again he went with him once more as secretary, retired with him in 1894, and was made a member of the Privy Council. He served on several other public bodies, was made K.C.B. in 1886 and G.C.B. in 1902. His two books of reminiscences,

"Recollections, 1832-86," published in 1899, "Contemporary Portraits," which appeared in 1920, contain interesting pictures of Gladstone and of the many lesser personalities in the society and political life of his times. Lady West, whom he married in 1858, and who was a daughter of the Hon. George and Lady Caroline Barrington, died in 1894. He left three sons and one daughter.

22. **Ernest William Hornung**, a popular novelist, was born in 1866, and married, in 1913, Constance, daughter of the late Charles Altamont Doyle and sister of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He was educated at Uppingham, and spent two or three years in Australia, beginning to write about 1887. He was the creator of "Raffles" in "An Amateur Cracksman" and other stories, which were successfully dramatised by him.

— **Mrs. Charles Garnett** was a notable philanthropist who for fifty years gave her energies to improving the conditions under which British navvies laboured. Her first awakening of interest in navvies dated from the construction of Lindley Wood Reservoir, near Leeds, when she was impressed by the isolation in which they laboured. Appealing for funds, she received about 500*l.*, and with this she founded, in 1877, the Navy Mission Society. She issued every quarter a printed "Letter to Navvies" and also started an "Aged Navvies' Pension Fund," and by a world-wide correspondence maintained her sympathetic contact with navvies to the end of her life. She was 81 years of age.

— **Jean-Paul Laurens**, who was 82 years of age, was one of the greatest painters of historical subjects of his era. Born at Fourquevaux in the Upper Garonne he studied art at Toulouse and in Paris. One of his most successful paintings was the "Death of the Duc d'Enghien;" another, "The Austrian General Staff before the body of Marceau." He made a great name as a decorative artist. Among his decorative works may be mentioned the ceiling at the Odéon, the Panthéon decorations, the frescoes in the Paris Hôtel de Ville, and designs in the Tours Hôtel de Ville and at Toulouse. He was Professor at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts in Paris and Director of the Toulouse Art School.

23. **Professor Rutherford John Pye-Smith, J.P., F.R.C.S.**, was born in London in 1848, his father being a well-known surgeon and Fellow of the Royal College. He obtained his medical education at Guy's Hospital and began his career as a general practitioner at Sheffield in 1876. In 1895 he gave up general practice to become a consulting surgeon, and thereafter took a leading part in the development of the Royal Hospital and in many other Sheffield institutions. He was appointed Professor of Surgery to the Sheffield University and was a member of the General Medical Council.

24. **Marcus Stone, R.A.**, who was born in 1840, was the son of Frank Stone, A.R.A. He was a great friend of Charles Dickens and his circle, and at the outset of his artistic career executed a number of black and white illustrations to Dickens' stories. He soon abandoned draughtsmanship for oil painting, and painted a number of domestic *genre* and anecdotal scenes. His most popular paintings, however, were those of a purely sentimental type painted after 1880. One of these was purchased under the terms of the Chantrey Bequest. He was elected A.R.A. in 1877 and R.A. in 1887.

— **James, Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore**, was born in Baltimore, of Irish parentage, in 1834. He was educated at St. Charles' College and St. Mary's Seminary, under the French Sulpicians, and in 1861 was ordained priest. During the American Civil War he served as chaplain at Fort Henry. A few hours before the assassination of Lincoln he preached a famous sermon, presenting a just ruler slain by a subject as a type of the Crucifixion, and he dared to follow the body of Lincoln

through the streets of Baltimore. In 1868 Gibbons was consecrated Bishop of North Carolina, where he lived the rough life of a pioneer. In 1872 he became Bishop of Richmond, and in 1877 was made coadjutor to Archbishop Roosevelt Bayley, whom he succeeded in Baltimore in that year. In 1886 he became a Cardinal. He was founder of the Catholic University at Washington.

26. **Freiherr von Rheinbaben**, a descendant of an illustrious German line and a typical representative of the *ancien régime* of officialdom, was made Prussian Minister of the Interior in 1901. In 1903 he succeeded Miquel as Finance Minister, abandoned this post in 1910 to become President of the Rhine Province, and retired in 1917. From 1913 he was President of the Goethe Society. He was married to Hedwig, a daughter of Freiherr von Liliencron. He was in his 66th year.

27. **Major-General Sir Harry Barron, K.C.M.G., C.V.O.**, was born in 1847, entered the Royal Artillery with a commission at the age of 20, and reached his final rank in that regiment in 1904. Although he never saw front line service he occupied a number of important appointments, and as Major-General commanded the Royal Artillery at Malta until 1909. Owing to his social gifts and other qualities fitting him for Colonial administration he was, in 1909, appointed Governor of Tasmania and later of Western Australia. He received the C.V.O. in 1907, and the K.C.M.G. on his appointment to the Governorship of Tasmania. His wife was the daughter of Major-General T. Conyngham Kelly, C.B. He had a son, who died, and one daughter.

28. **Charles Haddon Chambers**, the playwright, was an Irishman born and educated at Sydney, Australia. He spent two years as a boy in the New South Wales Civil Service, then abandoned it for life in the Bush. When 22 years of age he came to England to take up journalism and story writing, but it was with dramas that he made his name. "Captain Swift" was successfully produced at the Haymarket Theatre by Beerbohm Tree in 1888; "The Idler," which was first given in New York, was acted in 1891 by George Alexander at the St. James' Theatre; "John-a-Dreams" was another of Tree's successes, and "The Tyranny of Tears," Chambers' best comedy, was produced in 1899 by Wyndham. He wrote several other plays and collaborated in three melodramas. He was 60 years of age.

— **Count Agenor Goluchowski**, once Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, was the son of the well-known Austrian statesman of the same name, for many years Governor of Galicia, and was born at Lemberg in 1849. He entered the diplomatic service at the age of 20 and held posts in Paris, Berlin, and Bucharest. He resigned his ambassadorship at the latter capital in 1894 and was made Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1895. In 1906 internal political troubles, coupled with the opposition of the Hungarian Independent Party, forced him to resign. He retired from political life and lived alternately at Lemberg and Vienna. He died at Lemberg at the age of 72. His wife was the Princess Anna Murat, whom he married in Paris.

Count Goluchowski was one of Austria-Hungary's finest statesmen. The basis of his foreign policy was the maintenance of friendly relations between his country and Russia. He was responsible for the five years' agreement with Russia in 1897 relative to mutual interests in the Balkan States, and for the Mürzsteg agreement respecting these States in 1903. He was also able to keep on good terms with Italy, and concluded an agreement with this country over Albania, which was highly successful. His policy towards Western Europe was marked by an equally friendly spirit. His services to Germany at the Algeiras Conference were publicly recognised by the German Emperor at the time.

31. **Gabriel Fabre**, the French musician, was born at Lyons in 1858. His first known composition was the "Barcarolle," for piano, violin or

flute, and cello, produced in 1886. He translated into music the works of the symbolic poets and artists of his day, such as Paul G erardy, Maeterlinck, and Verlaine. His "Symphonie de la Mer," although unfinished, was of considerable merit. He was not only a musician but a *connoisseur* of literature and the plastic arts.

## APRIL.

4. **Admiral Sir Edmund Samuel Po **, who was the younger son of Mr. William Thomas Po , barrister-at-law, was born in 1849. He entered the Navy in 1862, served for twelve years as lieutenant, and was made Captain in 1888. He was then for two years Naval Adviser to the Inspector-General of Fortifications. He was highly appreciated by Queen Victoria, acting as her Aide-de-Camp in 1899, and having conferred on him the Fourth Class of the Royal Victorian Order. He also received the medal of the Royal Humane Society for saving life at sea. In 1901 he was promoted Rear-Admiral; in 1905 he received the K.C.V.O. and K.C.B., and was promoted Vice-Admiral. Po  was first and principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the King, from 1912 to 1914. He retired at the age of 65, in September, 1914, after over fifty years' service. He was a Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and had the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Rising Sun of Japan with the Paulownia Flower, and also the Grand Cordon of Osmanieh. He married the eldest daughter of General Sir Justin Sheil, K.C.B., formerly British Minister at Teheran.

5. **Dr. Herbert Haviland Field** was born at Brooklyn, U.S.A., in 1868. He studied zoology at Harvard University, and by 1894 had made a name in connexion with the embryology of vertebrates. He saw the necessity for an up-to-date bibliography of zoological and allied literature and devoted his life to compiling the "Concilium Bibliographicum," a work in which he received almost universal support, and which he had been carrying out at Z rich, where he died, since 1895.

— **Vice-Admiral Frederick Owen Pike, C.M.G., D.S.O.**, was born in 1851, and was the son of Captain Thomas W. R. Pike, R.N., and a great-nephew of Commander Thomas Pike, R.N., who entered the Navy in 1793 and served as a midshipman of the *Valiant* in Lord Howe's action of the following year on the Glorious First of June. Joining as a cadet in 1864 he became a lieutenant in 1875 and was appointed to the *Audacious*, flagship in China. He served as first lieutenant of the gun-vessel *Beacon* at the bombardment of Alexandria. In 1884 he went to Australia in command of the schooner *Harrier*, and was promoted Commander in 1889, after which he served as Commander of the cruiser *Orlando*, flagship in Australia, and in command of the *Lion*, boys' training ship at Devonport. He became Captain of the cruiser *Champion*, in the Training Squadron, in 1898, and subsequently of the *Minerva* and the *Gladiator*, and his last appointment before retiring was in command of the North of Ireland Coastguard District, from May, 1903, to February, 1906. Although 63 years of age when the Great War began, Vice-Admiral Pike, who had been advanced to that rank on the retired list in 1911, volunteered for active service, and on November 16, 1914, was gazetted a temporary captain, R.N.R., to command the yacht *Narcissus* in the Auxiliary Patrol. In October, 1915, he transferred to the yacht *Valiant II.* and served in her until the end of the war. He was awarded the D.S.O. in 1917. He married, in 1893, the daughter of Judge Pohlman, of Melbourne.

9. **Signor Ernesto Nathan**, formerly Mayor of Rome, and ex-chief of the Italian Freemasons, was born in 1845. His father was an English banker, and his mother an Italian, and he lived in England until the death of his father. He then went with his mother to Pisa, and studied

for a time at the University. To escape imprisonment for her Republican sympathies his mother fled to Switzerland, and there the son became acquainted with Mazzini. He paid a short visit to England, and then went to Italy in 1870, and entered politics, chiefly as a disciple of Mazzini. He was four times elected to the City Council, and in 1907 was chosen Mayor of Rome, and again, in 1910, presenting the phenomenon of a London Jew, a former chief of the Italian Freemasons, an Anti-Clerical, and a Republican, as Chief Magistrate of the Holy City. His tenure of office was marked by many incidents between himself and those who opposed his desire to modernise the city, and also the Vatican. He finally gravitated towards Conservatism, and was decorated by the King. His popularity declined, and he retired, in 1913, upon the termination of his mayoralty.

9. **The Most Rev. William John Walsh, D.D.**, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was born in Dublin in 1841. He entered the Catholic University, and concluded his academic course, which was marked by exceptional ability, at Maynooth College, in 1864. In 1867 he was selected for the Chair of Dogmatic and Moral Theology, and in 1878 he became Vice-President of Maynooth. In 1880, on the death of Dr. Russell, Dr. Walsh was unanimously chosen President of that College. He became known as an exponent of advanced opinions on land, university, and other social, economic, and educational questions. He supported the Gladstone Land Bill of 1881, and it was mainly through his exertions that a Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the Queen's Colleges. Dr. Walsh became a member of the Senate of the University, but resigned in 1884. In 1885 he was summoned to Rome, received in audience by Pope Leo, and appointed Archbishop of Dublin. Till the time of the General Election in 1910 Dr. Walsh gave his support to the Nationalist Party. In May, 1917, Cardinal Logue and a majority of the Bishops signed a protest against the exclusion of Ulster from the scheme of Home Rule. Dr. Walsh was among those who signed the protest, and a letter written at that time giving his reasons for doing so, was the final breach with the Parliamentary Party. Subsequently, at the General Election, Dr. Walsh made no secret of having voted for the Republican candidate in one of the divisions of the city of Dublin.

11. **Augusta Victoria Frederica Louise Feodora Jenny**, ex-Empress of Germany, died at the Castle of Dorn. She was the daughter of the Hereditary Prince of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg. Her marriage took place in 1881, seven years before William II. became Emperor. She had seven children, six sons and one daughter. The ex-Emperor always held her up as a model of the ideal German housewife, and her activities were associated in the public mind with *Kinder, Kirche, and Küche*. She was reported, during the latter years of the war, to be suffering from "nervous depression," which was in reality a heart complaint, and in November, 1918, when the Revolution broke out, she was lying seriously ill at Wilhelmshöhe and was too weak to accompany the ex-Kaiser in his flight from Spa to Holland. Both at Amerongen, in her exile, and later at Dorn, she suffered from continued ill-health, which was aggravated by the fact of her banishment from Germany and the news of the suicide of her favourite son, Prince Joachim, in July, 1920. She was buried in the mausoleum in the Park of Sans-Souci at Potsdam, in the presence of all the members of the ex-Royal House.

12. **William Strang, R.A.**, died at the age of 62. He was born at Dumbarton, and studied and worked in London since 1875. He was a pupil of Legros, and first made his mark as an etcher of imaginative and Biblical subjects, but was finally drawn to painting. He was elected an A.R.A. in 1906, and was, since 1918, President of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers. A month before his death he was elected a Royal Academician Engraver. He married, in 1885, Agnes

McSymon, daughter of Mr. David Rogerson, J.P., and left four sons and a daughter.

15. **Antoine Dubost**, Senator of the Isère Department in France and a former President of the French Senate, was born in 1844 at Arbresle in the Rhône Department. He passed through the regular stages of the Civil Service, entered the Chamber in 1880, and from 1893 to 1894 was Minister of Justice in Casimir Perier's Cabinet. In 1897 he was made a Senator, and from 1906 until shortly before his death, when he was succeeded by Léon Bourgeois, was President of the Senate. His radical views found expression in several works on Danton and in other political studies.

16. **The Hon. Alfred Ernest William Ramsbottom, M.D., F.R.C.S.I.**, late Administrator of the Orange Free State, died in London. Dr. Ramsbottom was the eldest son of William and Matilda Ramsbottom, late of Aliwal North, South Africa, was born at Grahamstown in 1860, and was educated at the Grey College, Bloemfontein, and at Dublin, where he had a distinguished career as a medical student. He then practised in South Africa. As a burgher of the Orange Free State he played an important part in the Boer War. President Steyn appointed him Chief Medical Officer to the Free State Forces. After the war he returned to his practice at Bloemfontein, and held the position of President of the South African Medical Association. He acted as Treasurer on the formation of the first and only Cabinet of the Orange River Colony, and in 1910 he was a member of the Conference at which the closer union of the colonies was decided on. On the formation of the Union he was appointed Administrator of the Orange Free State, an office which he filled until 1915, when he again took up private practice. He came to London to do special work at the Post Graduate College, and died as the result of an operation. In 1889 he married Minnie, daughter of William Smith. He left a son and four daughters.

— **General Sir John Cowans**, who died at Mentone, where he had gone to recuperate after an operation, was born in 1862, and was the son of John Cowans, a civil engineer in the North of England, who had been associated with George Stephenson, and afterwards founded the firm of Cowans, Sheldon & Company, crane makers. John Cowans, the son, was destined for the Navy, but he failed to pass the entrance examination, and returned to Dr. Burney's Academy at Gosport to be prepared for Sandhurst, which he entered in 1878. He passed out near the head of the list in 1880. He was intended for the 17th Lancers, but volunteered for Service in the Zulu War with the 60th Rifles. He was, however, posted to the 1st Battalion of the Rifle Brigade at Poona, being eventually appointed an acting A.D.C. to General Sir John Ross. In 1884 he returned to Winchester, and spent three years at the Rifle Depot. He became Captain in 1890 and decided to qualify for the Staff College, from which he passed out with great distinction in 1891, being made Staff Captain at Army Headquarters. In 1894 he went to Aldershot as Brigade Major, returning after three years to regimental duty with the 3rd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade. By 1898 he had obtained his majority and became D.A.Q.M.G. in the Movements Branch at Army Headquarters. He reached London in time to superintend the transportation of the expedition to Egypt, and remained there until the end of the South African War, when he received the M.V.O. and promotion to the rank of Colonel, with an appointment as A.Q.M.G. to the Second Division at Aldershot. In 1906 he was recalled to India by Lord Kitchener, as Director-General of Military Education, or as it was called later, Director of Staff Duties and Training, at Army Headquarters. After two years he left Simla to command the Bengal Presidency Brigade at Calcutta. In 1910, having become Major-General, he was appointed by Mr. Haldane Director-General of the Territorial Force. For the strength of this force in 1914 and the rapid mobilisation by which it set free the Regular Army for service overseas Sir John Cowans must have a great share of the credit ;

but his chief work at this time was the census of horses which he organised, which enabled him, in the early days of the war, to draw upon a supply of animals only limited by the resources of the country. In 1912 he succeeded Sir Herbert Miles as Quartermaster-General to the Forces. In 1914 he became Third Military Member of the Army Council. On the outbreak of war, despite his wish to go overseas, he was retained at Whitehall, where he worked during the war, for eighteen hours a day, dealing with the housing, clothing, and transportation of the troops. In March, 1919, Sir John Cowans resigned his position to Sir Travers Glarke, accepting an important post in the Shell Transport and Trading Company. He was created C.B. in 1911, K.C.B. in 1913, a G.C.M.G. in 1918, and a G.C.B. in 1919. He was promoted to be Lieut.-General in 1915, and General in 1919. He was Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and had received in addition decorations from Belgium, Italy, Japan, China, and Greece. He married, in 1884, Eva Mary, daughter of the late Rev. J. E. Coulson, but left no issue. About a week before his death General Sir John Cowans was admitted to the Roman Catholic Church. His body lay in state in Westminster Cathedral, and the funeral took place with full military honours pertaining to the rank of a General.

18. **August Scherl**, a German newspaper owner, died at Berlin, aged 70. He was the founder of the *Lokalanzeiger* and of the publishing house bearing his name. Born at Dusseldorf in 1849, the son of a bookseller, he went with his parents to Constantinople, where he spent some time in a German school. Returning to Germany, he subsequently became a book trade traveller among the Rhine towns. In 1883 he founded the *Lokalanzeiger*, which grew into one of the most powerful of German newspapers. He also founded other popular periodicals, including *Die Woche*.

— **Joseph Reinach** died in Paris, aged 64. He was born in Paris, of German-Jewish extraction, and was called to the Bar. At the age of 21 he attracted great attention by publishing a booklet entitled "*La République et le Gachis*," for which he was prosecuted. He then joined the staff of the *République Française*, and became attached to the policy of Gambetta, whom he always defended. He fought several duels with Déroulède, and pleaded for the prosecution of Boulanger. In 1889 he entered the Chamber as Deputy for the Basses Alpes, and sat at intervals until 1914. In 1897 he struggled to secure a fresh trial for Dreyfus. During the war, in which his only son was killed, he worked hard for the Allied cause, contributing a notable daily commentary to the columns of the *Figaro*.

19. **Paul Hyacinthe Loyson**, the son of Père Hyacinthe, the ex-communicated free-thinking preacher of Notre Dame in Paris, was born in Geneva in 1873. He was a pacifist Republican, and before the war was in favour of a *rapprochement* with Germany, but German militarism and its crimes converted him into a frenzied propagandist for the French cause. He originated the saying, "Can one remain neutral in the face of crime?" He was one of the most brilliant supporters of the French "League of the Rights of Man."

— **John Cathcart Wason**, Coalition Liberal M.P. for Orkney and Shetland, was born in 1848, a son of Mr. Rigby Wason, for many years M.P. for Ipswich, and was educated at Laleham and Rugby. He spent some years farming in New Zealand, and was a member of its House of Representatives in 1887. He was first elected, as a Unionist, for Orkney and Shetland at the General Election of 1900. Resigning two years later, he was re-elected as an Independent Liberal. He was returned unopposed as Coalition Liberal at the General Election in 1918.

24. **Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Robert Dunlop Smith, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.**, Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State for India, died suddenly, at the age of 62. He was the son of Dr. George Smith,

C.I.E., was educated at Edinburgh University and passed into Sandhurst. He was gazetted to the 22nd Regiment in 1879, and was in military employment in India until 1883, when he was appointed to the Punjab Commission. He became private secretary to Sir Charles Aitchison, the Lieutenant-Governor, and in 1887 he married his chief's eldest daughter. She predeceased him. Dunlop Smith served as settlement officer from 1888, and from 1897-99 was Director of Land Records and Agriculture. He became private secretary to Lord Minto. In 1910 he returned home, being called by Lord Morley to act as political A.D.C., and his services in this capacity were of great value. He was a Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, a Knight Commander of the North Star of Sweden, and a Vice-President of the Royal Geographical Society.

28. **Admiral Sir Nathan Bowden-Smith**, who died aged 83, was the son of Nathaniel Bowden-Smith, of Careys, Brockenhurst, Hants, and entered the Navy in 1852, serving as a cadet in the *Winchester* during the Burmese War. He also served in the *Baltic* during the Crimean War, and in the China War of 1856-59. In 1864 he was awarded the Silver Medal of the Royal Humane Society for saving life at sea. For the International Maritime Conference at Washington Bowden-Smith was selected as one of the British representatives. Three years later he was appointed Commander-in-Chief on the Australian Station. On his return in 1895 he served as a member of the International Code of Signals Committee, and was created a K.C.B. at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. His last appointment was as Commander-in-Chief at the Nore, from 1899 to 1900, being placed on the retired list in 1903. He married, in 1873, Emily Cecilia, daughter of George Glas Sandeman, and left three daughters.

## MAY.

3. **William Robert Brooks**, Professor of Astronomy in Hobart College, and Director of the Smith Observatory, Geneva, New York, was famous for his success in discovering comets, two going by his name. He became Director of the Smith Observatory in Geneva, New York, in 1888, in which year he also became a Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society.

4. **Dr. Alfred Hermann Fried**, a well-known pacifist, was born in Vienna in 1864. He began life as a bookseller, but soon started writing and went to Berlin, where in 1892 he founded the German Peace Society. In 1899 he first issued his periodical *Friedenswarte*, but on the outbreak of war he went to Switzerland on account of the censorship in Germany, and published his paper in Bern. He devoted his life to peace propaganda, and published a quantity of literature on the subject. Among the best known of his works are the "Handbook of the Peace Movement," published in 1911, in which year he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and a four volume work, "My War Diary," which runs from August 7, 1914, to June 30, 1919. He was an honorary Doctor of Leiden University. In 1920 he returned to Vienna and died in hospital there, poor and homeless.

— **Max Kalbeck** was born at Breslau, and began life as a lawyer. When 20 years of age he went to Munich, came into contact with Geibel and Paul Heyse, the writer, studied music, and after two years returned to Breslau and became a musical critic. In 1880 he left Breslau again and went to Vienna where he also found work as a critic and writer. He wrote and translated a number of operatic scores. His name will be chiefly remembered in connexion with a four volume biography of his great friend Johannes Brahms. He was also occupied for several years before his death with the editing of correspondence between Heyse and Gottfried Keller. He was 71 years of age.



4. **Frederick Edward Ridgeway**, Bishop of Salisbury, was born in 1848, a son of the Rev. Joseph Ridgeway, and was educated at Tonbridge School and Clare College, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1871, and began his ministry as curate to his father. In 1888 he became Dean of Glasgow and Galloway. After twelve years in the North he was appointed to London, and in 1901 he was consecrated as Suffragan Bishop for West London with the title of Bishop of Kensington. He was a devoted temperance worker and was for some years Chairman of the London Diocesan Temperance Society. He was also chiefly responsible for the formation of the Bishop of London's Evangelistic Council, and he founded the Bishop of London's Sunday School Council. In 1911 he was nominated to Salisbury, and became a familiar figure in all parts of the great rural diocese. In 1875 he married Miss Pauline Josephine Newall Vibart, daughter of Mr. J. Vibart, of the Indian Civil Service.

— **Sir Henry Howard, C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.B.**, formerly British Minister to the Holy See, who died at Rome, was born in 1843, the son of Sir Henry Francis Howard, G.C.B., and entered the Diplomatic Service. He served in the United States, the Netherlands, Guatemala, Greece, Denmark, China, Russia, France, and Italy. He was Envoy Extraordinary at The Hague, 1896 to 1908, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Pope, 1914-16.

— **Marcus Bourne Huish, LL.B.**, was for twelve years editor of the *Art Journal*. He was a frequent exhibitor of water colours at the Royal Academy, an art critic, Chairman of the Japan Society, a Chevalier of the Order of the Sacred Treasure, a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy, having taken a large share in the organisation of the British section of the International Art Exhibitions at Venice.

6. **Lord Burghclere (Herbert Gardner)**, amateur actor, playwright, novelist, translator of Virgil, and Cabinet Minister, was educated at Harrow, and passing to Cambridge he became deeply interested in amateur theatricals, and eventually manager of the A.D.C. He wrote several comedies which were acted by his relations and friends, and one, "Time Will Tell," appeared at two London theatres. He stood as a follower of Mr. Gladstone for the Saffron Waldon Division of Essex, and was successful. He became President of the Board of Agriculture in Mr. Gladstone's Government of 1892, and was M.P. for Saffron Walden until he was raised to the Peerage, when he took the title of Burghclere. He became, also, an Ecclesiastical Commissioner and worked as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments. He married, in 1890, Lady Winifred Byng, widow of the Hon. Alfred Byng, and daughter of the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, but left no heir.

8. **Count Giuseppe Greppi**, an Italian Senator, well known in diplomatic circles, who died in Milan at the great age of 102, was one of the most popular personalities of that city. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of mental and physical energy, and shortly before his death published a book on the prolongation of life. He was a valued diplomat, and last held office under Crispi, in 1887, as Ambassador in St. Petersburg.

9. **Francesco Tedesco**, who from 1903 held office in the Italian Government as Minister for Labour, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Finance Minister, respectively, resigned the latter position in August, 1920. He was one of the Italian Prime Minister Giolitti's best friends. He committed suicide in Rome by throwing himself from a window.

10. **General Sir George Benjamin Wolseley, G.C.B.**, who was accidentally killed, was the fourth son of Major Garnet Wolseley, and a younger brother of the Field-Marshal. He was born in 1839, and saw service with the 84th Foot in the Indian Mutiny. After exchanging into other regiments, and employment on the Staff as a Brigade-Major, he took part in the early part of the Afghan campaign of 1878. Major

Wolseley returned to India in 1879, and was employed on the Staff in Bengal. When the Nile campaign was determined upon he was sent to Egypt, and was eventually made Colonel on the Staff of the Nile Forces. By 1885, when he returned to India, he was Brevet-Colonel and an A. D. C. to the Queen. From 1887 to 1889 he was employed, with the rank of Brigadier-General, in Upper Burma. In 1889 he was posted to Madras, given a brigade command in that army, and promoted K.C.B. in 1891. He became a Major-General in 1893, and in 1895 was given command of the Forces of the Punjab. In 1900 he became a Lieut.-General, and General in 1906. His last active command was of the troops in the Madras Presidency, which he held from 1898 to 1903. He received the G.C.B. in 1907, a year after his retirement.

11. **Charles Walter Moule**, President and Senior Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who died aged 87, was the son of the Rev. H. Moule, a well-known Dorset vicar, and entered Corpus Christi College in 1854. After taking his degree in 1858, he was elected to a Fellowship at the College. He was for a time Assistant Master at Marlborough, but was soon called back into residence at Corpus as Classical Lecturer. In 1879, on the election of Dr. Perowne to the Mastership of Corpus, Mr. Moule was appointed to succeed him as Tutor, and he held the post until 1892. He resigned his Lectureship in 1908 and devoted his last years to the care of the College Library. Mr. Moule was a supporter of Church Missionary Societies. He married Mary Dora, daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel Cautley.

12. **Sir Melville Leslie Macnaghten, C.B.**, formerly Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, was born in 1853, a son of the late Elliot Macnaghten, Chairman of the East India Company. He was educated at Eton, and after leaving school went to India to look after the family estates. In 1889 he was appointed Chief Constable of the Criminal Investigation Department at New Scotland Yard. In this capacity he served on Mr. Asquith's Committee to inquire into the identification of criminals, which resulted in the adoption of the finger-print system. In 1908 Sir Melville Macnaghten became Chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, a post he held until 1913, when ill-health compelled him to retire prematurely. He was a Knight Commander of the White Military Order of Spain and a Commander of the Order of Dannebrog. In 1907 he was knighted, and in 1912 he received the C.B. He married, in 1878, Dora, daughter of Canon Sanderson, of Chichester, and left two sons and two daughters.

13. **Eugène Etienne** was a French Senator of the Oran Department of Algeria. He held office under several Governments, was once Minister for War, and twice filled the position of Secretary of State for the Colonies. He played an important part in the development of the French Colonies, especially of those in Africa. He was 77 years of age.

17. **Karl Mantzius**, the Danish actor, who died at the age of 61, was the son of the famous actor Kristian Mantzius, and made his debut as an actor at the age of 23. He was for thirty years connected almost exclusively with the Royal Theatre, for the last four years as director, but he resigned this post in 1913. He was successful in Ibsen plays as well as in classical drama, and his "History of Dramatic Art" won for him a doctor's degree at Copenhagen University.

18. **Franklin K. Lane**, Secretary of the Interior for seven years in the United States Cabinet, who died at the age of 57, was by birth a Canadian, and was recognised as one of the ablest men in any American Government of recent years. He resigned his Cabinet appointment in 1920 to become Vice-President to a group of Mexican petroleum companies.

— **Professor Martin Nyrop**, one of the best-known Danish architects, died aged 71. He was appointed Director of the Royal Danish Academy

in 1908, and was corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

19. **Edward Douglass White, Chief Justice of the U.S.A.**, was born in the Parish of Lafourche, Louisiana, in 1845, and was the son of the seventh Governor of that State. He was educated at the New Orleans Jesuit College and Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. He was called to the Bar in his native State in 1868, and in 1874 was elected a member of the Louisiana Legislature. Four years later he became Justice of the Louisiana Supreme Court, and from 1891 to 1894 held office as United States Senator. He was then appointed Associate Justice of the U.S.A. Supreme Court, and in 1910 was made Chief Justice. He was an LL.D. of Georgetown, St. Louis, and Harvard Universities, and Doctor of Canon Law of Trinity and was also a member and Chancellor of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. He was one of the most distinguished and respected public servants of the United States.

22. **Lady Marie Effie Bancroft**, the wife of Sir Squire Bancroft, was born at Doncaster in or about 1840. Her father, Robert Pleydell Wilton, belonged to a Gloucestershire family, who disowned him when he went on the stage instead of taking Orders. The young actress was trained by her mother, and began to recite in public at the age of 5. She spent her childhood in hard work and travelling from place to place, and in 1856, after a performance at Bristol in which she had scored something of a success by her distinctive acting in the "natural manner," she was given, by Dillon, a part in a London theatre. She appeared at the Lyceum in burlesque, in which she continued to play for several years. In 1865 she started in management on her own account, and made her little, formerly neglected theatre, in Tottenham Street, the centre for the "natural" or "realistic" school of acting. At this theatre she ran a series of Robertson's comedies, in all of which she made a success. She married, in 1867, Mr. Bancroft, who had long been a member of her company, and in 1880 Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft took up the management of the Haymarket Theatre. They retired in 1885 after twenty years of almost unbroken success. Soon after her retirement Lady Bancroft was received into the Roman Catholic Church.

23. **General Primo de Rivera**, Marquis Estella, who died at Madrid aged 90, entered the Spanish Army sixty-seven years ago, and was still on the rolls as Captain-General and Chairman of the Supreme War Council. He figured as a Cabinet Minister as late as 1917, and was a veteran of the Carlist and Spanish-American Wars.

25. **Dr. José Carrasco**, former Bolivian statesman and Vice-President of the Republic, was born in 1862 at Totora, Cochabamba Department. He studied law at San Simón University, Cochabamba, was admitted to the Bar in 1885 and elected to Congress in 1888. In 1900 he was made Governor of Oruro and became Minister of War. From 1902 to 1903 he was Minister of Justice and of the Interior. In 1904 he was chosen Senator from Oruro, in 1908 was again appointed Minister of the Interior, and in 1910 was elected President of the Chamber, a position which he held four times in succession. He was elected Vice-President of the Bolivian Republic in 1913.

— **Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Knyvet Wilson, V.C.**, the younger son of the late Rear-Admiral George Knyvet Wilson, was born in 1842 at Swaffham, in Norfolk, where he also died. He entered the Navy in 1855, serving as midshipman during the Crimean War, receiving the Crimean and Turkish medals with the Sebastopol clasp. He took part in the capture of Canton in 1857, and in the destruction of the Peiho forts in 1858, receiving the Chinese medal with two clasps. After serving in various ships, first as lieutenant and subsequently as captain, Wilson was, in 1881, appointed to the *Hecla*, at that time attached to the Mediterranean Fleet. In 1884 he was present with the Naval Brigade at El Teb, and

there won the Victoria Cross, by an action of exceptional gallantry, engaging in single combat with a body of Arabs. He received the Suakin and El Teb clasps, and was presented by the officers of the *Vernon* with a sword. In 1886 Wilson was appointed to the Admiralty as Assistant Director of Torpedoes, on the staff of Lord Fisher, and he subsequently commanded the *Vernon* and, lastly, as a Captain, the *Sanspareil*. He conducted, in 1895, the first torpedo manœuvres. In 1897 Wilson was appointed to the Board of Admiralty as Third Sea Lord and Controller, in succession to Sir John Fisher. He returned to the sea four years later, and was promoted Vice-Admiral. From that time until 1907 he was continually employed in the highest commands afloat, finally hauling down his flag as Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleet, after becoming Admiral in 1905. In 1907, by a special Order in Council, Wilson was promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet, and thus obtained five more years of service on the active list. After two years' rest in the country he accepted the post of First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, though with reluctance. He held this position until 1911, when he gave place to Mr. Churchill. In 1914 he came forward again to give advice at the Admiralty, and he continued to do so throughout the war. Sir Arthur Wilson was made C.B. at Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887, received the K.C.B. in 1902, was made G.C.V.O. in 1905, and G.C.B. in 1906. On his retirement he was offered, and declined, a peerage.

25. **Justin Louis Emile Combes**, a well-known French politician, was born, of poor parents, in 1835, at Roquecourbe, in the Tarn Department, and was educated first at the little Roman Catholic Seminary at Castres and later at the Ecole des Carmes in Paris. He obtained a degree first as Doctor of Letters, and later as Doctor of Medicine, in 1868. He established a practice at Pons, and was made Mayor of that town. He entered politics and retained a seat in the Upper House from 1885 until his death, becoming President of the House in 1894. In 1895 he became Minister of Education and Public Worship in the Bourgeois Cabinet, and initiated various educational reforms. In 1902 M. Combes became Prime Minister, and carried his predecessor's anti-clerical policy still further. The religious orders in France were ultimately deprived of the right to teach, and diplomatic relations with the Vatican were broken off. M. Combes' three years of office were marked by definite achievement in foreign relations, of which the Anglo-French Agreement was one feature. The Combes Government was compelled to resign in 1905, though M. Combes retained political influence for some years thereafter.

27. **Marie Antoinette de Czaplicka**, Lecturer in Anthropology at Bristol University, was born near Warsaw, and educated in Poland and Russia. She came to England in 1910 with a Mianowski Research Scholarship from Warsaw, and studied in London and at Somerville College, Oxford. She devoted her attention chiefly to anthropology, in which she took the Oxford Diploma in 1912. In 1914 she published her first book, "Aboriginal Siberia: a Study in Anthropology," and in the same year she went, as Mary Ewart Travelling Scholar of Somerville College, with the Anthropological Expedition organised by the Oxford University Committee for Anthropology and the Philadelphia University Museum, to the Yenisei Valley in Siberia. After much travel the party returned in 1915, and in the following year Miss Czaplicka published "My Siberian Year." She was an honorary member of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, since 1916, was Mary Ewart Lecturer in Ethnology to the Oxford School of Anthropology from 1916 to 1919, and in 1919 was awarded the Murchison Grant of the Royal Geographical Society, of which she was a member. She was also a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

28. **Dr. Vesnitch**, the representative in Paris of the Triune Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, died suddenly. He acted as Serbian Minister in Rome from 1901 to 1904, and from there proceeded to Paris, where he remained, with a few brief intervals, until his death. He was

one of the delegates sent by King Peter to negotiate the Peace of London in 1913, after the first Balkan War. He accompanied a special Mission to Washington in 1917, and in 1920 he held office for twelve months as Prime Minister with a Coalition Cabinet.

## JUNE.

3. **Dr. Simon Baruch**, a distinguished American physician, was born at Schwersenz in the province of Posen in 1840, and educated at the Royal Gymnasium at Posen. He came to America in his youth, and completed his education at the Medical College of Virginia, from which he graduated in 1862. During the Civil War he served as surgeon with the Confederate Army. After the close of the war he practised in Camden, S.C., moving to New York in 1881, where he had a distinguished career. In 1889 he diagnosed the first recorded case of perforating appendicitis successfully operated on. Dr. Baruch was regarded as the pioneer of Scientific Hydrotherapy in America. It was through his efforts that a Bill was passed in the Legislature, making free public baths possible, and in 1901 the Rivington Street bath, the first of its kind in the country, was established in New York. Dr. Baruch married, in 1867, Miss Isabel Wolfe of Winnsboro, S.C. She and four sons, the eldest of whom was Chairman, during the war, of the Council of National Defence, survived him.

5. **Dr. A. M. Kellas**, who died suddenly from heart failure at Kampa Dzong while leading the Mount Everest Expedition, was a mountain geographer and mountain physiologist. He was not only keen on unravelling the topography of Himalayan groups, but on disentangling the causes of failure from sickness at high altitudes, and had for many years interested himself in ascertaining the possibilities of overcoming the difficulty of breathing at great heights by the use of oxygen. He published several valuable papers on the subject. He was in his 53rd year.

9. **Dr. Luis Maria Drago**, aged 62, once a National Deputy and Foreign Minister of the Argentine, was an eminent jurist and the originator of the Drago Doctrine (an adaptation of the Monroe Doctrine dealing with public debt and the right of interference in America by a European power) at the time of the Venezuela incident in 1902. In 1909 he was nominated as an arbitrator on the Venezuela question, but resigned to join the Hague Court of Arbitration on the British-American Fisheries dispute. He was a consulting member of the Council of the League of Nations, and the author of several legal and historical books.

14. **William Warde Fowler** was born at Langford Budville, Somerset, in 1847, and was the second son of Mr. John C. Fowler, stipendiary magistrate of Swansea. He was educated at Marlborough, and went to New College, but won a scholarship at Lincoln and graduated from the latter College in 1870 with a first class in *Lit. Hum.* In 1872 he was made a Fellow of Lincoln, in 1873 Tutor, and in 1882 Sub-Rector. He was an Hon. D.Litt. of Edinburgh University, and was Gifford Lecturer there from 1909 to 1910. He was a fine classical scholar to whom Cicero and Virgil were a special delight. He wrote a number of works on Roman History. Between 1916 and 1919 he published some annotated volumes of Virgil's "Æneid" which, with their freedom from conventionality, their historical knowledge and sound scholarship, are a new departure in classic editing. In 1919 he was elected President of the Classical Association. It is his books on bird lore which made him known to a public outside the world of scholars, and which revealed his intense sympathy with and love of bird life. His first book, "A Year with the Birds," published in 1886, dealt with bird life at various places in the British Isles and in Switzerland, and also contained a chapter on "The Birds of Virgil." "Tales of the Birds," and "More Tales of the Birds,"

were books for children. He co-operated with Professor L. C. Miall, who died not long before him, in an edition of White's "Natural History of Selborne." His charming personality and scholarly attributes were well reflected in these books. He overcame in a remarkable manner the defective eyesight and hearing which handicapped his powers of observation for many years. He was unmarried.

18. **Sir Thomas Wrightson, Bart.**, whose age was 82, came of an old South Durham family, and was born near Darlington. He was educated privately and at King's College, London, and served his apprenticeship as an engineer at the Elswick Works belonging to his cousin, Lord Armstrong. He studied civil engineering for several years, and when 25 obtained a post at the Teasdale Ironworks of Head, Ashby, & Co. Later he joined the firm which became Head, Wrightson & Co., and ultimately became its Vice-Chairman and Chairman. He also became a Director of the North-Eastern Steel Co., and Chairman of the Cramlington Colliery Co. in Northumberland. He was for many years associated with public work at Stockton and Thornaby, and in 1892 was returned as the Unionist member for Stockton. He lost the seat in 1895, but from 1899 to 1906 represented St. Pancras East. He was awarded a baronetcy in 1900.

Although primarily a man of business his name was known to scientists and musicians as the exponent of a new theory of hearing which contradicted the theory instituted by Helmholtz that the internal ear functioned as a resonator. His book, "The Analytical Mechanism of the Inner Ear," expounding his theory, was published in 1918, although the theory had been given out forty-two years previously in his presidential address to the Cleveland Institution of Engineers. Although not yet widely accepted it has received the attention of many experts, and its adherents are steadily increasing in number. Sir Thomas married in 1869, and left three sons and six daughters.

— **Claud Lovat Fraser** was the elder son of Mr. Claud Fraser, and was born in London in 1890. He was educated at the Charterhouse and studied art for a short time under Mr. Walter Sickert. He served from the outset of the war in the Durham Light Infantry, but was invalided out, permanently unfit, as the result of gassing and shell-shock sustained at Ypres.

Although only 31 years of age when he died, he had already made a great name as a designer, especially as a theatrical designer. His first published drawings were in the "Flying Fame" booklets produced in 1912 and 1913 in co-operation with Ralph Hodgson and James Stevens. His genius was especially evident in the designs for the staging and costumes of "As You Like It," "The Beggars' Opera," "If," and Madame Karsavina's later ballets. He had an extraordinarily fertile imagination together with a highly developed sense of beauty, and was a most modest and lovable personality. He was a true exponent of the motto "Art for Art's Sake."

— **Colonel Henry Wemyss Feilden, C.B.**, was born at Newbridge in Ireland in 1838, saw active service in the Indian Mutiny, and the China War of 1860, and then as a volunteer in the Confederate Army during the American Civil War, after which he returned to the British Army and served in the Boer wars. He was an enthusiastic naturalist and explorer, and accompanied several Polar expeditions in the winter capacity. The results of his researches were frequently published by the Royal Geographical Society, to which he belonged, and to which he presented a collection of polar literature made by himself. His wife, an American, predeceased him in 1920.

20. **Sir Alfred James Newton, Bart.**, was born at Hull in 1849, started in life as a yeast merchant, then became a shipowner, but gave up the business in 1886. In 1889 he was one of the two last Sheriffs of London

and Middlesex before the separation of the two counties, in 1899 he became Lord Mayor of London. He had previously been made Chairman of Harrods and of D. H. Evans & Co., the well-known drapery firm, and also had an interest in Paquin. On his election to the Mayoralty he was subjected to a personal attack in connexion with the management of the Industrial Contract Corporation, but took immediate steps to clear his name. As Lord Mayor he was responsible for the raising of the City Imperial Volunteers (C.I.V.) for service in the Boer War. He married in 1874, and left a son and daughter.

20. **Henry Tresawna Gerrans** was born at Plymouth in 1858, and educated at Cheltenham and Bristol Grammar Schools and at Christ Church. There he won the Junior and Senior Mathematical Scholarships and passed for the ablest mathematician at Oxford for several generations, and one of the best teachers. He was also a fine linguist. In 1882 he was elected a Fellow of Worcester College, in 1895 was made Proctor. He took a leading part in University business, and in improving its legislation and examination machinery, and was noted for his sound judgment and accurate methods. He was a delegate of the University Press and did much to promote the publication of educational books. He married, in 1889, Miss A. Elizabeth English, of Toronto.

22. **Dr. Morris Jastrow**, a well-known authority on Oriental languages, was born in 1861 in Warsaw where his father was Minister of the German Jewish congregation. The family removed to Philadelphia in 1866, and Dr. Jastrow was educated there, taking his B.A. degree in 1881. He then went to Germany and France to study Oriental languages and literature, took a philosophical degree at Leipzig, and returned to Philadelphia where he was made Lecturer on Semitic Languages at the University of Pennsylvania. He also became connected with the University Library, and in 1898 was made chief librarian. He was at one time U.S. delegate to the three International Congresses of Orientalists held in Rome, Copenhagen, and Athens, and to the Third and Fourth International Congresses for the History of Religions. He was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Oriental Club. His publications, which were so extensive that a bibliography of them was compiled, include a work in several volumes on "The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," the complete Arabic text of the works of a Jewish Arabic grammarian of the Middle Ages, from MSS. in the Bodleian Library, "The War and the Bagdad Railway," "A Gentle Cynic," "The Book of Job," and a vast number of technical articles on Oriental subjects and the history of religions. He also did important work on the International and Jewish Encyclopædias and the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He married, in 1893, Miss Helen Bachmann of Philadelphia, in co-operation with whom he published, in 1895, a volume of "Selected Essays" by James Darmstetter, a great French Orientalist.

26. **Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Massie Blomfield, K.C.M.G.**, was the third son of the Rev. G. B. Blomfield, rector of Stevenage, Herts. He entered the Royal Navy in 1848 and served with distinction in the war against Russia. He retired from the service in 1872 with the rank of Captain, having commanded various men-of-war in East Indian, Japanese, and Chinese waters. From 1873 to 1876 he was a member of the Admiralty Torpedo Committee, and in 1879 took service under the Egyptian Government as Comptroller of the Port of Alexandria. In this service he remained for twenty-nine years, becoming eventually Director-General of Ports and Lighthouses. The harbour of Alexandria was constructed under his direction. He was made Rear-Admiral in 1889 and retired in 1908. His decorations included the Crimean and Turkish medals with the Sebastopol and Azoff clasps, the Egyptian Orders of the Osmanieh and Medjidieh, the first class of the Order of the Medjidieh, and the K.C.M.G., awarded in 1904. He published

a number of articles connected with the history of the Navy and was a contributor to the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* and other allied periodicals. He married Rosamund Selina Graves, daughter of the Bishop of Limerick, and had two sons, the elder of whom was killed in the war. He was in his 87th year.

26. **Sir Robert Nathan, C.I.E., K.C.S.I.**, who was in his 55th year, was educated at Cambridge and entered the Indian Civil Service. In 1895 he was made Under-Secretary to the Financial and Commercial Department of the Indian Government, and in 1897 to the Home Department, subsequently becoming its Deputy-Secretary. After further distinguished service he was in 1907 appointed Commissioner of the Dacca Division, in 1910 Chief Secretary to the Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. In 1914 he retired from the service owing to ill-health, but until 1915 did valuable secret service work for the War Office. In that year he discovered an anarchist plot, financed by Germany, for destroying the heads of all the Allied countries, and later, in America, successfully tracked the German agents occupied in blowing up munitions works and ships. He was a brother of Sir Nathaniel Nathan, the distinguished Colonial administrator, and of Sir Matthew Nathan, formerly Governor of Natal and Secretary to the G. P. O., and now Governor of Queensland.

— **A. P. Sinnett**, Vice-President of the Theosophical Society, was well known as an exponent of occultism, and based two novels on occult ideas. He was made editor of the *Pioneer of India* in 1872. He wrote leaders at one time for the *Standard*.

27. **Sir Gilbert H. Claughton, Bart.**, was born in 1856, and was the son of a former Bishop of St. Albans. He was educated at Eton, was then apprenticed for three years to a locomotive manufacturing firm at Gorton, and studied science at King's College. He was for over twenty years chief agent of Lord Dudley's mineral estates in the Birmingham district, and was Mayor of Dudley for four years. In 1911 he was elected Chairman of the London and North-Western Railway, and held that position until forced to resign by ill-health a few months before his death. He was one of the employers' representatives on the council established by the President of the Board of Trade to improve the official machinery for dealing with industrial disputes affecting the public welfare. He acted as director of a number of industrial companies, and as Deputy Chairman of the United Counties Bank. He was unmarried.

28. **Charles Joseph Bonaparte** was born in 1851, and was the younger son of Mr. Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte, and grandson of the Emperor Napoleon's younger brother, Jerome, by his first marriage with Miss Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore. He was educated at Harvard University, was called to the Bar in 1874, and practised at Baltimore. In 1902 he became one of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, and in 1905 was made Secretary of the Navy in President Roosevelt's Cabinet, abandoning that post in 1906 for that of Attorney-General, which he held until 1909, when Roosevelt's presidency ceased.

29. **Lady Randolph Churchill**, who was 67 years of age, started life as Jeannette Jerome of New York, and was one of America's acknowledged society beauties. She spent some years of her early life at Trieste, where her father was American Consul, and some years in Paris, and was already an accomplished woman of the world when, at the age of 19, Lord Randolph Churchill fell in love with her. She was only 20 when she married him, and until his death in 1895 played a brilliant part in his political and diplomatic career, and in English society life. She had great charm, wit, vigour, and intellect, and was possessed of steady powers of work, and considerable literary ability. During the Boer War she fitted out the hospital ship *Maine* with American money, went with it to South Africa, and directed its executive committee. The *Anglo-Saxon Review* which, unfortunately, had but a brief career, was founded,



owned, and edited by her, in order to assist in promoting understanding between Great Britain and her mother country. She published her "Reminiscences" in 1908, and "Small Talks on Great Subjects," in 1916. A couple of plays, one of which was political, showed her interest in the drama. Her second husband, Mr. George Cornwallis West, she married in 1900, and divorced in 1913. In 1918 she married Mr. Montagu Porch, who survives her. She had two sons by her first marriage, Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill, the famous Cabinet Minister, and John Spencer Churchill.

## JULY.

3. **Lord Eustace Cecil**, soldier, criminologist, and financier, was born in 1834, and was the third son of the second Marquess of Salisbury, and brother of the Prime Minister. He was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst, obtained a commission, and served in Ireland, Kaffraria, and Southern India. As an officer in the Coldstream Guards he saw active service during the second winter of the Crimean War. Having retired from the Army he represented South Essex as a Conservative from 1865 to 1868, and West Essex until 1885. He was Surveyor-General of Ordnance from 1874 to 1880. On withdrawing from political life he turned his attention to finance, and became a company promoter, one of his chief successes being the formation, in co-operation with other eminent men, of the Foreign and Colonial Investment Trust Company. He was throughout his life interested in criminology and poverty, and his book, "Impressions of Life," published as the result of travels undertaken after the Crimean War, contained some interesting studies of criminal types in England, France, and America. He married, in 1860, Lady Gertrude Louisa Scott, fourth daughter of the second Earl of Eldon. She predeceased him in 1919, but he left two sons and one daughter.

5. **Sir George Kekewich, K.C.B., D.C.L.**, who was in his 81st year, was the fourth son of Samuel Trehawke Kekewich, once M.P. for South Devon, and brother of the late Lord Justice Kekewich. He was educated at Eton and Balliol, took a first class in classical moderations, and in 1867 became an Examiner under the Education Department. After the passing of the 1870 Education Act, he was made one of the senior examiners, and in 1890 was appointed Secretary of the Department. Under his rule various reforms in the primary school system were made, and in 1900, after the passing of the Board of Education Act, 1899, he was also appointed Secretary of the Science and Art Department. He retired early in 1903, and after his retirement reviled in such a manner the Act of 1902, which paved the way to the modern system of education, and made possible Mr. Fisher's achievement, that it was evident he could never have administered it nor achieved the work of co-ordinating elementary and secondary education. Nevertheless, he had great sympathy with both scholars and teachers, and the recognition by the teachers of this fact accounted for his election as honorary member of the National Union of Teachers. His book "The Education Department and After," published in 1920, sets forth many grievances against the Government which passed the Act of 1902, and describes the Education Department of his day. Sir George was awarded the K.C.B. in 1895. He was an Hon. D.C.L. of Durham, and a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex. He became Liberal member for Exeter in 1906.

— **Sir George Henry Savage**, an authority on insanity, was the son of a Yorkshire chemist, and a Scotch mother. He received his medical training at Guy's Hospital, and was made house surgeon there. Subsequently he became house physician, and in 1872 assistant medical officer at the Bethlem Royal Hospital. Seven years later he was appointed

physician-superintendent, and continued in this post until 1889, when he resigned in order better to carry on his private practice, but remained an active governor of the hospital until his death. His energies were devoted to solving the mysteries of mental and nervous diseases. He was for many years the leading English authority in psychological medicine, and was a lecturer whom medical men came from far and wide to hear. He was for over twenty years honorary consulting physician at the Royal Earlswood Institution for Mental Defectives, taught at Guy's Hospital Medical College, was consultant and adviser to H.M. Government, and was Lumleian Lecturer and Harveian Orator at the Royal College of Physicians. He was knighted in 1912, and in that year became the first President of the Section of Psychiatry at the Royal Society of Medicine. He wrote one book, the "Manual of Insanity." He was twice married, and had one son and one daughter. He was 78 years of age.

**6. Alexander Hugh Bruce, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, K.T., G.C.M.G.,** was born in 1849, his father being Robert Bruce of Kennet, an officer in the Grenadier Guards, and once M.P. for Clackmannan, his mother a Fergusson, of Kilkerran. He was educated at Eton, and at Oriol College, Oxford, and entered on a political career. He was a staunch Unionist, and a strong supporter in Scotland of the Presbyterian Establishment. He took an active part in the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Church of Scotland and, especially in later life, exercised great influence in the affairs of the Church. The Bill to bring about Church Union, a cause to which he had devoted life-long efforts, was favourably received in the House of Commons only a week before his death.

From 1882 to 1889 Lord Balfour served as Chairman of a Commission which revised in most thorough fashion the educational endowments of Scotland. From that year until the fall of the Unionist Ministry in 1892 he was Secretary of the Board of Trade, for the next three years he worked as Chairman of the London Water Supply Commission. In 1895, on the return to power of the Unionists, he became Secretary for Scotland, with a seat in the Cabinet. Tribute was paid to his management of Scottish affairs by his election, in 1896, as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, and in 1900 as Chancellor of St. Andrews University. From 1896 to 1901 he was Chairman of the Commission on Local Taxation, and later of the Commission on Food Supply in Time of War. In 1903 he resigned office owing to the introduction by Chamberlain of the Fiscal Reform Policy, to which he was opposed. He continued to speak in the House of Lords, and devoted himself to Scottish Church affairs. From 1908 he was Lord Warden of the Stannaries in Cornwall, and member of the Council of the Prince of Wales. He married, in 1876, in the same year that he was elected as one of the representative peers for Scotland, Lady Katherine Eliza, younger daughter of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen. His elder son was killed in the war. The second son, George John Gordon Bruce, the present Baronet, and his three daughters, survive him.

**7. Alfred Onions, M.P.,** whose age was 62, was born at St. George's, a Shropshire village, and when 10 years old started work as a collier, his father's calling. When 20 he started to educate himself by going to a night school, and when 24 went to South Wales and continued to work as a miner. His capabilities were soon recognised by his fellow-workers, and in 1888 he was chosen Secretary of the Monmouthshire district of the South Wales Miners' Federation. Just before the big miners' strike of 1898 this Federation came to an end, and on the formation of the present Miners' Federation Mr. Onions was made General Treasurer. He entered Parliament for the Caerphilly Division of Glamorganshire at the General Election of 1918. He was a man of delicate health, and took very little active part in the affairs of the House, his main energies being devoted to improving the condition of the miners. He was among the

first of the trade union writers of labour articles for the Press. He held moderate views. He served on the Monmouthshire County Council, was made a magistrate, and was one of the Advisory Committee for the County.

11. **Sigurd Berg**, Danish Minister of the Interior, belonged to the Moderate, or Left Peasant Party. Less prominent as a statesman than his father, Christen Poulsen Berg, leader for many years of the Left Radicals, his value lay in his ownership of the so-called Berg Press, comprising about a dozen Danish newspapers. He had already held the post of Minister of the Interior under J. C. Christensen from 1905 to 1908, when he made his name in connexion with a law on accident insurance, but was relieved of office along with his chief owing to the scandal connected with Alberti, the swindling Minister of Justice. He was 53 years of age.

12. **Harry George Hawker**, a famous airman, was born in 1881, and was an Australian of Cornish descent. He first made his name in motor-racing, then took up aeronautics. He qualified as an air pilot in 1912, won for Mr. T. O. M. Sopwith the Mortimer Singer Prize for six descents on to land and water alternately between flights of five miles, and created in the same year a British record, for duration by a flight of eight hours and twenty-three minutes. He had a number of miraculous escapes from death in both motor and aeroplane accidents. Probably his most thrilling adventure was his rescue from the sea by a Danish steamer in May, 1919, while competing for the 10,000*l.* *Daily Mail* prize for a flight across the Atlantic. No news of him was received for eight days after his start from Newfoundland. He received a magnificent reception on his return to England, and was awarded the Air Force Cross. He continued on his career, and was an expert at high flights. He was killed while making a practice flight near Hendon Aerodrome.

13. **Miss (Sarah) Emily Davies**, a pioneer in the higher education of women, was born in 1830, her father being the Rev. J. Davies, D.D., once rector of Gateshead. Girls' public day schools did not exist, and she was educated at home. In 1864 an agitation arose for the reform of girls' secondary education, and she became Hon. Secretary, in London, of a committee formed to extend the Cambridge (boys) Local Examinations to girls. Success was achieved in 1865, and by 1870 Edinburgh, Dublin, and Oxford had followed suit. In 1867 she was chosen as Hon. Secretary of a committee formed for the purpose of founding a college for girls on lines analogous to those governing the men's Universities, and in 1869 a private house at Hitchin opened its doors to six women students. By 1873 more funds had been obtained, and the college transferred to Girton with Miss Davies as head. Although less successful as a teacher than as an organiser, she held this post for several years, and never ceased to watch over the fortunes of the college, and by 1874 her efforts had further resulted in the throwing open to women of the University of London degrees. She was a member of the first London School Board, a life governor of University College, and a governor of the Hitchin Grammar School.

— **Professor Gabriel Lippmann**, the inventor of colour photography, was born at Hollerich in Luxemburg, of French parents, in 1845. He was educated in Paris, and when only 30 years of age made his name as a scientist with a monograph on "The Relations between Electrical and Capillary Phenomena." In 1883 he was appointed Professor at the Sorbonne, three years later was elected a member of the Académie des Sciences, becoming its President in 1912. It was in 1891 that his discovery of photography in colour direct from nature attracted universal attention. He also produced a method of direct photography in relief. During the war he invented an apparatus enabling the location of submarines. He was a member of the Meteorological Committee and of the

Standing Council on Observatories, and was a recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize. He died suddenly on a French liner on his return voyage from Canada where he had been as a member of the French delegation, to thank Canada for its services in the war.

17. **Dr. William Wallace**, born in 1843 at Culross in Fifeshire, was one of two remarkable sons of a gardener at Dunimarle Castle, his brother being Robert Wallace, M.P. He took his B.A. at Aberdeen, and when 22 was made Classical Master in Ayr Academy. In 1867 he became assistant-editor of the Conservative *Edinburgh Courant*, then for eight years edited the *Dumfries Herald*. In 1888 he became assistant-editor of the *Glasgow Herald*, in 1906 editor-in-chief. He retired, in 1909, owing to ill-health. He contributed to literary journals and to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and edited several books, among which was a new edition of Dr. Robert Chambers' "Life and Works of Robert Burns." His wife and two sons survive him.

20. **Mrs. Molesworth** was of Scottish origin, and was born in Holland in 1839. Her father was the only son of Major-General Stewart of Strath, her mother was a Wilson of Transy, Fife. She began writing in childhood, published novels under the pseudonym "Ennis Graham" while still a girl, and produced stories and tales ranging from the "creepy" to the doctrinal order. Her name will live, however, in the well-known books for children of which "Carrots," "The Cuckoo Clock," "Four Winds Farm" and "Herr Baby" are such delightful examples, not yet superseded in all the years since their production. Her contributions to *The Child's Pictorial* showed her ability to write for very young children. She married Major Molesworth in 1861, and was left a widow in 1900. She had four children.

— **Professor Dr. Arnold Rusterholz**, who was 52 years of age, was born at Schönenberg of a peasant family, studied privately for a veterinary career, and in 1886 entered the Zürich Veterinary College. In 1890 he graduated so brilliantly that he was appointed clinical assistant. In 1895 he went to Berlin, Vienna, Lyons, and Alfort to pursue his studies, which until his death he continued at the Zürich Veterinary Hospital. He was known not only as a fine veterinary doctor, but as a wonderful teacher of his art. He had been, since 1915, on the Board of his cantonal Agricultural Association, and served as a veterinary doctor during the war. The value of his research studies was evidenced in a remarkable work on the foot diseases of cattle, a subject to which he gave special attention in his teaching. He also did valuable work in connexion with milk hygiene. He was married, and left a widow and one son.

22. **Alexander Johnstone Wilson**, who was 79 years of age, was well known as a financial journalist. In 1872 he was made junior sub-editor of the *Economist*, and two years later became assistant City editor of *The Times*, holding that position until 1881 when he became City editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. For sixteen years he occupied a similar position on the *Standard*, later, on the *Daily Chronicle*. Since 1892 he had been owner and editor of the *Investor's Review*, which he founded. He wrote some books and contributed to reviews. He was married and had one son and two daughters. He was noted for the style, imagination, and vigour of expression of his writing and for his integrity of view in financial matters.

25. **Henry Edward Le Vasseur dit Durell** was born and educated in Jersey, was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1868, and became head of the Jersey Bar. He represented St. Helier in the States Assembly for twenty-two years, was Solicitor-General for Jersey from 1899 to 1911, and Attorney-General from 1912.

— **Karl Trimborn**, leader of the Centre Party in the Reichstag, was born at Cologne in 1854 and started life there as a solicitor. In 1896

he became a member of the Prussian Diet, and represented his native town in the Reichstag from 1896 to 1912. During the war he was a member of the German Civil Administration in Brussels. He was subsequently appointed Secretary of State for the Interior, but was superseded on the outbreak of the Revolution. The strong position of the Centre Party was due greatly to his brilliant leadership in the National Assembly and the new Reichstag.

27. **James Winstone**, President of the South Wales Miners' Federation, who was born at Risca, Mon., in 1863, was the son of a mason. He worked in Risca Colliery, became Chairman of its Workmen's Committee, and was made miners' agent for the Eastern Valley of Monmouthshire. He subsequently became Vice-President of the South Wales Miners' Federation and, on the withdrawal of Mr. William Brace, its President. He took an active part in municipal work, and had been on the Monmouthshire County Council since 1907. He held extreme political views, and was the prospective Labour candidate for Merthyr at the next election.

28. **William Lehman Ashmead Bartlett Burdett-Coutts, M.P.**, was born in the U.S.A. in 1851, and was the younger son of Ellis Bartlett, of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Sophia Ashmead, of Philadelphia, his grandparents on both sides being British subjects. He came to England and graduated as M.A. at Keble College, Oxford. While at the University he became acquainted with the youngest daughter of Sir Francis Burdett who had been created Baroness Burdett-Coutts in 1871. They married in 1881, he being then 30 and she 67, and he took her name. He represented Westminster as a Conservative and Unionist from 1885 until his death, but his chief interests were social rather than political. He assisted the Baroness in her philanthropic work, and was instrumental in bringing about the reform of the Army Medical Corps system, the defects of which he discovered by journeying to South Africa, in 1900, to see how the sick and wounded were being cared for in the Boer War. His subsequent revelations to the House of Commons resulted in the introduction of drastic changes in the service. The carrying of the Hampstead Heath Act of 1885 was due to his efforts, likewise the passing of the Railway (Accounts and Returns) Act, 1910, introducing an improved system of railway statistics. He was one of the founders, and for many years Treasurer of the Great Northern Central Hospital, was twice Master of the Turners' Company, and was a Governor of Christ's Hospital. He was made a Privy Councillor in April. The Baroness predeceased him in 1906.

## AUGUST.

1. **Lord Reay (eleventh Baron)**, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., K.T., whose family name was Donald James MacKay, was the son of Baron Æneas MacKay, Vice-President of the Council of the Netherlands and a Dutch Minister of State, his mother being a daughter of Baron Fagee, a distinguished Dutch statesman. He was educated at the Hague and at Leyden University, took his degree in Law, and as an official of the Dutch Foreign Office was appointed to the Dutch Legation in London. From there he was transferred to the Dutch Colonial Office, from which he resigned in 1866 to tour the U.S.A. On his return he organised the first Dutch industrial exhibition. He was sitting as a member of the Chamber of Representatives when his father died in 1876, and the Scottish title of Reay devolved on him. In 1877 he resigned his seat, became naturalised as a British subject, married the widow of Alexander Mitchell, M.P., and settled on her estates in Berwickshire. In 1881 he was created a baron in the peerage of the U.K. In 1885 he was appointed Governor of Bombay. His policy was inspired by sympathy with the native races

and a desire to raise their status. He effected great improvements in education and in the Forest Laws, and carried the Bombay City Municipal Act, 1888. His Governorship ended in 1890, and he returned home to become, in 1894, Under-Secretary of State for India, an office which he held for fifteen months. In 1897 he was made Chairman of the London School Board and retained the post until the abolition of the Board in 1904. He was, at various times, President of University College, of the Institute of International Law, of the Franco-Scottish Society, of the British Academy, and of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was a member of the Senate of London University. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1906. His wife died, childless, in 1917. The United Kingdom peerage lapses, the Scottish titles go to his cousin, Baron Eric MacKay.

1. **Thomas Joseph Ryan**, Premier of Queensland, 1915-19, and deputy leader of the Australian Federal Labour Party, was born at Port Fairy, Victoria, in 1876. He graduated at Melbourne University and was called to the Queensland Bar. In 1909 he entered the Queensland Parliament, and during his Premiership introduced measures of a Socialistic nature, which included State ownership of various industries and State insurance. After his resignation of the Premiership he represented West Sydney in the Australian House of Representatives. He was a man of advanced views at home, and was an ardent supporter of the Allied cause. He was well received in England on a visit in 1916. He was one of the most attacked public men in Australia, but always commanded respect.

2. **Enrico Caruso**, the famous Italian tenor, was born at Naples in 1873, and was one of a large family of working people. He began to study singing professionally at the age of 18 and made his first appearance in 1895. Although in 1899 he created the tenor parts in various operas on the Italian stage, and the beauty of his voice was already noticed by single critics, he did not rise to fame until 1902, when he sang Rodolfo's part in "Bohème" at Monte Carlo, appearing with Mme. Melba. He was engaged for Covent Garden without delay, and from 1904 to 1907 sang there to crowded and enthusiastic houses. After that year his connexion with the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, rendered the price of his services too high for Covent Garden, and although he reappeared there, he was the chief draw of the New York House throughout the war. Late in 1920 he broke a blood-vessel in his throat while singing, and as the result of various accidents contracted serious illness and died at Naples. His voice was distinguished by its wonderful power combined with its velvety quality. He was a good actor and an enthusiastic artist. His best parts were Rodolfo in "Bohème," Radames in "Aïda" and Canio in "Pagliacci," and as the tenor in "Madame Butterfly," "Manon Lescaut," and "Samson and Delilah." He was also a fine concert singer. He married, in 1918, Miss Dorothy Benjamin of New York and had one daughter.

3. **Henri Albert**, whose real name was Henri Albert Haug, was born in 1868 at Niederbronn. He was editor of the *Mercure de France*, the *Journal des Débats*, and a review of art and literature, the *Centaure*, founded by himself, André Gide, and others. He also edited for many years, in Paris, a paper for the promotion of French interests in Alsace-Lorraine. His name was known chiefly as the introducer of Nietzsche in France. Most of Nietzsche's works he himself translated into French.

6. **Right Hon. Sir David Brynmor Jones, K.C.**, who was in his 70th year, was a son of the Rev. Thomas Jones, the poet preacher, and had two well-known brothers. He was educated at University College, and called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1876. In 1885 he was appointed a County Court Judge on circuit. He married in 1892, resigned his judgeship, and returned to the Bar. In the same year he represented the Stroud division of Gloucestershire as a Liberal. He served on various Royal Commissions, and in 1895 was made Chairman of Standing

Committees of the House of Commons. In 1912 he became Chairman of the Welsh Parliamentary Party, and entered the Privy Council; in 1914 he was appointed a Master in Lunacy and retired from Parliament. He took a great interest in Welsh history and politics, and collaborated, with Sir John Rhys, in a book called "The Welsh People."

7. **Don Manuel Vicente Ballivián** was born in Peru in 1848, and educated privately in Bolivia and Europe. When 27 he became Secretary to the Bolivian President, and as the result of work on a commission appointed to explore the north-western part of the country was made head of the newly established Bureau of Statistics and Immigration. From 1904 to 1908 he was Minister for the Colonies and Agriculture. He wrote a number of books on national and international topics.

8. **Tom Wintringham, M.P.**, was born at Grimsby in 1867, and educated at Mill Hill School. He was the Independent Liberal member for the Louth Division of Lincolnshire, a seat won by him in 1920 under astonishing circumstances, as he was opposed in this agricultural constituency by an agricultural expert as Coalition candidate. He was especially popular in Nonconformist circles on account of his views on the licensing question. He was married, and was by occupation a timber inspector. He died suddenly in the newsroom of the House of Commons. After his death his wife was returned by his constituency to the House of Commons, which she entered as the second woman member.

12. **Peter Boborykin**, who was in his 86th year, was a prolific Russian novelist of the naturalistic school, a contemporary of Turgenev and Herzen. He was an accomplished linguist, much influenced in his work by Western culture, and passed his life between Rome, Paris, Italy, and his own country. He was originally a man of property, but died at Lugano in great poverty.

13. **Sir Alfred Dale**, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University, was born in 1855, his father being R. W. Dale of Birmingham, the eminent Congregationalist minister. He was educated at Birmingham, and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, graduated in classics, and obtained a fellowship. He won at the University, in various years, six prizes for English poems, three of which dealt with sacred subjects. He was for ten years lecturer, bursar, and tutor of his college, where he was much looked up to and respected. In 1899 he was appointed Principal of University College, Liverpool, and on the dissolution of Victoria University, of which this college had been a constituent part, became Vice-Chancellor of Liverpool University. He resigned in 1919 after nineteen years of invaluable service. He wrote several works on religion, the best known being his "History of Congregationalism," completed by his son, and published in 1907. He held honorary degrees from Aberdeen and Bristol Universities, and served on various examination boards. He was knighted in 1911. He married in 1882, and left three daughters.

16. **King Peter of Serbia**, who was in his 78th year, was the son of Prince Alexander Karageorgevitch, who was deposed from the Serbian throne in 1859, and fled with his family first to Hungary, then to Vienna. Prince Peter continued his studies on the Continent, and in 1870 fought in the Franco-Prussian war on the side of France. In 1874-76 he led the North-West Bosnian peasant rising against the Turks, and after its defeat fled to Switzerland and settled there with his wife, the daughter of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro, whom he married in 1883. On the assassination of the Serbian King and Queen in 1903, Prince Peter accepted the offer of the vacant throne, and after an absence of forty-five years returned to his native land. Since 1915 he had practically retired into private life, and had left the direction of affairs to his second son Alexander, who had been nominated heir to the throne in 1909, and who

succeeded his father. He continued, however, to take a keen interest in military affairs, shared in the retreat of the Serbian Army in 1915, and did not return to Belgrade until 1918, shortly after which he became King of the Triune Kingdoms of Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia. He was an able statesman, notwithstanding the fact that his health was already impaired by early hardships when he was called to the throne. He was a democratic ruler with strictly constitutional methods, and was personally an amiable man.

17. **Lieut.-General Sir David Henderson, K.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.**, one of the great figures of the war as Director of Military Aeronautics, was born in 1862, his father being Mr. David Henderson, a Glasgow shipbuilder. He was educated at Glasgow University and Sandhurst, and by 1890 was a captain in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, by 1897 was on the Intelligence Staff. He took part in the Sudan campaign and the Boer War, was mentioned in despatches, and received the D.S.O. As a Lieut.-Colonel he acted as Director of Intelligence under Lord Kitchener at Pretoria, became Colonel on his return home, and in 1912 was appointed Director of Military Training. He had already taken charge, in 1911, of the Air Battalion, and in September, 1913, was appointed Director-General of Military Aeronautics, a post in which he did splendid work throughout the war in the face of much adverse criticism. At the age of 50 he learnt to fly, in order better to understand the activities of the Royal Flying Corps which he had built up so magnificently. From 1919 his diplomatic gifts were well displayed in the post of Director-General of the League of Red Cross Societies at Geneva. He married a daughter of Mr. Henry R. Dundas, who survived him.

19. **M. Rallis**, ex-Prime Minister of Greece, was born in Athens in 1844, and first became prominent as the leader of the newly formed "Young Greek Party" in 1890. He became Prime Minister in April, 1897, but resigned in October after the signing of peace with Turkey which followed on the disastrous war he had been called upon to conduct. He returned to power at the head of a Delyannist Cabinet in July, 1903, only to fall from it again in December. He was Prime Minister for a third time from June to December, 1905, and for a fourth time, in 1909, for one month. He did not hold office again until 1915, when he became Minister of Justice, leaving this post for that of Minister of Finance in 1916. When King Constantine fell from power, M. Rallis withdrew from politics, but reappeared in November, 1920, as President of the Restoration Cabinet. The struggle to maintain his leadership was too great for him, and he finally withdrew from office in February, 1921. He died in Athens.

20. **Ernest Daudet**, born at Nîmes in 1837, was the elder brother by three years of Alphonse Daudet, the famous French novelist. Although overshadowed by the genius of the latter, he was in his day a prominent figure in the French world of letters and journalism, and over twenty novels came from his pen. His chief works, however, were historical, the best known being "La Terreur Blanche," "Histoire de l'Émigration," and "Les Emigrés et la Seconde Coalition." In "Mon Frère et Moi," published in 1883, he paid tribute to his brother's fame. The second volume of his "Memoirs" has been cut short by his death.

— **Professor Charles Knapp**, Professor of Geography at Neuenburg University (elected in 1916), started his career as a primary school teacher. He was the author of a number of geographical works, the foremost of which is a six volume geographical lexicon of Switzerland. He was 66 years of age.

22. **Colonel Charles Edward De la Poer Beresford**, aged 71, was born at Corfu, his father being Captain George De la Poer Beresford. He entered the Army in 1869, and by 1891 was Chief Staff Officer at Jamaica.



From 1898 to 1903 he was Military Attaché at the British Embassy in St. Petersburg. He retired in 1904, but during the war served as Commandant of the School of Instruction, Northern District, until he reached the age limit in 1916. He was correspondent of *The Times* at the Siege of Port Arthur in 1903, contributed to periodicals, and published a book on "The Conquest of Oran." He married the youngest daughter of Mr. Henry Ximenes of Berkshire.

23. **Axel Herman Haig**, an etcher of considerable ability, was a Swede by birth, born in the island of Gotland in 1835. He first took up architecture, came to London and worked as assistant to various architects. When in middle life, he abandoned this branch of art and took up etching, making a speciality of Gothic buildings, for which purpose he travelled in England and on the Continent, where his large etchings were well known and much bought by the general public. He was a member of the Royal Society of Painter Etchers and of the Royal Swedish Academy.

— **Bishop Francis John Jayne**, aged 76, who held the see of Chester for thirty years, came from Brecknockshire and was educated at Rugby and Wadham College, Oxford, where he graduated with distinction. He became a Fellow of Jesus College, took Holy Orders, and became Curate of St. Clements', Oxford. In 1877 he was appointed Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter, and was instrumental in making the fortunes of the college at a critical period in its career, when the agitation for Welsh Disestablishment was becoming vigorous. In 1886 he became Vicar of Leeds and in 1889 Bishop of Chester. He was a man of great sincerity and strength of character, a moderate High Churchman, and an advocate of temperance reform. He was the founder of the People's Refreshment House Association. He resigned his bishopric in 1919 for reasons of health. He married, in 1872, a daughter of Mr. Watts J. Garland.

24. **Air-Commodore E. M. Maitland, C.M.G., D.S.O.**, born in 1880, was the son of Mr. Arthur Maitland of Cambridgeshire. He was educated at Haileybury and Trinity College, Cambridge, and served in the South African War. On the formation of the Royal Flying Corps in 1913 he was appointed a Commanding Officer and was gazetted as a Wing Commander when the Admiralty formed the Royal Naval Air Service. On the outbreak of the war he was sent to Belgium, and as the result of his recommendation to promote the use of kite-balloons at the front was placed in command of the Roehampton kite-balloon training depot. There his courage and efficiency were well displayed. In 1917 he took charge at the Admiralty of the Airships Headquarters Staff, and to him was due the greatly increased programme of airship construction adopted. He was chief observer on board the British airship R34 on her flight to America and back in 1919, and published his reminiscences of the voyage. He was a firm believer in the future of transport by craft lighter than air. He met his death in the R38, the world's largest airship, which was about to be taken over by the U.S.A. Government from the British Air Ministry, but collapsed while making a trial flight over the Humber and was destroyed by fire with forty-four out of its forty-nine occupants.

— **General Sir Sam Hughes**, was born at Darlington, Ontario, in 1853, and began his military career in the Canadian Volunteer Militia, being gazetted to the 45th Regiment in 1873. He held several high staff appointments in the South African War. He was also a teacher, politician, and journalist. He lectured on English History in Toronto University, was for twelve years editor and owner of the *Lindsay Warder*, and sat in the Dominion House of Commons from 1892. In 1911 he was appointed Canadian Minister of Militia and Defence and was responsible, during the first two years of the war, for the magnificent

Force sent to Europe. He resigned his position in 1916 owing to disagreements with his Government. He was a vigorous and original personality whose arbitrary nature, although it contributed greatly to the shaping of Canadian history, finally proved his downfall. His chief political aim was the equal partnership of the Dominions in the control of Imperial policy. He was twice married, and left a son and two daughters.

25. **Hermann Landau**, aged 87, an Anglo-Jewish philanthropist, was born at Constantinov, in Russian Poland, his ancestors having emigrated to Poland from Italy in the fourteenth century. He was educated at Kalisch and Breslau, and came to England in 1864 to teach in a Jewish school at Dover. In 1871 he came to London and made his fortune on the Stock Exchange. He was a staunch champion of foreign Jews, for whose benefit he founded, in Leman Street, Whitechapel, the Jews' Temporary Shelter, to which he devoted most of his energies. He was also the founder of the Jewish Crèche, and worked for various other Jewish philanthropic institutions. He was awarded the O.B.E. in recognition of his work during the war.

26. **Matthias Erzberger**, formerly German Finance Minister in Herr Müller's Cabinet, was born in 1875 at Buttenhausen in Württemberg and became an elementary school teacher. From this he drifted into the Christian Trade Union movement, and earned his living as a commercial agent. In 1897 he was delegated to the International Labour Congress at Zurich, then became a journalist at Stuttgart. In 1903 he was returned to the Reichstag as a member of the Centre Party, and took an aggressive part in home and foreign politics. In 1915 he was nominated to the board of the Thyssen syndicate, but either resigned or was dismissed late in 1917 on account of his share in the promotion of the Peace Resolution in the Reichstag in July of that year. He had previously been active in recommending annexations in Russia and France, and became once more, under the Chancellorship of Count Hertling, an ardent nationalist, only to bid again for peace when the tide turned against Germany in 1918. He became Minister of Finance just before the downfall of the Imperial régime, a post to which he returned after playing a prominent part as leader of the German Armistice Commission, and advising Germany to sign the Peace Treaty. He took no active part in the Reichstag after leaving the Ministry of Finance in 1920 as the result of a public trial in connexion with his financial affairs, but had continued to work energetically behind the scenes and to exert a considerable influence on the Reichstag. He was murdered by an unknown assailant near Griesbach, in the Black Forest, where he was spending a holiday. The reason for the murder was presumed to be political revenge on the part of the German reactionaries.

— **Alexander Wekerle**, aged 73, formerly Hungarian Prime Minister, came from Moor in Stuhlweissenburg. He obtained a post in the Finance Ministry at Budapest as a young man, and in 1889 was appointed Finance Minister. He filled this position with success, and in 1892 became Prime Minister, when he inaugurated various reforms in the Hungarian laws, the principal being the introduction of the civil marriage. He resigned in 1894 and was made President of the Hungarian Supreme Court, but in 1906 was again appointed Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, and was responsible for a number of social, political, and taxation reforms. He again left office in 1910, but was induced to resume the Prime Ministership seven years later in order to deal with the problem of election reform. During the war he stood firm for union with Austria, and finally resigned office in 1918 after the fall of Fiume. He enjoyed no great popularity in Hungary as his political methods were indirect, and he had a reputation for unreliability.

27. **Ludwig Thoma**, aged 54, was a well-known Bavarian playwright and novelist, whose works met with much success on the Munich stage. He was a satirical poet of considerable worth and was one of the founders of *Simplicissimus*, which he edited for a number of years.

28. **Henrik de Grevenkop Castenskjold** was born in 1862, near Holbaek in Denmark, his father being Chamberlain to the King. He entered the diplomatic service early, and from 1901 to 1905 was Secretary to the Danish Legations in Stockholm, Petrograd, Berlin, and London successively. In 1905 he was appointed Minister in Christiania, then went to Vienna and Rome. He had been Danish Minister in London, where he died, since 1912, and throughout the war, although sympathetic to England, had performed much difficult and important work in a successful and strictly neutral spirit.

30. **Canon Edgar Sheppard, D.D., K.C.V.O.**, had been Sub-Dean of the Chapels Royal since 1884, Canon and Precentor of Windsor since 1907, and Domestic Chaplain to the King since 1910. He was also Domestic Chaplain to Queen Alexandra, Deputy-Clerk of the Closet, and Sub-Almoner to the King. He was born in 1845, his father being Professor Edgar Sheppard, M.D., of King's College, London. He was educated privately, at St. John's College, Oxford, and at Salisbury Theological College, was admitted to Holy Orders in 1876, and began his ecclesiastical connexion with the Court in 1878 when he was appointed a minor canon of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Outside his Court functions he was chaplain to the Royal Society of Musicians, to the Royal Academy of Music, and to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He married, in 1874, Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard White of Inslow, and left a daughter and two sons, the youngest son being well known as the vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.

31. **Sir Arthur J. Herbert, G.C.V.O.**, of Coldbrook, Abergavenny, was born in 1855, and was the second son of Mr. J. A. Herbert of Llanarth and of the daughter of Lord Llanover. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and entered the diplomatic service. He served as Secretary at the British Embassies in St. Petersburg and Washington, and at the Legations in Buenos Ayres, Teheran, Brussels, Berne, and Stockholm. In 1905 he became Minister at Christiania, where he remained for five successful years. He was created K.C.V.O. in 1905 and G.C.V.O. in 1908. In 1913 he retired. He married an American lady in 1892 and left one son, born in 1895.

— **Robert Murray Smith, C.M.G.**, who was in his 90th year, was born at Liverpool and educated at Brasenose and Oriel Colleges, Oxford. He went to Australia in 1854, and from 1872 to 1900 sat in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria, where he was for some years leader of the Free Trade Party, at a time when Free Trade and Protection were the burning issues of the State. From 1882 to 1886 he was in London as Agent-General for Victoria, and took an active part in connexion with the Colonial questions of the day. He was Director of the Bank of Victoria. He was married, and had one son who died as a young man.

— **Field-Marshal Karl von Bülow**, who commanded the German Second Army in France in 1914, was born in 1846, and followed in the professional steps of his father, a lieutenant-colonel. He served with distinction throughout the Franco-Prussian War, and on the outbreak of war in 1914 entered Belgium in command of the Second Army. His account of the German defeat at the Battle of the Marne was published in 1920. He was held responsible for the failure of the early advance on Paris. In 1916, by his own request, he was placed on the retired list.

## SEPTEMBER.

2. **Henry Austin Dobson**, the poet and man of letters of Victorian fame, was born at Plymouth in 1840, and was the eldest son of George Clarisse Dobson, a Civil engineer of French descent. He was educated at Beaumaris, Coventry, and Strasbourg, and when quite young entered the Board of Trade, where he remained until his retirement on a pension in 1901, having been principal in the Harbour Department since 1894. Notwithstanding his official duties, the extent of his literary activity was such that a bibliography of his writings, published in 1900, covered over three hundred pages. He excelled in dainty, delicate verse, and in charming and graceful essays and monographs dealing chiefly with eighteenth-century topics. Much of his early verse appeared in current literary magazines. The best of it was gathered, in 1883, into "Old World Idylls," which, together with a companion volume of poems, "At the Sign of the Lyre," issued in 1885, established his poetical fame. After that date he wrote very little poetry, but his prose creations were equally good. He had a special skill in reconstructing the past, and a special interest in old French literature and personalities. "Four Frenchwomen," published in 1890, was a reprint of biographical essays on illustrious Frenchwomen, originally printed in *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*. His studies of eminent British personalities included monographs on Hogarth, Fielding, Goldsmith, Horace Walpole, and Fanny Burney. He was a shy man, with a ready humour, and was a respected, if not a brilliant, civil servant. His wife was a daughter of Mr. Nathaniel Beardmore, and he had five sons and five daughters.

6. **Dr. Henry Woodward, LL.D., F.R.S.**, was born at Norwich in 1832, and was the fifth son of Samuel Woodward, a geologist and antiquary. He studied geology and natural history with his brother, a Professor of Natural History, but in 1851, in order to earn his living, became a bank clerk at Norwich. He devoted his leisure to local fossils and natural history so successfully that in 1858 he was appointed to a junior post in the geological department of the British Museum. After twenty-two years' service he was made Keeper of Geology, and shortly afterwards directed the removal of the geological collection to the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. He retired in 1901, but was employed on special duties at the Museum for another three years. He was the author of a number of original geological studies, and was for over fifty years editor of the *Geological Magazine*. He acted as president of various scientific societies. He was married, and had seven children, the elder of his two sons being an expert in mining geology.

— **Albert Clavelle**, French Minister of Public Works from 1917 to 1919, was a self-made man, who began life as a municipal employée in Bordeaux. In 1906 he had risen to be a departmental head in the Ministry of Public Works. In 1915 he was appointed Director of Artillery in the Ministry of Munitions, and served as a Minister in the Cabinets of Painlevé and Clemenceau. He was the French delegate after the war to the Oder-Elbe Commission, and President of the Rhine-Navigation Commission.

7. **Sir David Erskine**, of Cardross, for thirty years Serjeant-at-Arms in the House of Commons, was born at Bombay, in 1838, and was the elder son of James Erskine, the family being descended from the second Lord Cardross. He was educated at Harrow, entered the Army in 1854, and served in the Crimean War, on active service. He retired in 1861, and married Miss Horatia Elizabeth Seymour, whose father became later the fifth Marquess of Hertford. He held various Court appointments under Queen Victoria, was made Deputy-Serjeant to the House of Commons in 1875, and Serjeant-at-Arms in 1885. This post, which involved the keeping of order in the House, and other duties, he filled

with conspicuous success until his retirement in 1915. He had six sons and one daughter.

7. **Dr. Antero Pinto de Almeida**, Director-General of the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Centennial Celebration, due in 1922, was born in the State of Espirito Santo, in 1868. A lawyer by profession, he took some part in politics during the opening years of the Republic, but abandoned political life in favour of journalism and industrial affairs. He was president of the *Jornal do Brasil*, and one of the heads of a large Brazilian shipping company.

9. **Colonel Sir Peter Johnston Freyer, K.C.B.**, was born in 1852, at Selerna, Galway, was educated at Erasmus Smith's College, Galway, and trained in medicine and surgery at Dublin and Paris. In 1875 he was placed first in the open competition for the Indian Medical Service, and served as civil surgeon to the Government of the North-West Provinces for many years, also holding other professional appointments. In 1904 he was awarded the Arnott memorial medal for original surgical work. Since his retirement from the Service, he had practised as a consulting surgeon in London, particularly to St. Peter's Hospital. His name will be remembered as the originator of the operation of supra-pubic prostatectomy, now accepted by surgeons all over the world. His wife died in 1914; he left a son and daughter.

11. **Lord Milford Haven**, aged 67, known, until 1917, as Prince Louis of Battenberg, was the eldest son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, by hismorganatic marriage with the Russian Countess Julie Thérèse von Hauke. He was naturalised as an Englishman, and entered the Royal Navy, where he had a most distinguished career. From 1891 to 1894 he acted as Naval Adviser to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, and in 1900 went to the Admiralty as Assistant Director of Naval Intelligence, becoming Director in 1902. From 1905 he did valuable service at sea, especially as second in command in the Mediterranean, and was promoted Vice-Admiral in 1908. He then commanded the Atlantic and Home Fleets successively, and in 1912 became First Sea Lord. In October, 1914, notwithstanding his fine record, public feeling, with respect to his original nationality, compelled him to resign office. In 1917 he relinquished his title, assumed the surname of Mountbatten, and was raised to the peerage. He retired from the active list of the Navy in 1918. He married, in 1884, Princess Victoria, daughter of the Grand Duke Louis IV. of Hesse, and of Princess Alice, daughter of Queen Victoria. He left two sons, the Earl of Medina, and Lord Louis Mountbatten, both naval officers. His daughter is the wife of Prince Andrew of Greece.

20. **Mrs. Charles Calvert**, the actress, whose age was 85, was the daughter of James Biddles, or "Bedells," a comedian. She made her first public appearance on the stage when six years old, and before she was twenty, had acted in America, been leading lady at the Surrey Theatre, and married Charles Calvert, with whom she became famous, during his managerial career at James Knowles's Theatre Royal, Manchester, from 1859 to 1864. Both there, and at the Prince's Theatre, between 1864 and 1875, when her husband died, she impersonated successfully most of Shakespeare's heroines. She was admirable also in old comedy parts, such as Mrs. Hardcastle, and in modern drama impersonations, such as Catharine Petkoff in "Arms and the Man." She published, in 1911, an interesting book of theatrical and other reminiscences, and was the author of several plays. She had four sons, all of whom were actors.

21. **Sir Ernest Cassell, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.**, who was 69 years of age, was born and educated in Cologne, where his father was a banker. He showed at an early age an aptitude for finance, came to England, and settled first at Liverpool, subsequently in London. His

talents soon brought him into touch with leading men in the City, among whom he ultimately acquired a reputation as an invaluable financial adviser. His name was connected with a number of important enterprises, among which were the formation of the Irrigation Investment Corporation for constructing the Assuan and Assiut dams in Egypt, the founding of the Agricultural Bank of Egypt, the construction of the Central London Railway, the development of Vickers, the great Sheffield engineering firm, the raising of the Anglo-French Loan in America during the war, etc. Possessed of a large fortune, he was renowned for his munificent gifts to charitable and other public organisations. He built and endowed the King Edward VII. Sanatorium for Tuberculosis at Midhurst, and started the Papworth Industrial Colony for Consumptives. In 1920 he gave 225,000*l.* to found a Sanatorium for nervous disorders at Penshurst. He gave large sums for the purchase of radium for the Radium Institute, and for educational purposes, and founded, in 1911, in memory of King Edward, whose great friend he was, the Anglo-German Institute. He owned and bred race-horses, but with no great luck. He married, in 1878, Annette, daughter of R. T. Maxwell, but she died three years later, leaving one daughter, who died in 1911. Sir Ernest was a Privy Councillor.

22. **Ivan Vazoff**, the great Bulgarian poet, was born at Sopot, in the Balkans, in 1850. His father wished him to be a shopkeeper, but a higher destiny awaited him, that of becoming the national poet of Bulgaria and practically the founder of Bulgarian literature. He produced both lyric and dramatic works, the latter dealing chiefly with scenes from the national life.

25. **Professor Henry Jackson, O.M.**, a great Cambridge teacher, was born at Sheffield in 1839, his father being a well-known surgeon. He was educated in Sheffield and at Cheltenham College, and went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where, in 1862, he graduated as third classic. In 1864 he was elected Fellow of his college, in 1866 assistant tutor, ultimately becoming Vice-Master. He was a teacher of exceptional vigour and influence, and originated the provision by the college of individual teaching. Although ancient philosophy was his main theme, he was an ardent leader of modern educational movements and reforms and a supporter of higher education for women. He was a member of the Council of the Senate for nearly fifteen years, was a governor of several colleges, and did invaluable work on Mr. Bryce's and Mr. Birrell's Irish University Commissions. The Order of Merit was conferred on him in 1906, in which year he was elected Regius Professor of Greek. He was also a Fellow of the British Academy. His published works were few. He married, in 1875, a daughter of Canon E. V. Thornton and had two sons and three daughters.

27. **Professor Engelbert Humperdinck**, the musical composer, was born at Siegburg in Germany in 1854, and made his early musical studies at Cologne and Munich. A chance meeting with Wagner in 1879 led to his visit to Bayreuth in 1870 to help in the production of "Parsifal," accomplished in 1881. During these and the following years he was much influenced by Wagner's teaching, and completed a considerable number of compositions, chiefly choral. He achieved fame, not with these, but with the fairy opera, "Hänsel und Gretel," produced in 1893, in which he showed how successfully Wagner's technical methods and orchestration could be applied to a realm of myth left untouched by the latter. "Königskinder," Humperdinck's second success, was another children's opera. He composed various other dramatic and orchestral works, including the incidental music to Reinhardt's "Miracle." He was created a professor by the ex-Kaiser in 1896, and in 1900 became head of a school for musical composition in Berlin.

27. **John Hutton Balfour Browne, K.C.**, was born in 1845 and educated at Edinburgh University. In 1870 he was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and in 1874 was appointed Registrar and Secretary to the Railway Commission. He was the author of a number of law books, especially on rating and transport, and was an authority on railway problems. He retired from a considerable practice at the Parliamentary Bar in 1915, and in 1916 published a volume of reminiscences, "Forty Years at the Bar," followed in 1917 by "Recollections, Literary and Political." He married, in 1874, Caroline, daughter of Lord Justice Lush, by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

28. **Princess Pauline Metternich-Sandor**, whose maiden name was Countess Sandor von Szlavnicza, was one of the most popular figures in Vienna in the latter half of the nineteenth century. She married her uncle, Prince Richard Metternich, when 20 years of age. When he was appointed Austrian Minister at the Court of Napoleon III. she became, and remained, one of the intimate friends of the Empress Eugénie. She was well known and admired in Vienna for her intellectual and artistic gifts, but chiefly for her inexhaustible charity. She died there at the age of 85.

— **Dr. Ludwig Forrer**, aged 76, studied jurisprudence, from 1870 to 1873 was Attorney-General in Zurich, and practised as a lawyer in Winterthur until 1900. He was twice a member of the Swiss Federal Council, and its president in 1892. In 1900 he retired from political life and became Director of the Central Office for International Railway Transport. In 1902 he was elected to the Federal Council, and was its president in 1906 and 1912, but in 1917 he retired and resumed his position at the Central Office.

30. **Benjamin Harrison**, aged 83, famous as the discoverer of eoliths in England, was a village grocer, the second son of a grocer father of Ightham, Kent. He left school when 15, and owed most of his early geological knowledge to the subsequent studies with his elder brother, who collected fossils. Various archaeologists encouraged his local researches, and in 1863 he found in the Bewley Valley the first palæolith. His name is known, however, in connexion with his later discovery of plateau flints, or eoliths, in the superficial soils on the North Downs.

## OCTOBER.

1. **Sir Joseph Savory, Bart.**, born in 1843, came of a family who belonged originally to the Society of Friends. He was educated at Harrow, and went into his father's business of goldsmith and silversmith in Cornhill. His civic career began in 1883, as Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and culminated in the Lord Mayoralty of London in 1891. From 1892 to 1900 he represented North Westmorland as a Conservative. He had been Chairman of the Almoners' Council of Christ's Hospital for thirty years, was a governor of St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, and Chairman of various educational bodies. He was a magistrate for Berks and Westmorland. He married the only daughter of Sir George A. Leach, K.C.B., R.E. They had no children.

— **Dr. William Domett Stone**, aged 81, was an acknowledged authority on sanitation and hygiene. He studied medicine at the Middlesex Hospital Medical School, and took his M.D. at St. Andrews University in 1862. He was elected F.R.C.S. in 1865. The results of his inquiries into the hygienic conditions of the mercantile marine of Great Britain and other countries were published in *The Times*, to which paper he was, for many years, a contributor on medical subjects. He was long editor of the *Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences*. He helped to

improve the state of English workhouses and infirmaries. He occupied, at various times, the position of physician to the Westminster General Dispensary and other great Metropolitan dispensaries and of surgeon-superintendent of the Government Emigration Service.

1. **David Scull Bispham**, the American opera singer, was of Quaker origin and was born in Philadelphia in 1857. He was heard in England between 1891 and 1907 and achieved a brilliant career with his fine baritone voice on both sides of the Atlantic. The range of his talent was extraordinary—from grand opera to songs, from light opera to oratorio. He sang with distinction all the big baritone parts in Wagner's operas. He was always keen on the interpretation of the best in music and on giving publicity to young composers of merit. He was closely associated with the production of many English stage and concert works. He died in New York.

2. **William, Duke of Württemberg**, who, until November, 1918, was King William II. of that state, was born at Stuttgart in 1848. He succeeded to the throne through his mother Princess Catharine, the daughter of King William I., in 1891, and abdicated owing to the German Revolution, resuming the family title of Duke.

5. **John Storey**, Premier of New South Wales, the most popular Premier in Australia, and known among his followers as "honest John," was once a boilermaker. He was leader of the Labour Party in his State for five years before his death, and was elected Premier in 1920. Although he accepted the opposition of his Party during the war to the policy of conscription he refused to associate himself with the pacifists. He left a widow and several children. He was about 50 years of age.

— **Sir James John Digges La Touche, K.C.S.I.**, for many years Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was a native of Dublin and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, passing from there into the Indian Civil Service in 1867. He became a member of the North-West Provinces Legislative Council in 1891, and Chief Secretary to the Government two years later. From 1898 he acted as officiating Governor of the North-West Provinces and officiating Chief Commissioner of Oudh, the name being changed in 1902 to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He retired in 1907, but served on the Council of India until 1914. He did much to improve education in his provinces. He was married. He died in Dublin at the age of 77.

6. **The Marquis de Ruvigny et Raineval**, a French nobleman famous as a historian and genealogist, was one of the chief leaders of the Neo-Jacobite movement at the end of Queen Victoria's reign. His collateral forebear, the second Marquis, was Earl of Galway. He was the author of several useful genealogical works, the best known of which are "The Jacobite Peerage," "The Blood Royal of Britain," and "Titled Nobility of Europe." He joined the Church of Rome in 1902 and became a widower in 1915. His eldest son was accidentally killed and his second son succeeds to the title. The Marquis died in London at the age of 54.

8. **Dr. H. F. Feilberg**, aged 90, was a Danish country clergyman, well known by his works on peasant life and on folklore. Between 1886 and 1914 he published a "Dictionary of Jutland Dialects" in four volumes. On the completion of the first volume in 1893 the worth of the Dictionary was recognised by the Danish Government, which conferred on him a life pension and the honorary degree of Dr. Phil. He died at Askov.

12. **Senator Philander Chase Knox** was born at Brownsville, Pa., in 1853, and educated at Mount Union College, Ohio. In 1875 he was admitted to the Bar, and in 1877 was Attorney-General in President McKinley's Cabinet, holding the same office under President Roosevelt,



He was a Senator from 1904 to 1909, and was then Secretary of State to President Taft until 1913. He was elected a Senator again in 1916. He was the leader of the party which opposed the entry of the U.S.A. into the League of Nations. The Peace Treaty signed with Germany was on the lines of the policy he advocated.

12. **H. J. Jennings** was an actor in early life but, having made some reputation in journalism at Bristol, finally abandoned the stage on being appointed editor of the *Birmingham Mail* in 1870. He retained this post for eighteen years, and is said to have created a new standard of dramatic criticism in Birmingham. He edited the *Financial News* for a number of years. In 1920 he published a book of reminiscences entitled "Chestnuts and Small Beer."

13. **Rev. Dr. Monro Gibson**, an acknowledged leader of the Presbyterian Church of England for over thirty years, was born in 1838, his father being a United Presbyterian minister in Wigtownshire. He was educated at Brechin High School, then won the highest bursary of the United Presbyterian Church to a Scottish University. His family having migrated to Canada, he graduated brilliantly at Toronto University in 1862. After holding an assistant ministership at Hamilton and a professorship at Montreal, he accepted a call to Chicago in 1874. In 1880, in response to a twice-repeated call, he accepted the ministership of St. John's Wood Presbyterian Church, and held this post until his retirement in 1913. He was President of the Sunday School Union and of the National Free Church Council. The chief of his writings is the Gospel of St. Matthew in "The Expositor's Bible."

15. **Alexander Macdonald**, whose age was 82, was Ruskin Master of Drawing at Oxford for fifty years, having been appointed the first Master of the University Drawing School by Ruskin, its founder. He settled in Oxford as a drawing master towards the close of the sixties, was recommended to Ruskin's notice through his friend Sir Henry Acland, and soon became a close friend of the former also. He had a technical knowledge of almost every process of painting, also of etching and lithography, and executed a number of delicate still-life studies and landscapes in water-colour. Only his innate modesty prevented him from claiming recognition from the public outside Oxford. He had charge of the University Galleries from 1882 to 1908, and was for many years Art Master in the Oxford City Technical School. He left an only son, who followed in his father's footsteps and is Art Master at Winchester College.

17. **Ex-King Ludwig of Bavaria** was born in 1845, and succeeded his father, Prince Luitpold, as Prince Regent of Bavaria, in 1912. In 1913, on the deposition of the mad King Otto, he succeeded to the throne as Ludwig III. sixth King of Bavaria. In November, 1918, Bavaria was declared a Republic, and the King withdrew into private life. He died at Sarvar, in Hungary. He was a devoted Roman Catholic. His wife was the Archduchess Marie-Thérèse of Austria-Este, his eldest son is Ex-Prince Rupprecht.

19. **Peter Graham, R.A.**, the famous painter of Highland cattle and sea-gull pictures, was born in Edinburgh in 1836, and early made his mark as a pupil at the Trustees' Academy. He exhibited his first picture at the Royal Scottish Academy when barely 19, and was elected an Associate of that body in 1860, and a full member in 1868. He first exhibited at the London Royal Academy in 1866, was elected A.R.A. in 1877, and R.A. in 1881. He lived partly in London, but was seldom seen in society. He died at St. Andrews.

20. **Kennedy Jones, M.P.**, was born in Glasgow in 1865, and started in journalism at an early age as sub-editor on the *Glasgow News*. After service on the *Glasgow Evening News* and the *Birmingham Daily Mail* he went to London and joined the staff of the *Morning* and later of the *Sun*,

From 1894 to 1900 he was director of the *Evening News* under Lord Northcliffe's control. He also worked on the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror* until ill-health compelled him to withdraw from journalism in 1912, after which he undertook the financial re-organisation of Waring & Gillow, and became their Chairman. In 1916 he represented the Hornsey Division of Middlesex as an Independent. He served in the Food Ministry during the war, and afterwards as Chairman of the Select Committee on Transport (Metropolitan area), and of the Advisory Committee on London Traffic. He married in 1892, and left one son and three daughters.

22. **Alexandre Dimitroff**, Bulgarian Minister for War, was born in 1877 at Kosnítza, near Doupnítza, of poor parents, and was educated chiefly at a primary school. His early career as a school teacher was frequently interrupted by expulsion owing to his activities in connexion with the formation of the Agrarian Union, which owes its strong organisation almost entirely to him. His high qualifications led to his nomination in 1911 as a member of Parliament. He became Minister of the Interior in 1919 and Minister for War in 1920. Besides directing the official organ of the Agrarian Union, he published various original works. He was assassinated while on a journey from Sofia to his birthplace.

23. **John Boyd Dunlop**, the inventor of the pneumatic tyre, was born in Ayrshire in 1840, graduated as a veterinary surgeon in Edinburgh, and migrated in 1867 to Belfast, where he had a successful veterinary career. He patented his invention in 1888, and established a rubber tyre factory in Dublin with a capital of 25,000*l.* On account of an outcry concerning the fumes from the factory, he moved it to Coventry. For many years his part in the developments of the Dunlop companies had ceased, and he became interested in a drapery and motor business in Ireland and in the Australian wool trade. He patented several other inventions, among which a carburettor enjoyed a short vogue. For some years before his death he had lived in retirement in Dublin, where he died. He married a Belfast lady, and left one son and a daughter.

24. **Sir George Fitz-Roy Henry Somerset, third Baron Raglan, G.B.E., C.B.**, the eldest son of the second baron, was born in 1857, and educated at Eton and Sandhurst. He served as a Grenadier Guard in the Afghan War, 1879-80, then became aide-de-camp to the Governor of Bombay. He succeeded to the title in 1884, and in 1900 was appointed Under-Secretary for War. He will be best remembered for his governorship, from 1902 to 1919, of the Isle of Man, where, though he was personally very popular, his administration, especially in connexion with the public finance, was severely criticised. He married, in 1883, Lady Ethel Ponsonby, and had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, who succeeds to the title, was born in 1885.

26. **Ralph Vincent Bankes, K.C.**, had a remarkable legal ancestry, his great-grandfather, on his father's side, being Lord Chancellor Eldon, his mother being a daughter of Sir John Jervis, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was educated at Winchester and University College, Oxford, and was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple in 1890, taking silk in 1910. In 1917 he was appointed magistrate at the South-Western Police Court. As the result of insomnia he shot himself while on a visit to a relation. His wife was a daughter of William G. Moffitt, M.P., and he had two sons.

28. **Dr. William Speirs Bruce**, aged 54, was the son of an Edinburgh doctor. He studied medicine, but in 1892 began his career as an explorer by sailing in a whaler to the Antarctic. He made various other scientific journeys to Arctic regions, notably to Spitzbergen, and in 1902 led an expedition to the Weddell Sea, the scientific results of which led to a great change in the chart of the Antarctic. Between 1909 and 1920

he returned to Spitzbergen, and did valuable hydrographical and scientific research work. A number of his investigations were published, and he also brought out, in 1911, a book on "Polar Exploration."

30. **Henry Brereton Marriott Watson**, the novelist, was born in Australia, in 1863, and educated at Christchurch Grammar School and Canterbury College, New Zealand. He came to England in 1885, and took up journalism, becoming assistant editor of *Black and White* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He will be chiefly remembered as the author of a number of popular novels and stories, in the style of Anthony Hope, and as the joint author, with Barrie, of the play "Richard Savage." He married Rosamund Ball, a writer of verse.

## NOVEMBER.

1. **Alfred Milnes, M.A., D.Litt.**, was born on April 16, 1849, and educated at Lincoln College, Oxford. From 1876 to 1878 he was head of the Imperial Naval School at Tokio, and on his coming to London in 1878 he joined the administrative staff of the University of London, where in 1901 he became Registrar of the Council for External Students, a position he held until his retirement in 1915. Dr. Milnes was also well known as a teacher of economics, on which he wrote and lectured, principally under the London University Extension Board.

2 **William Mansfield, first Viscount and second Baron Sandhurst, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O.**, was born in 1855, and was the eldest son of General Sir William Mansfield, created Baron Sandhurst in 1871. He was educated at Rugby, succeeded to the peerage in 1876, and in 1880 was appointed Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria. In 1886 he was made Under-Secretary for War, retaining the post after the Liberals came into power in 1892. In 1895 he went out as Governor to Bombay, and did much good work in connexion with sanitation during an outbreak of bubonic plague. He left Bombay in 1900. In 1912 he was appointed Lord Chamberlain, which position he filled with obvious success until his death. His first wife, Lady Victoria Spencer, by whom he had two children who died in infancy, died in 1906. Three years later he married Eleanor, daughter of Matthew Arnold, who survived him.

4. **Takashi Hara**, the Japanese Prime Minister, was born at Morioka in 1856. He abandoned the study of the law to become a journalist, and joined the staff of an important Tokyo daily. In 1883 he entered the diplomatic service and became Consul at Tientsin, being made Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires in Paris in 1886. In 1892 he was appointed Commercial Bureau Director at the Foreign Office, in 1895 Vice-Minister of the Department. As Minister he served in Korea for a year, then resumed journalism, becoming editor of the Osaka *Shimpo*. In 1902 he represented his native city in Parliament, and in 1906 definitely abandoned journalism for political life. He was Minister for Home Affairs for two years, and again from 1911 to 1912, and from 1913 to 1914, under three different administrations. In 1914 he retired from active politics, but reappeared in 1918 in order to form the first party (Conservative) Cabinet in Japan. He was a great statesman, a man of strong and upright character, a reformer taking cautious steps towards the introduction of manhood suffrage. His foreign policy, especially towards America, was conciliatory. He was mortally stabbed at the Tokyo railway station while on a journey.

5. **Henry Ernest Hutchinson**, the dramatist, who was in his 37th year, was born near Manchester, and educated at Dover College and Manchester Technical School. He left his father's cotton business to become a private secretary, and in 1912 was the author of "Votes for

Children," produced in London. He made his name with "The Right to Strike," produced in London in 1920.

8. **Pavol Országh**, the great Slovak poet and intellectual leader, was born in 1849 in the Orava district, then part of Hungary. He studied the law and became a magistrate, but resigned his post in 1874 and practised as a barrister. His literary activity began in 1868. His early verse was written in Magyar, but was soon abandoned for his native tongue. His works included lyric, epic, and dramatic writings, and translations from English, Russian, Polish, and Magyar poets. His original poems are pervaded by a deep religious strain and a spirit of idealism. His "Hymn of Resurrection" deals with the rise of the Slovaks from Magyarisation. He wrote under the pseudonym of Hviezdoslav ("Star-Glory").

10. **Elkin Mathews**, who was 70 years of age, was a well-known publisher. He was joint founder with Mr. John Lane of the Bodley Head publishing business in 1887, and did much to encourage young authors, especially poets. The firm dissolved in 1894 and he carried on his business separately, his chief interest being in *belles lettres*.

11. **Dr. Peter Taylor Forsyth**, Principal of Hackney Theological College, Hampstead, was born and educated in Aberdeen, where he was for a short time assistant to the Professor of Humanity. He studied Theology in Germany, then taught at New College, Hampstead. He was Principal of Hackney College from 1901. Although a leader of the Congregationalists he was in sympathy with other Churches and an advocate of reunion. He was a prolific writer, one of his most remarkable works being "The Christian Ethic of War," published in 1916, in which he denounced Tolstoy and his school. He was twice married and left one daughter.

13. **Professor Ignaz Goldziher**, a famous Orientalist, was born in Hungary in 1850, studied at Budapest, Berlin, Leipzig, and Leyden Universities, and in 1894 became Professor at Budapest University. It was the first instance in the history of this University of a Jew being admitted to the faculty. He was the first to give a critical history of Arabic traditions, and his knowledge of Arabic poetry enabled him to make valuable contributions to the knowledge of pre-Mohammedan paganism. He wrote on Jewish Mythology and folk-lore and published numerous works on Oriental history and the science of religion. He was a member of various important scientific societies.

— **William Robert Colton, R.A.**, sculptor, was born in Paris in 1867 and studied in various London and Paris schools. When 22 he was already an exhibitor at the Royal Academy and the Paris Salon. He was elected an Associate of the Academy in 1903, and a full member in 1919. He is publicly represented in London by a drinking fountain in Hyde Park, a South African War Memorial, and a memorial to Selous at the Natural History Museum, besides work at the Tate Gallery and elsewhere. He also did work for the provinces and for India and Australia. Much of his sculpture consisted of nude studies, and showed the influence of Alfred Gilbert and of Rodin. He married in 1902 and had two daughters.

— **Professor A. Sheridan Delépine**, aged 66, was of Swiss extraction on his mother's side, and studied science in Switzerland, graduating at Lausanne in 1872. He left Switzerland to work in Edinburgh and London, and in 1891 was appointed Professor of Pathology at the Manchester Medical School. His work there resulted in the establishment, ten years later, of the Manchester Institute of Hygiene, in which he filled, until his death, the chair of Public Hygiene and Bacteriology.

— **Sir Douglas Fox**, aged 81, was educated at King's College, London, and entered his father's railway engineering firm, becoming its engineer

in 1862. On the death of his father he and his brother succeeded to the business, which assumed later the name of Sir Douglas Fox and Partners, and was specially active in railway construction at home and also in the Argentine, Brazil, and Colombia, and in South Africa. He acted in 1899-1900 as President of the Institution of Civil Engineers, and was its representative until 1920 on the British Engineering Standards Committee, which he helped to form. He was knighted in 1886. His wife predeceased him, but he left one son.

14. **Comtesse D'Eu**, who was born in 1846, was Isabella of Braganza, the elder daughter of Don Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, and until the deposition of her father in 1889 was Crown Princess and heir to the throne. She acted as regent on several occasions during her father's absence from the country, and was an energetic and capable administrator. She signed the famous law abolishing slavery in 1888. She married, in 1864, Prince Gaston of Orleans, Comte d'Eu, and died at their home, the Chateau d'Eu. She had three sons, the two youngest of whom died in the Allied cause. The eldest son, Prince Pedro, renounced his rights to eventual succession to the Crown of Brazil in 1908, when he married a Bohemian countess.

22. **Henry Mayers Hyndman**, the well-known Socialist, was the eldest son of John Beckles Hyndman, and was born in London in 1842. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he acquired fame as a batsman, and kept up his cricket for several years, playing in the Sussex eleven. In his youth he was a thorough Radical. He was a friend of Garibaldi and of Mazzini, but it was his study of Marx's works which led him to the conclusion that society must be organised collectively on a co-operative basis. He became an ardent Socialist, played a prominent part in the establishing of the new International, and served for ten years on the International Socialist Bureau. In 1881 he assisted in the birth of the Social Democratic Federation. In 1886 he was tried at the Old Bailey for his part in the West-end riots, but was acquitted. During the war he took a definitely patriotic line. His condemnations of British capitalists and politicians, and of British trade and policy, were published in his books, "The Record of an Adventurous Life" (1911), and "Further Reminiscences" (1913). "The Awakening of Asia" (1919), "The Evolution of Revolution" (1920), several books on India, "Clemenceau: The Man and his Time" (1919), and "Socialism and Slavery," were further expositions of the creeds he upheld on the public platform. He was twice married; in 1876 to Miss Matilda Ware, a Socialist worker, who died in 1913; in 1914 to Rosalind, daughter of Major Travers, and granddaughter of Bishop Ellicott.

— **Emile Boutroux**, the French philosopher, was born at Montrouge in 1845, and entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure in 1865. In 1868 he went to Heidelberg to study Greek philosophy. His own fame as a philosopher began in 1879 with the publication of his work, "De la Contingence des Lois de la Nature," in which he definitely ranged himself with the "Spiritualists," and demonstrated the weakness of the principle of scientific determinism. He was the pioneer of that school of thought in France known as the philosophers of action. His connexion with the Pragmatist movement led to the translation of his principal books into English, and he lectured in England during the war.

— **Christine Nilsson**, famous forty years ago as an operatic soprano, was born in 1843 in Sweden, and was given her musical education by Baroness Leuhusen, herself a singer. She appeared in opera in Paris in 1864, and from 1867, when she appeared at Her Majesty's Theatre in "Traviata," was a prime favourite in London. She left the operatic stage in 1881, still in possession of her powers. She made her chief hits "Robert le Diable," "Faust," "Mignon," and Boito's "Mephistopheles." She was twice married: in 1872 to M. Auguste Rouzeaud, who

1882, and in 1887 to Count Casa di Miranda, who died in 1902. She bade farewell to the profession at a concert at the Albert Hall in 1888.

22. **Henry Wilson Fox, M.P.**, was born in London in 1863, and was the second son of the physician-in-ordinary to Queen Victoria. He was educated at University College and Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn. In 1889 he went to South Africa, was appointed Public Prosecutor of Rhodesia, and was mentioned in despatches for his services in the Matabeleland and Mashonaland rebellion. He returned to England in 1897, and became manager, later director, of the British South Africa Company. In 1917 he was returned as a Unionist for the Tamworth Division of Warwickshire, and in 1918 as its Coalition Candidate. He left a son.

23. **Senator de Martino**, a distinguished Italian Colonial Governor, was 72 years of age. Born in London, his colonial experience was preceded by a long political and diplomatic career at home. In 1896 he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He served in Somaliland and Eritrea and had been Governor of Cyrenaica, where he died, since 1919.

25. **Ernest Myers**, an accomplished classical scholar, translator, and poet, was born at Keswick, in 1844, and was the second son of the Rev. Frederic Myers and of Susan, daughter of John Marshall, M.P., and the younger brother of F. W. H. Myers, the well-known psychical researcher. He was educated at Cheltenham College and Balliol, won the Gaisford Prize for Greek verse in 1865, and in 1868 was elected a Fellow of Wadham. In 1871 he went to London and became a barrister. He never practised, however, but threw himself into literary, educational, and philanthropic work. He became Hon. Secretary of the London University Extension Society, and was on the administrative committees of the Charity Organisation Society, and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children. He was also a member of the Hellenic Society. His great gift for language and poetry was well displayed in his prose translation in 1874 of the "Odes of Pindar" and in three volumes of verse: "Poems" (1877), "Rome and Other Poems" (1880), "The Judgment of Prometheus and Other Poems" (1886). He collaborated in 1882 in the production of a fine prose translation of the "Iliad." He married, in 1883, Nora Margaret, daughter of Canon Lodge, by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

27. **W. A. Baillie-Grohman** was born in 1851, and was the son of a notable Austrian sportsman and landowner. He was educated in Austria, England, and France, and devoted practically his whole life to mountaineering, hunting, and travelling. His home was in the Tyrol, and he published a number of books on this country and on sporting life, the chief of which were "Tyrol and the Tyrolese," "Sport in the Alps," "Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in Western America," "The Land in the Mountains," "Sport in Art." His fine collection of sporting books and prints was offered by him in 1919 to the Washington Library of Congress. He was a great friend and fellow-sportsman of President Roosevelt. He left a son and a daughter.

28. **Sir Abdul Baha Abbas el Bahai** was born in 1844, and succeeded to the leadership of the Bahai religious movement, originally known as Babism, a movement exercising a profound influence in Persia, Trans-Caucasia, Syria, and Egypt. He spent nearly all his life under persecution, but was released from prison after the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, and in 1911 travelled in Europe and America, advocating his doctrines of universal peace and equality of sexes. His influence was recognised by the British when the Turks evacuated Palestine, and he was knighted in 1920. He died at Haifa.

**Lord George Mount Stephen, G.C.V.O.**, the moving spirit in the Canadian Pacific Railway, was born in Banffshire, in 1829,

of very poor parents. He spent many years in a drygoods business, first in Aberdeen and London, then at Montreal, to which he emigrated when 21. His interest in public affairs brought him into touch with eminent men, and he became the director, and ultimately the president of the Bank of Montreal. His first venture in railroad management was the organisation of the Great Northern Railroad system, followed in 1879 by the purchase, with others, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from the Government. Its successful development is owing largely to the energy and enthusiasm of Stephen. He was created a baronet in 1886, and raised to the peerage in 1891, taking his title from a peak in the Rocky Mountains named after him. His charitable benefactions were numerous. He was one of the founders of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal. His first wife, Miss Kane, died in 1896, his second wife was a Miss Tufnell. He had no children by either marriage, but he had an adopted daughter, now Lady Northcote.

29. **Ivan Caryll**, a composer, was born at Liège, in 1861, his real name being Felix Tilkin. He studied music at Liège and Paris, and came to London in 1882. Known only as a composer of light music, many of his musical comedies achieved world-wide fame, and he became very popular in London and also in New York musical circles. He was for some time musical director at the Gaiety and Lyric Theatres. His first big London success was "The Shop Girl." Other outstanding successes were "The Duchess of Dantzig," and "The Earl and the Girl." He also composed some musical comedies in collaboration with Lionel Monckton, among the most successful being "The Circus Girl," and "Our Miss Gibbs." His wife, formerly Miss Maud Hill, who survived him, was a very popular *prima donna*.

30. **Baron Sidney Sonnino** was born in 1847 in Alexandria of a Protestant Tuscan father and an English mother. He entered Italian political life at an early age, was several times Finance Minister, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the latter capacity he was instrumental in bringing Italy into the war, and represented his country at the Peace Conference.

## DECEMBER.

2. **Brigadier-General George Fraser Phillips, C.B., C.M.G.**, was born in 1863, and educated at Uppingham. He rose to command the West Yorkshire Regiment, and in 1897 served in Hong-Kong as A.D.C. to Sir W. Robertson. In 1913 he was appointed to command the International Force at Scutari, and achieved a European reputation by the ability with which he administered this hot-bed of intrigue. In 1914 he went to France in command of his battalion, was wounded and invalided home in the following year, and later became Military Attaché with the Serbian Army, and head of the British Military Mission in Greece. From 1918 to 1920 he was again in Albania on behalf of the British Government, and retired in 1920. He married in 1889, and left an only son.

3. **The Rt. Hon. Frederick Huth Jackson**, a banker of great repute, was born in 1863, his father being Thomas Hughes Jackson of Birkenhead, his mother a Miss Meinertzhagen, related to the banking firm of Frederick Huth & Co., of which her son became the famous representative. He was educated at Harrow and Balliol, and read for the Bar, but accepted a clerkship in Huth & Co., and very soon became a partner. His ability led to his election as a director of the Bank of England at a younger age than any previous director. He also became director of various large insurance and railway companies, and from 1909 to 1911 was President of the Institute of Bankers, being made a member of the Privy Council in the latter year. His theory of Government insurance of merchant shipping during war time was adopted with conspicuous

success in August, 1914. He did excellent work as Chairman of the Accepting Houses Committee during the war. He married, in 1893, the eldest daughter of Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, and left one son and three daughters.

4. **Henry Barrett Brandreth**, aged 52, was an Irishman by birth. In his early days he sang with the d'Oyly Carte Company, but he made his reputation as stage manager of the Kennington Theatre, a position which he held from about 1901 until the beginning of the war, when he became general manager of the Carl Rosa Opera Company. He left a widow, but no family.

5. **Alexander Louis Teixeira de Mattos**, the son of Jacques Teixeira de Mattos, was born in Amsterdam in 1865, and settled in England in 1874. In 1891 he was editor of *Dramatic Opinions*, later of the *Candid Friend*, but it is as a masterly translator into English of much of the best literature of France, Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia that he made his name. He was especially well known for his English versions of Maeterlinck, Fabre, Zola, Couperus, Streuvels, and Ewald. During the war he was on the staff of the War Trade Intelligence Department.

6. **Prince Said Halim Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier of Turkey**, was born at Cairo in 1865, his father being the brother of the Khedive Ismail. He passed much of his early life on the Bosphorus, and in 1889 was appointed Turkish Counsellor of State, achieving the rank of Pasha in 1902. In 1911 he became President of the Council of State, and in 1912 Minister of Foreign Affairs. On the murder of Mahmud Shevket Pasha he was nominated Grand Vizier, but was forced to resign in 1917, his moderate policy meeting with disapproval from the Minister of War, Enver Pasha, then virtual ruler of Turkey. After the Armistice he was banished from Turkey. He was assassinated while driving through the streets of Rome.

9. **Sir Arthur Pearson, Bart., G.B.E.**, the blind donor of St. Dunstan's training home for blind soldiers, was born in 1866, his father being rector of Springfield, Essex. He was educated at Winchester, and became a journalist. When only 30 he was managing director and proprietor of *Pearson's Weekly*, founded by himself. In 1900 he founded the *Daily Express*. In 1904 he bought the *Standard* and the *Evening Standard*, and in 1905 amalgamated the latter paper with the *St. James's Gazette*. His ambitions were by no means satisfied when his sight began to fail him, and blindness gradually ensued. With undaunted courage he found an outlet for his energies in the welfare of the civilian blind. After the outbreak of the war he seized the opportunity to create St. Dunstan's training home for blind soldiers and, through his wonderful personal work in connexion with it and his influence in the journalistic world, made its name a household word. He was created a baronet in 1916, and G.B.E. in 1917. He was accidentally drowned in his bath. By his first wife, whom he married in 1887, he had three daughters. In 1897 he married the daughter of William John Fraser, and had one son, Neville Arthur, born in 1898, who succeeded to the baronetcy.

— **Lord Nathaniel Lindley**, a great Victorian judge, was born in 1828, and was the son of John Lindley, Professor of Botany at University College, London. He was educated at University College School, and called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1850. He wrote several successful law books, his great work on "Partnership," published in 1860, being still unrivalled when he died. He took silk in 1872, and in 1875 was appointed a Justice of the Common Pleas. His judgments were remarkable for their independence, conciseness, and scientific spirit, and were seldom found by a higher tribunal to be incorrect. In 1897 he became Master of the Rolls, and in 1900 was created a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary with a life peerage, Baron Lindley of East Carleton, in the County of Norfolk. His influence in appeals was at once felt. In 1905, at the



age of 77, he resigned, but continued for some years to preside at Quarter Sessions. His wife, Sarah Katharine Teale of Leeds, whom he married in 1858, died in 1912. Of their nine children six survived. The eldest son is Major-General John Edward Lindley.

10. **Victor Jacobi**, the Hungarian composer of light operas, was known in England through "The Marriage Market," produced in London in 1913, and "Sybil," which finished a run of nearly a year at Daly's Theatre just before his death. He was noted for his great gift of melody. He died in New York, where he wrote, during the war, a very successful opera, "Apple Blossoms."

11. **Hardinge Giffard, Lord Halsbury**, who was 98 years of age, was the son of Dr. Lees Giffard, editor of the *Standard* for many years. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, and called to the Bar in 1850. He first joined the Western Circuit, but soon moved to the South Wales Circuit, where he acquired a considerable practice. He took silk in 1865, and in 1875 was appointed Solicitor-General. He was returned to Parliament for Launceston in 1877, and held his seat for many years. He was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1885, holding office until January, 1886, again, from July, 1886, to August, 1892, and from June, 1895, to 1905. When far advanced in years he sat in the Court of Appeal, and delivered a judgment in the House of Lords as late as 1916. He was noted, not so much for his legal learning, although his knowledge of the criminal law was almost unrivalled—as for his powerful methods, quickness of grasp, and sound common sense. He was an unwavering Conservative, always opposed to political or legal reforms, and, especially in his later years, extremely dogmatic. He will go down to posterity as the Chancellor who never doubted. He was twice married. His first wife died in 1873. In 1874 he married the daughter of Mr. Henry Woodfall. His son, Viscount Tiverton, who was born in 1880, succeeded to the title.

— **Sir George Olaf Roos-Keppel, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.**, aged 55, was descended from a Swedish branch of the Dutch family of Van Keppel. As a Royal Scots Fusilier he went through the Upper Burma War of 1886-87, and began a long term of service on the North-West Frontier, of which Province he became Chief Commissioner in 1908. As a Warden of the Marches, he handled the frontier tribes with a sagacity almost amounting to genius, and his strong personality was greatly instrumental in preventing a frontier outbreak during the war. For a short time in 1919 he was Military Governor of the Frontier Province, but retired in the autumn of that year to join the Council of the Secretary of State. He was unmarried.

— **Richard Bagot**, the novelist, was born in 1860, and was the great-grandson of the first Lord Bagot. He was educated privately, and in 1881 was received into the Church of Rome. He was for a time private secretary to the Governor of Western Australia, but returning to England began to write, and in 1899 published his first book. As a novelist he was notable for his restrained style. He will also be remembered for his services to the cause of Anglo-Italian friendship.

— **Algernon Turnor, C.B.**, the fourth son of Christopher Turnor, and Caroline, daughter of the ninth Earl of Winchilsea, was born in 1845, and educated at Eton and Christ Church. Entering the Treasury in 1867, he became private secretary to the Permanent Secretary. In 1874, when Disraeli became Prime Minister, he was made assistant to his chief private secretary, ultimately becoming one of Beaconsfield's private secretaries himself. There are several references to him in Beaconsfield's published letters. In 1880 he became Financial Secretary to the Post Office, resigning in 1896. He married a daughter of the ninth Earl of Galloway, and had three sons and three daughters.

16. **Charles Camille Saint-Saëns**, the famous French composer, was born in Paris in 1835 of a musical family. He began his musical career at the age of 7, gave a concert when 11, and wrote his first symphony at 16. At 18 he became an organist, and was for nearly twenty years organist of the Madeleine in Paris. Although regarded as the French representative of purely symphonic music, his versatility was remarkable, and he wrote something of value in nearly all the forms of music. Of his operas, "Samson et Delilah," first produced in 1877 at Weimar through the influence of Liszt, in 1890 in France, and on the English operatic stage in 1909, was the most famous. His distinctions included those of Officer of the Legion of Honour, member of the Institut, and Doctor of Music of both Oxford and Cambridge. His two sons died in their youth, but he left a widow. He was accorded a State funeral.

18. **Walter Morrison**, whose age was 85, was the son of James Morrison, a City millionaire. He was educated at Eton and Balliol, and from 1861 to 1874 represented Plymouth as a Liberal. His passion for individual liberty caused him to spend much time and money fighting the newly formed Land League, and in 1886 he re-entered Parliament as a Liberal Unionist, sitting for the Skipton division of Yorkshire until 1892, and again from 1895 to 1900. He was chiefly remarkable for his reticent but magnificent generosity, and the whole-heartedness and ability with which he threw himself into promoting his ideals. He never became, however, a prominent figure in the national life. He was a familiar figure in the City, where his activities were many. His known benefactions were enormous, especially to the University of Oxford, and in the West Yorkshire district where his country estate lay. He was unmarried.

— **Dr. Clemens Delbrueck**, aged 65, German ex-Minister of the Interior, came into favour with the ex-Kaiser when acting as Mayor of Danzig. He became Minister of the Interior in 1909, and resigned in 1916. He was appointed Chief of the Kaiser's Civil Cabinet in 1918.

21. **Cardinal de Cabrières**, Bishop of Montpellier, was born in 1830 of an ancient Languedoc family. He was ordained in 1853, consecrated in 1873, and created Cardinal in 1911. He was France's oldest bishop.

23. **Arthur Raffalovich**, a French economist, was born in 1853 at Odessa, but received his education in Paris. He became financial editor of the *Journal des Débats* in 1888, and was closely connected with that paper and with the *Economiste français* until his death. He wrote and translated a number of books on economic subjects. He was a Privy Councillor, a member of the Finance Minister's Council and the Institut, and commercial *attaché* to the Russian Imperial Embassy in Paris.

24. **Hans Huber**, the Swiss composer, was born in 1852 at Schönenwerd. He studied music from childhood, at first in his native town, then at Leipzig. He became a piano teacher of repute in Basle, and was appointed to the Basle Conservatoire, finally becoming its director. He abandoned his position in 1918. He composed a number of well-known pieces for piano and orchestra, a couple of oratorios, and five less-known operas.

28. **Sir John Hare**, the eminent actor, was born in London in 1844, John Fairs being his real name. He began studying for the Civil Service, but his love of the drama prevailed, and he turned to the stage, making his first public appearance at Liverpool in light comedy. In 1865 he obtained an engagement in London, and immediately sprang into fame in the part of Lord Ptarmigan in Robertson's "Society," adding to his reputation in other comedies of Robertson's, notably in "Caste," and in "The School for Scandal." In 1875, after ten years with the Bancrofts, he went into management himself at the Court

Theatre, and was there seen in one of his most famous parts, Lord Kildare in "A Quiet Ruhber." From 1879 he spent nine successful years in joint management with the Kendals, then leased the newly-built Garrick Theatre, where he was not so successful, and which he gave up in 1893. From then until his farewell to the London stage in 1908, he divided his time between London, the provinces, and America. His last appearances were in 1917, in his famous part of Benjamin Goldfinch in "A Pair of Spectacles." He was a master of light comedy, his salient characteristics being the subtlety and distinction of his interpretations, the perfection of finish he brought into the portrayal of the gentler emotions. He was of a retiring disposition, with a strong dislike for advertisement and publicity. He was knighted in 1907. Lady Hare and his son and two daughters survived him.

29. **Sir German Sims Woodhead, K.B.E.**, Professor of Pathology at Cambridge, was born in 1855, his father being a former M.P. He was educated at Huddersfield College and Edinburgh University, and acted for a time as director of the Research Laboratory of the Conjoint Board of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was elected to the Cambridge Chair of Pathology in 1899. During the war he did valuable work as inspector of laboratories in military hospitals. His work left him little time for publishing, but he wrote on pathological subjects and on tuberculosis. He was a member of a number of scientific societies, and held important positions in connexion with temperance reform. He was created K.B.E. in 1919. He was married, but left no children.

30. **Claude Allin Shepperson, A.R.A.**, was the son of Allin Thomas Shepperson, and was born at Beckenham, Kent, in 1867. He abandoned the study of the law to take up art, which he studied in Paris and London. In early life he executed in water colour a number of landscapes of moorland and mountain scenery, but he will be remembered chiefly for his brilliant later work as an illustrator. His black and white and colour drawings were characterised by their grace, purity of line, and distinction. He was elected an A.R.A. in 1919, and was also a member of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours. He was a regular contributor to *Punch*. He was married, and had one son and one daughter.

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